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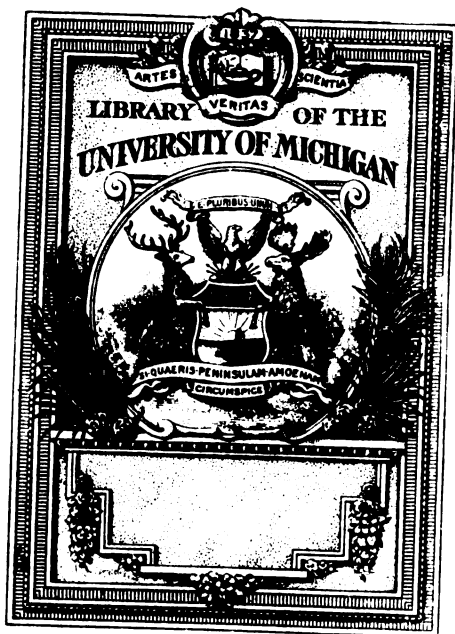
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## CONTENTS OF VOL. XIV.

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### No. 53.

I.—Vedic Reduplication of Nouns and Adjectives. By EDWARD WASHBURN HOPKINS, . . . . .	I
● II.—On the Judæo-German Spoken by the Russian Jews. By LEO WIENER, . . . . .	41
III.—The Relative Position of Actors and Chorus in the Greek Theatre of the V Century B. C. I. By JOHN PICKARD, . . . . .	68
NOTE: . . . . .	90
Chilian Popular Songs. Collected and edited by FREDERICK HANSSEN.	
REVIEWS AND BOOK NOTICES: . . . . .	93
Pizzi's Firdusi.—Joost's Was ergibt sich aus dem Sprachgebrauch Xenophons in der Anabasis für die Behandlung der griechischen Syntax in der Schule?—Hatzidakis' Einleitung in die Neugriechische Grammatik.—Η ΙΑΙΙΑΔΑ ΜΕΤΑΦΡΑΣΜΕΝΗ ΑΠ' ΤΟΝ ΑΔΕΞ. ΠΑΛΛΗ.	
REPORTS: . . . . .	112
Beiträge zur Assyriologie und vergleichenden Sprachwissenschaft.—Englische Studien.	
BRIEF MENTION, . . . . .	124
RECENT PUBLICATIONS, . . . . .	128
BOOKS RECEIVED, . . . . .	135

## No. 54.

I.—The Saturnian Metre. I. By W. M. LINDSAY, . . . . .	139
II.—On Recent Studies in Hindu Grammar. By W. D. WHITNEY, . . . . .	171
III.—The Relative Position of Actors and Chorus in the Greek Theatre of the V Century B. C. II. By JOHN PICKARD, . . . . .	198
IV.—Corrections and Additions to Lewis and Short in connection with Aulus Gellius. By CHARLES KNAPP, . . . . .	216
REVIEWS AND BOOK NOTICES: . . . . .	226
Sandys' Aristotle's Constitution of Athens.—Buck's Vokalismus der oskischen Sprache.—Martha's Œuvres de Cicéron, Brutus.—Mills' Five Zoroastrian Gāthās, with the Zend, Pahlavi, Sanskrit and Persian Texts and Translations.—Wehmann's De <i>ὄρε</i> particulae usu Hero- doteo, Thucydideo, Xenophonteo.	
REPORTS: . . . . .	243
Romania.—Neue Jahrbücher für Philologie und Paedagogik.—Hermes.	
BRIEF MENTION, . . . . .	258
RECENT PUBLICATIONS, . . . . .	263
BOOKS RECEIVED, . . . . .	270

## No. 55.

I.—The Relative Position of Actors and Chorus in the Greek Theatre of the V Century B. C. III. By JOHN PICKARD, . . . . .	273
II.—The Saturnian Metre. II. By W. M. LINDSAY, . . . . .	305
III.—A Collation of the Old Armenian Version of Plato's Laws, Book IV. By FRED. C. CONYBEARE, . . . . .	335
IV.—Suggestions on some Epigrams of the Third Volume of Didot's Edition of the Anthologia Palatina. By ROBINSON ELLIS, . . . . .	350
NOTE: . . . . .	362
Some Errors in Harpers' Latin Dictionary. By J. H. KIRKLAND.	
REVIEWS AND BOOK NOTICES: . . . . .	365
Hunt's Ethical Teachings in Old English Literature.—Ramsey's The English Language and English Grammar.—Schmitt's Ueber den Ursprung des Substantivsatzes mit Relativpartikeln im Griechischen.	
REPORTS: . . . . .	377
Germania.—Rheinisches Museum.	
BRIEF MENTION, . . . . .	396
RECENT PUBLICATIONS, . . . . .	399
BOOKS RECEIVED, . . . . .	406

# CONTENTS.

v

## No. 56.

I.—The Third Class of Weak Verbs in Primitive Teutonic, with Special Reference to its Development in Anglo-Saxon. By MARGUERITE SWEET, . . . . .	409
● II.—On the Judæo-German Spoken by the Russian Jews. II. By LEO WIENER, . . . . .	456
III.—Notes on the Use of Gerund and Gerundivæ in Plautus and Terence. By SAMUEL BALL PLATNER, . . . . .	483
REVIEWS AND BOOK NOTICES: . . . . .	491
Hillebrandt's <i>Vedische Mythologie</i> .—van Leeuwen's <i>Aristophanis Vespæ cum prolegomenis et commentariis</i> .—Fennell's <i>Pindar: The Olympian and Pythian Odes</i> .—Wunderlich's <i>Der deutsche Satzbau</i> .	
REPORTS: . . . . .	506
Hermes.— <i>Journal Asiatique</i> .— <i>Rheinisches Museum</i> .	
BRIEF MENTION, . . . . .	520
RECENT PUBLICATIONS, . . . . .	523
BOOKS RECEIVED, . . . . .	529
INDEX, . . . . .	533



# AMERICAN JOURNAL OF PHILOLOGY

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WHOLE NO. 53.

## I.—VEDIC REDUPLICATION OF NOUNS AND ADJECTIVES.

The object of this paper is to point out the noteworthy parallelism to be seen in the reduplication of nominals and in that of verbs in the Vedic language. As the verb has present, perfect, aoristic, and secondary (intensive, desiderative) reduplication, so the noun or adjective may appear sporadically reduplicated in such wise as to suggest present, perfect, aoristic, or secondary reduplication. These terms, although manifestly incongruous in connection with nominals, I shall employ for the present, in order more clearly to indicate the mutual resemblance of the several formations.

The conditions of verbal reduplication are plainly given in the grammars. In the present a long radical is shortened, *r* is replaced by *i*, and in some cases a radical *a* may be represented by the same palatal vowel. Characteristic of aoristic reduplication is the preference for a heavy syllable (*ádūduṣam*), sometimes at the expense of the radical (*ávivāṣam* from *vāṣ*), with the change of radical *a* or *r* to *i* (*djījanat*) when the radical is light, without it when the radical is heavy (*ádadakṣam*). The present reduplication of *a* with *i* is, on the other hand, unlengthened; thus, present *jigāti*, *tiṣṭhāti*; aorist *ájījanat*.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> It is, however, extremely rare to find roots having at the same time reduplicated aorists and presents. Only four of these, so far as I know, show an aoristic reduplication that is the lengthened form of the present, viz. in RV. *bīhhiyāt bībhayāt*, *pīparṇi pīparat*, *yuyōti (yūyot?)*, with one more in RV.-AV.: *ṭīṭir-* (RV. ptc.), *atīlaras*, AV. The few roots remaining that have a mutual but more differentiated reduplication are *mamatsi dmimadanta*, *vavartti avīrṣtat*, *juhuras jihvaras* (later *jih-*). These are all in RV. Add one case of equivalence: *suṣvati*, RV. with *asuṣavus*, AB. All other roots reduplicated in the

The reduplicated aorist has then affinity with the present and with the perfect (pluperfect *ádadaḱṣam*), and some of its supposed forms are to be interpreted rather as perfects, if their meaning be employed as an aid.<sup>1</sup> In one case an approach to perfect form is seen in the employment of the *-e* (middle) as 3d person, *atūlape*, yet with aoristic reduplication.

The reduplication of desideratives has this in common with the temporal reduplication just noticed, that *a* and *ṛ* are reduplicated with *i*, while occasionally the reduplicating stem-vowel is made long. Desiderative forms are chiefly found in the present system in the early language.

The reduplication of the intensive, on the other hand, is more closely connected with that of the perfect. In distinction from the present and aoristic forms, radical *a*, *ṛ* are reduplicated in the perfect with *a*, not with *i*. In agreement with intensive reduplication this vowel is often long (*dādhāra*), though generally short.

Intensives, which belong, as a primary class, to the early and die out in the later language, are reduplicated in three ways: 1) simple form, *a* with *ā*, *i* with *e*, *u* with *o*; 2) middle form, the whole root is reduplicated or the root in weakened form; 3) strong form, the root is reduplicated, with a connecting vowel added. Examples are: 1) *vāvad*, *cekit*, *ṣoṣuc*; 2) *carcar*, *caṅkram*, *badbadh*; 3) *ganīgam*, *saniṣvan* (before two consonants; see Grammar, §1002).

It will be seen that in some cases it is difficult to distinguish perfects from intensives, notably in the participle, where the forms, except for accent, are sometimes identical, and in some subjunctive forms where even the accent points to the form being rather perfect than intensive. But the accent is not fixed. Thus we have *rārahāṇā* with *badbadhānā*, *rārāṇas*; and the doubtful forms *āmīmet*, *tūtōt*, *dūdhot*, the last of which are reckoned by Whitney perfects or aorists; by Grassmann, intensives.<sup>2</sup> So the participle *ṣṭṣujāna* is undoubtedly, as Whitney classifies it, an intensive (Grassmann 'perfect'), and yet it is of the same reduplication with that in the perfect *ṣṭṣuvus*, and in *jūjuvus jūjuvānā* (though the participle to *ṣṭṣuvus* is *ṣṭṣuvāna*!). The sense of

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present have at any period only an hypothetical (i. e. *unbelegte*) reduplication of the aorist. The present *i*-reduplication is optional in *viraṣ-*, *vavaṣ-*, both in RV. The same reduplication of radical *a* appears sporadically in the perfect *vivakvāns*.

<sup>1</sup> Compare Whitney, Grammar, §868.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, §§868, 1008, 1013.

these intensives is also such that they are in some cases better classed with perfects (Grammar, 1008, 1024). In a word, both in form and sense it is often difficult to decide whether we are dealing with a perfect or an intensive formation.

If all reduplication had originally a common signification it would be natural to expect that perfect forms with strong reduplication—like that of the simple intensive—would often retain the force of that signification sufficiently to prevent the growth of a parallel intensive form, and that, when an intensive was made from the same root, it would not be of the simple, but of the middle or strong intensive form. With this expectation I have collected the examples of the strong perfect (i. e. with heavy reduplication) with the following result, as drawn from a tolerably complete list of such forms compared with the forms of intensives developed from the same source :

- kṛp*, *cāklpé*, no intensive (i. e. none known in literature).  
*kan*, *cākán*, *cākánanta* (later *cakāná*), no intensive.  
*gṛdh*, *jāgṛdhús*, no intensive.  
*jū*, *jūjuvús*, no intensive.  
*tu*, *tūtāva*, intensive only in the strong form *tāvítvat*.  
*tuj*, *tūtujāná* (both accents), *tutujyāt*, no other form of intensive.  
*tṛp*, *tātrpāná*, RV., *tātrpús*, AV., no intensive.  
*tṛṣ*, *tātrṣāná*, RV., *tāt*-, etc., RV., *tātrṣús*, AV., no intensive.  
*dī*, *dīdīyus*, no intensive.  
*dhi*, *dīdhima*, RV., no intensive till TS. *dedhyat*.  
*dṛh*, *dāḍrḥāná*, *adadṛhanta*, no intensive.  
*dhr*, *dādhāra*, *dadhré*, intensive *dardharṣi*, RV.; later *dādharti*, *dādhrti*, TS.  
*dhṛṣ*, *dādhṛṣús*, AV., *dadharṣa*, RV., no intensive.  
*paj*, *pāpajé*, isolated form, Whitney as perfect; PW. and Grassmann, intensive.  
*pī*, *pīpyāná*, *pīpyús*, no intensive.  
*nam*, *nānāma* (p. *nā*-), intensive only in the form *nānnamiti*.  
*bhī*, *bībhāya*, AB., no intensive.  
*mah*, *māmāhas*,<sup>1</sup> *māmāhāná*, etc., no (other) intensive.  
*mī*, see note below.  
*mṛj*, *māmṛjús*, intensive only *mārmṛjat*.

<sup>1</sup> *māmahanta*, *cakramanta* and the like are to be defined as reduplicated preterites. Further classification is otiose, for they are not pluperfects in sense. They lie between perfects and intensives. The first is in reduplication intensive, as the perfect itself is intensive, but in form it is a simple preterite.

*mṛṣ, māmṛṣús*, intensive only *mārmṛṣat*.

*rah, rārahāṇá*, no intensive (pf. accent, but PW. 'intensive').

*rakṣ, rārakṣāṇá*, no intensive.

*radh, rāradhus*, intensive *rāranddhi* (?).

*ran, rārdṇas, rārán*, etc.

*rabh, rārabhe, rarabhmá*, no intensive.

(*vak*) *vañc, vāvakre*, RV., isolated, intensive *avāvacit* (?).

*van, vāvántha, vāvana, vavandhi*, intensive only in the derivative adj. *vānivan*.

*vaṣ, vāvaṣús*, no intensive.

*vas, vāvasāná*, no intensive.

*vṛj, vāvṛje, vavṛjus*, intensive ptc. in the form *vārīvṛjat*.

*vṛt, vāvárta*, intensive *vārvarṭti* and *varīvartti* (*avarīvur*).

*vṛdh, vāvṛdhé, vāvṛdhádhyāi, vāvṛdhénya*, no intensive.

*ṣad, ṣāṣadús, ṣāṣadāna*, no (other) intensive.

*ṣū, ṣūṣuvāna, ṣūṣuvus*, etc., no (other) intensive.

*sah, sāsāha*, no intensive.

*hid, jihida, AV., jihida, RV.*, no intensive.

*hrṣ, jāhrṣāṇá*, intensive only *jarhrṣanta*.

Some of these forms, despite their forbidding accent, are regarded by PW. and Grassmann as intensive. I follow Whitney's allotment. Apart from the doubtful doubt of the perfect-hood of e. g. *rārahāṇá* and the puzzle involved in *ṣāṣadāna* beside *ṣāṣadus*, there remains a sufficiently large number of cases to show that either no intensive, or, if any, a middle or a strong, not a simple intensive, stood beside strong perfects. The grammarians, for example, made an intensive stem *rārabh-* beside the perfect *rārabhe, rarabhe*, but the ancient Vedan needed only his perfect, and kept his simple intensive for cases where he did not use a strong perfect; e. g. RV. *cākaṣiti* gets a perfect only in the epic *cakāṣe*; JB. *tātrasyate* has as perfect *tātrāsa*; RV. *jāgarti* has no perfect at all; *pāpatīti* has only *papīta*; *bābadhāna*, only *babādhé*, etc. The perfect *māmṛṣ-* (see list above) is associated with the intensive *marmṛṣ-*; whereas *māmārṣa* corresponds with *māmṛṣat*, withal not till the Sūtra period. When *dādṛhi* is found as intensive of *dr* the corresponding perfect is not *dā-* but *dādāra*, with which relation contrast that of *dā.ṛhāṇá* above, a strong perfect with no corresponding intensive. The word *dādhāra* presents an interesting study. This is the RV. strong perfect (with *dadhṛé*), and at this time the corresponding intensive is only *dārdharṣi*. But, although *dādhāra* was uniquely preserved



(it never was wholly abandoned), *dādhāra*, in accordance with the usage of other cases, came later into use (JB.), and in this period, when *dādhāra* obtains and *dādhāra* is a mere archaism, arose the intensive *dādhrati*, *dādharti* (TS.).<sup>1</sup> That the strong perfect preceded the simple can be shown by some examples: RV. *dādhāra* later becomes *dadhāra*; RV. *jāgrdh-* later becomes *jagrđh-*; RV. *māmṛṣ-* later becomes *mamṛṣ-*. As a rule, then, in the early period a simple intensive and a strong perfect never go together.<sup>2</sup>

The perfect is by no means confined to its own peculiar endings. It may take with the same stem the endings of the present system, where belong many forms reckoned unnecessarily to the subjunctive (compare Grammar, §815). Again, it may be used in a sense not differentiated from that of a present. Conversely, the intensive, confined, for the most part, to the present system, is often indistinguishable in sense from a present. It is plain from this that, so far as the verb goes, there is not a marked difference in the character of perfect and intensive reduplication. Now, in nominal reduplication, with which, as will be seen, that of verbs hangs closely together, the character cannot be temporal. Is, then, the character of verbal reduplication of entirely different sort? This is scarcely possible. Reduplication of every sort is not temporal, but qualitative. In view of the formal categories where reduplication is shown at its strongest, i. e. in intensives and desideratives, together with the oldest form of nominal reduplication, that employed for imitative purposes or to denote repeated action<sup>3</sup>—onomatopoetica and such forms as κύκλος =

<sup>1</sup> The Pāippalāda text of AV. gives *dadhartu*, a form, however, considered as dubious by Whitney (Roots s. v.).

<sup>2</sup> I know of no exception except the following. If *dūdhot* were assuredly a perfect it would violate the rule, standing with *dodhariti* as well as with *dauidhāva*. But *dūdhot* is a very questionable form. It may itself be an intensive; possibly it is aorist (Whitney classes *yūyot* as aorist, *dūdhot* and *tūtot* as perfects; yet see Grammar, §868). Again, RV. *didhima* has *dedhyat*, but not till TS. Lastly, the AV. gives to the entirely regular *mimāya* (*mémnyāna*) of RV. a strong *mimāya*. This may, however, be a conscious attempt to differentiate the three *mimāya* (from *mā* 'bellow,' *mī* 'build,' *mī* 'injure') of the RV., of which AV. uses two, one as *mimāya* and one (from *mī*) *mimāya*.

<sup>3</sup> The bounds between these divisions are slight and easily transgressed. But for a primitive repetition speaks the large number of whole (*divē-divē*, etc., like *adyādyā*) reduplications, where a word entire is repeated, a logical if not formal reduplication. See the large list collected by Collitz, Abh. d. Or. Cong. 1881, p. 294 sq.

*cakrá*—this quality would appear to be either iterative or that indicated by iteration, viz. intensive.

The first group of reduplicated nominals embraces desiderative nouns and adjectives. They may be referred, as derivatives, to their respective verbals. The relation of *jigīṣā*, *jigīṣu* to *jigīṣase*, *jigīṣamāṇa* is typical of each example in the list.<sup>1</sup>

It was to be expected that from secondary conjugations derivatives would arise with the same modal quality, and there is no occasion to seek for these nominals a primary and independent origin. Such might *a priori* have been expected of the nominals corresponding with intensive verbs, nor would such an apparent derivation invalidate the antecedent probability of an independent growth in adjectives parallel to temporal stems. Yet even in the intensive adjectives there is ground for doubting whether the nominal forms are always derived from the verbal intensive. Observe this in the following complete list of RV. 'intensive' adjectives:

*cākṣmd* has no intensive verb parallel to it. The perfect is *cakṣamīthās*.

*ā-dardirā* stands parallel to intensive *dardar-*, *dādṛhi* (compare *dūḍhi* for *dur-*). The perfect is *dadāra*, later noun *dadru*.

*dadhṛṣā*, *dādhṛṣi* have no intensive. The perfect is *dadhṛṣvās*, etc., AV. *dādhṛsūs*.

*ku-namnamā* (*nannamā*): intensive *nanamat*.

*vevijā*: intensive *vēvijāna*. Compare AV. *rerihā* (epic *leliha*) and AV. *abhirorudā*.

*tātṛpi* has no intensive verb. Perfect is *tātṛpāṇd* (*tātṛpūs*).

*tūtujī* has no intensive verb. Perfect is *tūtujānā*, *tūtujyāt*.

*dādhṛṣi* (see *dadhṛṣā* above).

*jarbhṛi*: intensive *jarbhṛtās* (*bhāribhṛat*).

*yūyudhi*: compare the really intensive adjective *yavīyūdh*. The perfect is *yūyudhūs* (later aorist *yūyudhas*).

*vāvahi*: perfect *uvāha*, Sk. *vavāha*, intensive *vāvahīti* not till the classical period; *vanīvāhyāte*, Brahmanic.

*sāsahī*, *viṣāsahī* has no intensive verb. The perfect is *sāsāh-*, *sāsahvāns*. In AV. *sāsahī*.

<sup>1</sup> Compare *didhisū*, *didhiṣṭhya* with *didhiṣāmi*; *didrṣṇya* (*didṛkṣū* is a loc. pl.) with *didṛkṣante*; *ninitṣū* with *ninitṣat*; *pipīṇu* (voc.) with *pipīṣati*. *Bibhatsū* has no verbal parallel in RV., later *bibhatsate*; so with *ā-ṣuṣukṣṇi*. All the rest correspond (*mimikṣū*, *mumukṣū*, *ririkṣū*, *rurukṣṇi*, *siṣāsū*, *siṣāsdū*, *siṣāsdṇi*) with desiderative verbs of RV. Add in AV. *jighatsū*, *titikṣū*, etc. Doubtful is *iyakṣū* from *yaj* or *aṣ* (A. F. II 91).

*dīdivi* has no intensive. The Vedic perfect is *dīdivāñs*.

*jāgrvi*; intensive *jāgrhī*.

*dādhṛvi*: perfect *dādhṛ-* (*dadhṛ-*), intensive *dardharṣi* (*dādhṛati*, later).

*yūyuvī*: perfect of *yu<sup>1</sup> yuyuvé*, present of *yu<sup>2</sup> yuyuvanta*; intensive *yoyuvat*.

Add to these *jógū* (compare *jóguve*) and *johūtra*. Unlike any verbal stem is *ghanāghand* (intensive *ghanigh-*).

In this list, closely connected with the intensive stem, are

	<i>dardirā</i>	<i>jarbhāri</i>
	<i>nannamā</i>	<i>jāgrvi</i>
	<i>vevijā</i>	<i>dādhṛvi</i> (?)
AV. {	<i>rerihā</i>	
	<i>rorudā</i>	

While as closely connected with the perfect stem are

<i>cākṣmā</i>	<i>tātṛpi</i>
<i>dadhṛṣā</i>	<i>dādhṛṣi</i>
	<i>yūyuvī</i>
	<i>sāsahī</i>
	<i>dīdivi</i>
	<i>yūyudhi</i>

and probably *vāvahi*, both by analogy with *sāsahī* and because *vāvahīti* is much later than *vavāha*. Evidently these should be called 'perfect' quite as much as 'intensive' adjectives.

Turning now to nominals not connected with secondary stems, what should be said of the reduplication in *gāṅgā*, which corresponds with no verbal stem of *gam* or *gā*, to one of which roots (originally identical) this noun must be referred? What of *jigyú*, which agrees in stem only with the perfect (as given in *jigyús*); of *cacarā*, *carācarā*, *cācali*, all to be assigned to the root which as a verb shows perfect *cacāra*, *cerús*, intensive *carcarīti*?

To this question Fritzsche suggests as answer, citing Greek parallels, that adjectives with perfect stems have arisen from the perfect or keep a perfect sense (Curt. St. VI 330), while Brugmann in more guarded language declares (Gdz. II 52. 2, 4) that there are examples of nominal reduplication which "certainly had something to do with forms like *δέδορκα*, *κέκλετο*" and "stand parallel to verbal reduplication." Examples cited by Brugmann

are κεκρύφαλος, κεκρύφωλος (κέκρυφα), βίβηλος (βίβηκα), κεκραγμός (κέκραγα), ὀπωπή (ὀπωπα); *ναυρί*, pf. st. *ναυρ-*, *cákri*, pf. st. *cakr-*, *dadí*, pf. *dad-*, *sāsahí*, pf. st. *sāsah-*, etc.<sup>1</sup>

The question has here been raised, but not answered: Why do adjectives have a perfect stem? What is the perfect-hood of a 'perfect' nominal? What is the 'something to do' that unites *ναυρί* with the perfect of the verb that springs from the same root with its own?

In order to a clearer view of the relation between the nominal and verb in reduplicated form, I thought to examine the nominals

<sup>1</sup> May I be permitted here to raise protest against a certain lack of historical sense displayed by many eminent linguists in citing examples of phonetic equivalence from the great mass of Vedic-Sanskrit forms? No linguist thinks of equating early Vedic words with Hesychian without specifying the source of the latter. When a late Greek word is employed it is noted as such, e. g. *πεποιθῆσις* (loc. cit. Fritzsche and Brugmann). But linguists are wont to disregard altogether this rule of historical propriety in treating of Vedic or Sanskrit words. No matter how late or how *unbelegt*, all that comes out of the Petersburg Lexicon is marked as 'ai.' (= alt-indisch), which can or should mean only early Vedic. Thus Brugmann compares *cirrus* and *cikura* without telling his reader that the latter is not an old Sanskrit word; he calls *arare* 'early'; it is really very late (Gdz. II 52. 4). He compares *πεμφρηδών* with *bambhara*, as have others, without stating that the latter is too recent a word to have any historical right to the equivalence. (It should really be compared with *bumble-bee* and *βομβέω*—an independent formation.) Such late Sanskrit words as are not extant in the whole vast literature of India, if they are to be employed for comparative purposes at all, ought to be registered for what they are worth, equivalent to Greek words given by the latest lexicographers. It would, again, be very useful to know that 'altindisch' recklessly applied to *karkara* and *cikura* means 'late' (post-Vedic), and that *cañcala* and *verihd*, put together as 'old,' belong to entirely different periods—one very early, the other very late. So Fick, s. *ὑλκα*, *υλκο*, says that it was 'bereits ursprachlich' a proper name. It probably was, and there are examples in Sanskrit literature to illustrate it, but Fick cites only *υλκακάρμαν*, and does not say that *υλκακάρμαν* as nom. prop. stands in PW. as 'N. eines Asura, verz. d. Ox. H.' Every Sanskrit scholar knows how great an antiquity that implies. One might as well cite *lanḍraja* as a proof that London was 'bereits ursprachlich' known to the Aryans. The evil seems now to be epidemic. Per Persson cites *purpphusa* as 'ai.', whereas, in fact, it occurs only in Çkdr.; and, less awful but still reprehensible, *gharghara* appears also as 'ai.' alongside of *gḍrgara*—one being late Sanskrit and the other early Vedic (Wurzelerweiterung, pp. 23, 41). So, too, Prellwitz gives *kāñci* and *mandurā* as 'ancient Indic'! As Homeric, Hellenistic and Hesychian forms are fittingly cited as such, so of India, every merely lexicographic form should be cited as such; every late form should be called Sanskrit; and 'ai.' ('early') should be confined to that which is early, viz. the Vedic language. All historic value is lost with the careless method now in vogue.

that appear reduplicated in the Rig-Veda. I found, however, somewhat to my surprise, that, with the exception of a number of reduplicated forms, which cannot be assigned to any Sanskrit root that gives verbals, in other words, with the exclusion of reduplicated nominals of doubtful origin (largely onomatopoeitic), on completing the list of Vedic reduplicated nominals I had almost exhausted the list of such forms.<sup>1</sup> The few remaining I group together after the Rig-Veda group; which latter has not been confined to derivatives from recognizable roots, but I have allowed it to embrace all I have noticed.<sup>2</sup>

Before giving these forms in detail I wish to point out those of two or three sorts where the parallelism between nominal stems and verbal perfects is incontrovertible. Compare first

*cakri*  
*jágmi*  
*jájñi*  
*pápri*  
*babhri*  
*yayí*  
*vaurí, vaurá*  
*sásri, sasrá*  
*sásni*

The stems of *cakri* and *jágmi* are exactly the same with those of the respective perfects, *cakré, jagmús*. In *jájñi* (*áprajajñi*, both from *jan* and *jñā*) lies the analogue of *jajñús*. The two

<sup>1</sup> This in itself is the best argument for the antiquity of the formation, since Aryan forms of general usage are often referable only to hypothetical roots, where connection with an assumed perfect stem would not be plausible. On Avestan parallels see below.

<sup>2</sup> Certain forms are registered as reduplicates in Grassmann which are so merely theoretically, and sometimes these are plainly incorrect. In the case of *dhiḡdṇā*, for instance, there is merely a nominal formation from the secondary root *dhi-ḡ* (*dhā*), like *dās, dā*. The verb is reduplicated, *didhiḡāmi*, the nominal *dhiḡdṇā* shows no trace of reduplication and does not belong in this category. Such forms, too, as *dīsú* (compare *didhiḡú* = AV. *dadhīḡú*) belong rather to reduplicated roots than to nominals. The root is felt as single, as in the case of *jakḡ*, or *cañc* (*cañcala*). I have noticed these roots in their place as important for the theory of reduplication, but in the nominals like *bhikḡḡ* (*bhikḡdṇā*), *dhiḡdṇā*, etc., there is no reduplication, if indeed their roots can claim it even in the verbal stems. Grassmann assumes reduplication for *dās* as well as for *dāḡ*, both of which are more probably determinative, i. e. extended roots (with *dāḡ* compare *kāḡ* and AV. *dpra-cañkaca*; *cakūs* and *kas*; with *dāḡsuri* compare *jāsuri, śāhuri*, AV. *śādhuri*) treated as if reduplicated.

*pāpri* come from roots that show present stem *pīpar*, perfect *pupūr* (= *papar*, compare *mamar* and *mumur*); *pīpar*, aor. *pīpārat*, *pīprat* (compare *pīpru*), like *lāturi*, perfect stem *tutur-*. In *babhri*, compared with the pure intensive *jarbhāri*, there is a stem known only to the perfect (present *bibharmi*, *bibhrat*, perfect *jabhāra* and *babhre*, intensive *bharibhrati*, *jarbhṛtās*). The perfect stem *yayūs* is the verbal parallel of *yayī*; and *vavṛ*, *vavār*, not the present *varat*, *vṛṇōti*, is the only possible form comparable with *vaurā*, *vauri* (*vīvauri*, *vavray* in *vavṛāyāmahe*). So not *sarsṛte*, *sisarti*, *sārat*, but the perfect *sasṛvāṅs*, *sasāra*, can equate the adjectives *sasrā*, *sāsri*. And finally *sāsni* is not parallel to *sanat*, but to the perfect *sasāna*, *sasavāṅs* (= *sasanvāṅs*, cf. *sasanūṣi* in the Brāhmaṇas). In AV. there is, besides these, *ā-mamri*, with which compare RV. perfect *mamṛvāṅs*.

Just as *yūyudhi* is a perfect adjective when contrasted with the intensive adjective *yavīyudh*, so *babhri*, when contrasted with *jarbhāri*, can be called only a perfect adjective. There is here something more than an indefinite relationship. The stems are one, identical.

Just so in the list:

*jugurvāṇi*  
*tuturvāṇi*  
*dadhr̥ṣvāṇi* (with *sāsaḥ* in viii 61. 3)  
*ṣuṣukvāṇi*, *ṣuṣukvand*

*Jugurvāṇi*, *tuturvāṇi* stand parallel respectively to the perfects *juguryāt*, *tuturyāt*; *dadhr̥ṣvāṇi* equates *dadhr̥ṣvāṅs*; *ṣuṣukvāṇi* is to be compared with *ṣuṣucita*, *ṣuṣukvāṅs*.

Of no formal category are

*jāguri* from *jur*, *jṛ*  
*lāturi* from *tur*, *tṛ*  
*pāpuri* from *pur*, *pṛ*

The intensive of *tur* is *tartar* (adverb *vitarturām*), the perfect from the *tṛ* form of the root, *talāra*. With *pāpuri* compare *pāpri* above and *pūpuri* (SV.), perfect *pupūr-*. With *jāguri* compare *jugurvāṇi* above. Whitney alone refers *jāguri* to *jṛ*, *jur*, and not to *gam*, as do PW., Grassmann. And Whitney is right. For it is evident that *jāguri* : *jṛ* : *lāturi* : *tṛ* : *pāpuri* : *pṛ*.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Since the meaning in x 108. 1 is certainly 'going,' it is necessary to ascribe to *jṛ* 'go,' the same secondary form of the root that is found in *tṛ*, *tur*, viz. *jur*.

In the alphabetical list of forms that follows occur all the cases, I believe, of reduplicated nominals in the Rig-Veda, with parallels from the Atharva-Veda. Of these, besides nomina (including adjectives), there is one adverb only, *mamát* (*vitarturdm* being nominal); one pronoun, *máma*; and a doubtful interjection, *jahā* (viii 45. 37, so PW., but more probably a perfect), besides certain onomatopoetic forms. In *madryadrik* there is an erroneous (unconsciously emphatic) repetition of the suffix.<sup>1</sup>

REDUPLICATED NOMINALS.<sup>2</sup>

*akkkhala* (*akkhali-kṛtya*): a shout of joy. Like all such words, it may be questioned whether this is purely onomatopoetic or not. The answer depends on whether one inclines to derive roots from noises or noises from roots. But as many onomatopoetic words are reduplicated, so this *akkkhala* or *akkkhalī* (with which I should connect Latin *eccere* and possibly ἤχώ, ἰάχω, Eho (?), jauchzen, ἱαχος) presents a case of what may be called inverted reduplication—*akh-kha-li*, like *attá*, *ārra* compared with *tatá*, *āpá* with *πῦππα*, *ambā*, *ambī*, German *amme*, with *mama*, *mamma* (the onomatopoetic and *lallwörter* being often at bottom of the same sort)—having a counterpart of straightforward reduplication in the Sanskrit root *khakkhati* (v. l. *kakhati*) ‘laugh,’ which is given only by the native Root-book (*dhātup.*), but is supported by *cachinnus*, καχάζειν. The form καχάζω = κιχάζω might suggest that the *l* of *akkkhalī* was radical, but I fancy, if this word really has a root, it is merely related to that of this Greek form, and that *l* in this and *r* in *eccere* are terminative (compare *alalā* below). Lat. *acca* is *lallwort*.

*araṭud*: implies later *araṭu*, *aralu*, a tree. Compare late *ararā* ‘cover’ and *arari* ‘door.’ The reduplication is intensive, as in ἀραρίσκω, ἀραρίνοι. In the corresponding Sk. verb it is *ṛ*, *ar*, *ālarti*. The sense is of ‘going’ and ‘fitting in,’ so ‘covering.’ Perhaps here belongs *āraṇa* ‘strange,’ i. e. ‘covered, secret’ (cf. pf. ptc. *ārāṇā*); *draṇya* ‘cover, forest.’

<sup>1</sup> Not without importance in considering the motive, if not the form, of true reduplication are certain compounds in which the stem is by predilection repeated to make a composite that might just as well have been expressed otherwise: *bhārabhṛt*, *mahāmahā*, *māhimagha*, *vāsuvāyd*, *saṁsatsvan*, *āṣṣaṣva*. AV. *abhilāpalāp*, *modamūd*, etc.

<sup>2</sup> Some of these forms have been discussed already in the essays of Fritzsche and Brugmann already referred to (in the sixth and seventh volumes of Curtius’ Studien), to which, below, I occasionally refer for supposed cognates in other languages.

*alala*: (*alalā-bhāvantis āpas*, compare *jañjanābhāvan agnis*) to be grouped with 'hello, hurrah,' ἀλαλά, ἐλελεῦ, Bulg. olelē, etc. Later *arare* (inverted; compare λαλάζω, Sk. *lalalla*, *lallen*, onomatopoeic but with different signification, though the use even of *alalā* is not that of ἀλαλά). Compare *gārgara*.

*ātithi*: Grassmann connects the termination with the *thi* of *sakthi* and *udārathi*, but this is impossible. Except in its own derivatives, the ending of *at-ithi* has no parallel in the Rig-Veda (*sák-thi* would give the parallel *\*atthi*), which renders doubtful the root *at*, to which it is assigned (the 'wanderer' = the 'guest'). Perhaps *á-tithi* (as *aṣvathá* = *aṣvatthá* = *aṣvasthá*) is reduplicated for *\*ata-sthi*, *\*táthi*, *\*tithi*, in the sense of *átisthat*, *ástheyas* (forms of the latest books). The guest is 'non-abiding' (compare *āstaréō*). In *atithinis* (*gās*), x 68. 3, the original meaning still holds, 'not standing, unstable' (so *atithigvā*). Compare *dāridra* = 'beggar.' So Av. *asti* = *asthi* = guest, B. B. xv 10 (reduplicated?).

*īyacakṣas*: Perfect *īyātus* (no intensive till Upan.).

*ulūka*: AV. *ulūli* = *ululatus*; Lat. *ulula*, *ulucus*, *ululare*. The same question as above in ἀλαλά, though the 'root' is more plainly developed. The termination with preceding reduplication as in *bṛbūka*, *ṣuṣulūka* (cf. *akḥkha-l-i*), and from recognizable roots *jāgarūka*, *salatūka* (cf. *parpharīka*). The form *ulūlu* occurs later, and the root, if there be one, is probably to be seen unreduplicated in *ulā*, a beast of AV. In Greek reduplicated, δολύζω, etc.; simple, ὀλέω (?). Later *urūka* (cf. *ararē* to *alalā*), perhaps by likeness to *ru* 'cry.' Compare AV. *kārkandhūka*, RV. *karkāndhu*.

*\*kaka* (*śāka*): Compare κάκη, *cacare*.

*kañkala* (*satinā-kañkala*): From the meanings 'comb' and 'harmful beast,' apparently one with *kañkaṭa* 'hook' and 'armor' (long associated with *karkaṭa* 'cancer,' AV. *karkṭi*), *kañkaṇa* 'ring' ('haken'). Cf. Brugmann, Curt. St. VII 277 (RV. *khīgala* can scarcely belong here). This is the earliest (the only RV.) form of this nominal reduplication (for *gāṅgā* see below). There seems to be no connection with *kañka*, AV. I am in doubt, however, as to the propriety of connecting *kañkaṇa* with *kañkaṭa*. The former is an epic word applied especially to the ankle-rings which, like the bells so worn, were for musical purposes, and it seems quite probable that the word may be of the same origin with *kinḥini*, i. e. onomatopoeic reduplication (unless like that in *kīkasa*), rather than from *kañ* = *kar*. So *kañkaṇi* is said to be



for *kiñkiñi*, and in the citation given in PW., where Mbhā. iii 15757 has *kañkaṇa*, the Bombay edition 271. 22 has *kiñkiñi*. Note also that *vi-kañkata* = *kiñkiñi*, as name of a tree.<sup>1</sup> There may be confusion between *kar* 'sound' and 'turn' (in *cakrā*).

*kakāṭa* (*reñi-kakāṭa*): Compare *kṛkāṭa* (AV. *kṛka* = Avest. *kahrka*). It is impossible to dissociate this word from AV. *kakāṭika* 'part of the head' (compare *kākalaka* 'hock'). *kapāla* belongs to the same root (compare AV. *kurkurā*, later *kurkuṭa*). Perhaps *kapāṭa* is related. It is difficult not to class with these *kakūd*, *kākūd*, AV. *kākuda*, culmen, cacumen, caput, like *kapāla* (with *p* = *k* after *k*). To my mind *kūbhā*, *kakūbh*, *kakuhd* (*kakubhd*) shows still a third form of the same (-κεφαλή? unreduplicated). Yet 'top' and 'cover,' and so 'hide' (κίφω), are related ideas (compare under *araṭvā* above). The phonetic terminal change would be determinative, that of *su* 'press' to *subh* 'smother,' *su-c* 'shine,' *subh* 'beautify.'<sup>2</sup> Is *kapōta* also for *kakāta*, like *kāka*, *kōka*? Compare *lopāpaka* and *lopāka*, *lopāṣā*.

*karkāndhu* (*kārkandhūka*, AV.): For *karkam-dha* (as *vanargū* = *gā*), i. e. *karka*, as in late *karkaphala*. *karka* itself as plant = *karkaṭa*. Perhaps *kāṣa* and *kaṣikā* (*ṣ* for *k*) belong here.

*kākambīra*: name of a tree. Compare *kambā*, *kambhā* (adj. Pāṇ) and *gabh-* (= *gambh-irā*). The root appears to be the same with that in *kambard* 'variegated' (cf. *karbura*), a Lex. word, perhaps found radically in *kambu* (Sk.) 'shell.' The reduplication is consonantly that of the onomatopoeica with strong perfect or simple intensive vocalism. It is possible, however, that since *kamb* 'go' in Dhātup. may be the same as *kamp*, we have here a parallel to the (unreduplicated) *kaṇanā* (RV.) 'caterpillar.'

*kōka*, etc. Here belong *kṛkadāṣṭh*, *kikidivi*, later *kāka*, etc. Possibly *ṣakunā* implies a \**ṣaka* = *kaka*, as *ṣikhā*, Sk. *ṣikhara*, is reduplicated from *kṛ* (Brugmann, Curt. St. VII 291), which, in that case, should be added to the list (compare VS. *kākara*, a bird). The names of birds here involved offer a problem hard to solve. In *kiki* it is impossible to decide whether, as Brugmann

<sup>1</sup> *kañkaṭa*, in the meaning 'elephant's hook,' is still marked as unfound in PW. I do not see why this meaning may not be received in Mbhā. vii 187. 47 (*vyajanāñiḥ kañkaṭāṅgaṅgaiva dhvajāṅga vinipātātāñi*) as well as 'armor.' Compare *kalmālika*, etc., and *kilviṇa* with *kañ-kiñka*.

<sup>2</sup> AV. *kakajāṭṭa* = German 'caput gemacht' (compare 'put a head on a man')! *kakubhd* as *kakubh* in *trikakūm* (= *bh*).

will, there is a case of 'broken reduplication' or a parallel to *kóka*, *kāka*, apparently merely onomatopoeic. The same is true of *cicciká*, another bird. *kóka* in *kókayātu* = cuckoo, as *kāka* = 'caw-caw,' crow. Apparently these words are analogues of English *baa-baa* 'sheep,' *moo-moo* 'cow,' and *chu-chu* 'locomotive.' Possibly *ṣuṣulūka* (*yātu*) may belong to the same class, but this I regard as a derivative from the root *ṣal*, \**ṣul* 'leap.' As *jajh*, *jañj*, *ṣiñj* and *krakṣ* seem to be onomatopoeic and yet they make verbal forms (compare *ḍtorúṣ*), so the fundamental sound of these words may be felt as a radical as soon as used. So *karkari* and *gárgara* appear to be onomatopoeic and at the same time contain distinct radicals. Compare the apparent sound-word in AV. *maṭmaṭd* (*yātu*), a bird (?), with Pāṇ. *maṭāmaṭāyati*. The later language has a host of such words, all of more or less spurious rootage. Some are palpably onomatopoeic, *dadada*, ÇB., *bababā*, AB. (respectively noise of thunder<sup>1</sup> and of fire), *kukkuṭā*, the cock, *tittiri*, *cikkira*, and other bird-names. Of this sort in the Rig-Veda appear to be the following:

*akhhkhala* (-*lī*), eccere, a shout of joy.

*alalā*, noise of joy (?), water, like the later separate *arare*, a call, in Çkdr.).

*ulūka*, AV. *ulul*, ulucus.

*kiki-* (*κίσσα*?), a bird.

*kikirā* (*κῆρυ*), noise of tearing.

*kóka*, cuckoo (later *kīnkira*).

[*kṣvīnkā*, bird; compare *kṣvīd*?]

*cicciká*, a bird (*cāṣa* = 'heher'?).

*ciṣcā* (*kr*), hissing noise; compare the root *ṣiñj*.

*dundubhī*, drum.

*budbuda*, bubble.

With later *kāka* compare lex. Sk. *kāṇa* (ordinarily 'one-eyed'), *kāṇūka*, which apparently (= crow, cock, goose) gives a sound unreduplicated. With *krak-ṣ-amāṇa* compare epic *krakaca* 'saw,' lex. *krakara* 'bird' and 'saw.'<sup>2</sup> It is instructive to note the epic usage. What has been called the 'Aryan war-cry,' in view of *alalā*, ἀλαλά and ἐλελεῦ, does not appear amid the many

<sup>1</sup> Compare *dundubhī* with *dadada* 'drum and thunder,' united as in the Sk. drum *ānaka* (Mbh. vii 39. 31), which means also 'thunder-cloud' in lex.

<sup>2</sup> Per Persson (p. 13) utilizes the lex. meaning (a bird) to compare *κόραξ*, etc., and regards *krak* as *kra-k* (*κέρκος*). The two forms stand to each other as 'croak' (of a frog) does to 'crow' (of a cock).

battle-cries, and in RV. it gives the sound of waters (while *arare* has the function of 'hello'). But the soldiers have a cry which answers to hurrah, viz. *halahalā*, while *kilakilā* and *krakaca* (here merely for sound) are also used in the same way. The sounds *caṭacaṭā* and *kaṭakaṭā*, of weapons and of men, show how easily pure sounds may appear when reduplicated like a respectable derivative. RV. *duṇḍubhi* 'drum' is on a par with epic *diṇḍima* (compare above of thunder *dadada*, and English 'rubadub' for the sound of a drum). These are rootless, and it is hard not to put in the same class *gārgara* and VP. *jharjhara*. RV. *hiṇ(kṛṇvdt)* is like the epic shout *hum*. RV. *ṣū(kṛta)* is English 'shoo.'<sup>1</sup>

The same strong intensive reduplication as is found in *badbadh*, *gadgada* (classical Sk.) appears in *budbuddā-yāçu*. *Budbuda* = bubble, compare *bubura* 'water,' Nāigh. Possibly this word is the same with English 'bub' (compare 'cry-baby,' 'blubber,' bube and bubbeln). Here we have a natural origin for what in radicals appears as intensive conjugation (*gadgada* from *gad* 'speak' in the sense of stammering).<sup>2</sup>

The old contention that in *kāka* there is no *ṣabdānukṛti* but a

<sup>1</sup> I have pointed out, J. A. O. S. XIII, p. 320, that *diṇḍibha* (compare the snake *duṇḍubha* = *duṇḍubha*) occurs in Mbh. B. xii 282. 41; possibly erroneous for the usual *diṇḍima*, but like RV. *duṇḍubhi* (C. 10139 has 'ma). It is here united with conches, *ṣaṅkhas*, another reduplicate.

<sup>2</sup> These are all the forms of this sort I have considered certain in RV. In *ulokd* Grassmann sees a \**ruroka*; others find in it *uruloka* or *ururoka* (Z. D. M. G. XLI 499, XLII 152). I think that two words have here been confused. *Lokd* is Latin *lucus*, Lith. *lauka*, water-loo (Fick), from the root \**luc* (found in later *luñc*, break, *lup*, break; compare *ru*, break, and *ruc*, shine, i. e. as in 'the heavens break open,' shine forth), just as *tokd* comes from *tuc* and *mōki* from *muc*. The meaning is *τέμενος*, a place cut off from others (so *lucus* = templum). In *ulokd*, on the other hand, there is *ul-ol + ka* from *ur*, *ul* (*ulū*), then *uloka*, in the meaning *urū* (reduplicated). For the stem compare *uc*, *ōkas*, etc. (without raised form in *ur*, *ul* 'cover,' *ūlbā*). If the *k* were radical and not as in *stu*, *stōka*, it might come from \**varc* (*ulkā*), but I see no reason for assuming the meaning of 'shining' given by all the interpreters. The same word occurs in *ulūkhald* paraphrased with *prthū + budhnd* in i 28, 1 (*ulū* = *urū* as *pulū* = *purū*). In *ruru* the reduplication is accidental (as in *tdthā*, *trātrd*, *mānman*, etc.). If in each language an onomatopoetic equivalence of *h* = *h* be recognized (compare *hāhā* = English ha!), the German *uhu* (*uhle*) might be compared with RV. *uhū*, of geese (*hañśāso ye . . uhūvas*, iv 45. 4). These are, to be sure, heavenly geese; yet compare of the fires, symbols of which are these geese, the expression *jarante* in the next verse. The RV. book-position shows that this *ulokd* precedes *lok d*.

derivative from *kal* (+*apa* 'drive off') may seem to us worthy only of an Aupamanyava's wit. But the lines are not much easier for us to draw in many cases than for the sage whose wisdom is treasured up in the Nirukta. Yet, so far as opinion may stand against opinion, I am inclined to reverse, for many examples, Brugmann's word apropos of such forms: "manches spielt stark ins Onomatopoietische hinüber," and say that many *śabdānukṛtas* get a radical value out of their original use, and then become practically derivatives of the assumed radical, which is thereupon employed like any other root. I have pointed out in my paper on the Aryan Future (A. J. P. XIII, p. 26) that the participle (i. e. a nominal adjectival form) is apt to be the first step in the making of a new verb. Thus 'zipzip' is the sound of a rifle-ball; *zipping* is the adjective participle ('came zipping along'); then 'zips along,' and the verb is made—a racial analogue to the fact that a child uses nouns long before he does verbs, though how far this theory may be extended it is perhaps otiose to inquire. But the more I see of the daily making of language—and in this country there is a large, brand-new vocabulary made every year—the more I doubt the pre-existence of language-making verbal roots, and incline to refer all language to a basis of nominal forms. This topic is practically too apart from my topic for present discussion, but it hangs together so closely with the explanation of onomatopoes, from a theoretical point of view, that it cannot be passed over altogether.

*kākṣa*: Whether there is here real reduplication is doubtful. Brugmann connects with *kaṅkaṣa* and *cakrá* (loc. cit., pp. 255-6, 276). I connect rather with *kāṣi* 'closed hand,' and see a variation of the stem in *kukṣi*, *kuc*, bend, fold, enfold (compare *mad mud*). The idea of bending, closing over, seems to lie in this and in *kaccha*, closed 'hem of skirt,' *kaccapa*, closed beast or rounded ('turtle,' compare below under *kūcakra*); *kōṣa*, 'pail.' The accident of the final being a sibilant and initial guttural does not make reduplication. The root-form may be *kaṣ* or *kac* (*quē*) with determinative, and no more reduplicate than *nakṣ*, *naṣ*.

*kṛchrá*: Compare *kṛṣá*, from *kṛṣ* 'be thin'? Perhaps from *kṛṣ*, like 'tribulation.' If the former holds, compare, with Brugmann, English '(h)lank' ('krank' is doubtful, possibly as a loan). There is no cogent reason for seeing reduplication in this form. If *krank* is related to this word, compare the vulgarism 'peakéd' = thin = ill.

*kakārdū*: *kakārdave vṛṣabhó yuktd āsit*, x 102. 6. Say. (PW.) *ṣatrūṇāṃ hiṁsanāya*; Grassmann's dictionary: "der knurren in den Eingeweiden [*kard*, vgl. *pard*] hat, knurrer"; translation: "dem knurrer war der Stier geschirrt." Ludwig: 'deichsel.' The next half-verse explains the word: *dūdher yuktdsya drāvataḥ* —the steer was yoked to run, for speed. The root is *kṛ* = *kal* (Brāh.) 'drive,' with *d* as determinative, as in *mṛ*, *mṛd*, *mrād*. The reduplication is the older nominal reduplication of the consonant, the vowel as in the perfect (primarily intensive) *kakār-dave* = 'for swift driving,' and so follows 'he ran.' Compare Sk. *kūrd* 'leap.' Persson derives this *kūrd* from an original *skr-d*, *σκαίρω*, *κόρδαξ*. But see Z. D. M. G. 1892, p. 459.

*karkari*: Compare Fritzsche, Curt. St. VI 341; Brugmann, ib. VII 287. Nothing to do with *khargdlā* (another onomatopoeic). Noise as in AV. *kurkurā*, *καρκαιρω* is the basis. With weakened reduplication a host of late cognates, Sk. *kukkubhā* (*कुककुब्ध*), (*kurkura*) *kukkura* 'dog,' *kukkuṭa* 'cock,' *kākali* 'musical sound,' *cucurire*, *kukurikati* (Fick). Add *kukṭurabha*, AV., ghost. Sufficient for my purpose is it to point out the series *karkar* = *kurkur* = *kukkur* = *kukur* = *kukūr*, and again, *karkar* = *kākar* (-*kal*) = (*kañkar*? cf. *kiñkiṇi*, etc.). That is, in these words there is the whole line of iterative forms used to make middle intensive, simple intensive, strong and simple perfect.

This word appears with *gārgara* and *sasarpari* in RV. as one of three musical instruments. This is possibly true of the form of the parallel *gārgara*. But *sasarpari* (perfect reduplication) is by natives explained as 'speech,' and such I believe to be the meaning. It can only mean 'flowing,' and is not on a par with *gārgara* *karkari*, where sound is the basis. I regard *sasarpari* as a perfect adjective = 'flowing' (speech).

*kīkasā*: The meaning breast-bone is secondary. The reduplication implies a *kiñkas* = *kañkas*- or (what is important for other forms noted below) = *kiknas*, as in *kiknasa*, AB. (*k(n)as* 'split'). This form has nothing to do directly with later Sk. *karkaṣā* (PW.) 'hard,' though *kas* = *kaṣ* may be the original development from a *ka* + determinatives.

*kūcakra*: Nipple. According to PW. from *ku-cakrā*. But the meaning female breast and the whole series of related meanings is found in the lex. words *kuca* = *kūca*, *kūcakā* = *kurcikā*, *kūcikā* = *kūrcikā*, etc., so that *kūca-kra* must stand for *kūrcā-kra*. In this *kūrcā* there is the same root as in *kūrma* (compare *kaccha*

above); the idea being 'rounded, curved' (curvus, cervus, *képas*, *cakrá* below). In *cūcūka*, late form, there is possibly the same root, but possibly \**cu* in *cūš* is here the radical (onomatopoeitic).

*kṣú* ('food') = *ghas* with reduplication? If so, compare *psú* (*āpsu*), from *bhas*. The regular reduplication gives *jakṣ* as double root. It is quite possible that *kṣú* is from a separate root *kas* (in another application, *kṣudh* 'be hungry'). The origin of the form would be that of *kṣu-rá* (cf. *kiknasa* above), and 'split (grain)' would be the meaning. In *kṣudh* there would be a companion of *kaṣṭhá* 'woe' (compare Persson, p. 170, note 7, on *fames*), from *kaṣ* = *kas* (AV. *kās* 'cough' keeps the original idea of *kas*). The reduplicated root is pre-Vedic. Compare Avestan *kḥṣu* 'eat.'

*cakrá*, *cakrí*: These forms go back to the root \**kar* 'go, turn, revolve' discussed above. Compare κύκλος, κύλλος, κερκύρα, etc. (often noted). Of the late forms the most interesting is lex. *cañkura* (with modified-middle intensive reduplication) = *cakrá* (with perfect reduplication). For the list see *jāgmī* below.

*cákri*, *carkṛī*: Perfect adjective and intensive noun from *kṛ* make (*skr*) and *kṛ*, *kīr* (*cakrá*, *carkarmi*). The second root is probably originally one with that of *karkari* (above), with special modification of sense.

*cákṣaṇa*, *cakṣāṇi*, *cákṣas*, *cdkṣu*, *-cakṣ*, etc. (AV. *cákṣan*, *cdkṣu*): As in *cákri*, perfect reduplication (*cacakṣ*- of the verb is re-reduplication on the basis of *cakṣ* as a simple root). Compare *cikṣī*. The root is found again in *cakāṣe* (*kak*), epic; *cākaṣīti*, Vedic intensive; and in AV. (*āpra*-) *cañkaṣa*.

*cākān*: What is called intensive reduplication, really strong perfect, and so the accent. Compare *cākṣmā*. The word is related to *kana* 'young,' from *kan*, *kā*. Compare *cakānd* (*kā* : *kan* :: *mā* : *man*). In x 29. 1, where the word occurs it is used in such a way (but Nir. 6. 28 'vāya') as to suggest that it is identical with *πίπων* (= \**cacān* =) *cākān*. Compare *rā*, *rāraṇa*, *rārāṇa* (ptc.), *rará*, etc., with *ran*, *rārana* (pf.), *rārān* ('intensive').

*cākṣmā*: Strong perfect reduplication. Compare *cāklṣé*, AV. The verbal perfect stem is *cakṣam*- (no intensive; gramm. *cañkṣam*-).

*Gāṅgā*, etc. (*gāṅgyā*, *jāgmī*, *jigatnū*): In the verb *gā*, *gam*, is found *jagā*-, *jagm*-, perfect, and *gāniganti*, intensive; *jāgat*, ptc. of the reduplicated root. *Gāṅgā* is peculiar in having modified-middle intensive reduplication from a vowel stem (contrast *kañkar*-). I know of no parallel to this, unless *jaṅgala*, later

Sanskrit, be one. As contrasted with *jaṅgama*, where many go, *jaṅgala* seems to me to be a place where few go, 'jungle' (compare epic *nirjana* 'desert'), with the termination found in *vidva-lā* 'unwise' (not '*vid-valā*'), *vr̥ṣala* 'unmanly'; and I should reject PW.'s explanation that *jaṅgala* has anything to do with *jaṅgula* 'poison' or with *jala*, water. The former *jaṅgula* is = AV. *jaṅgiḍā* 'poison, amulet,' from *gr̥* 'swallow,' literally 'a draught.' But *jaṅgala* and *jaṅgama* both come from *gā* 'go.' So, too, in the case of *gāṅgā*. Compare just like it *jāṅghā* (from *ghā* = *hā* 'go'). In sense and form compare with *gāṅgā* the adjective *sasrā* and *yavyā* with *gāṅgyā*. Does *guṅḡ* (with *sārasvatī* in ii 32. 8) belong here (-*gu* as in *vanargu*)?

In *jāgmi* there is incontestably perfect reduplication (perfect *jagmús*, *jagmē*, etc.). Compare *cdkri*, *kukṣi*, *jāghri* (*jighrd*), *jājñi*, *dadi*, *dddhi*, *papi*, *pāpri*, *babhri*, *yayī*, *vavri* (*vavrā*), *sāsni*, *sdsri* (*sasrā*), *jāghni*, *māmri* (*dādi*, *dūdhi*, *dudhrā*, *sūṣvi*, *vivici*), all perfects.

With *jigatnú* compare *jighatnú* beside *jāghni*, from *han*, with *jahnú* (*jahnāvi*) possibly added (compare *jaghāna*). In *jāgat* lies a parallel to *dadh-*, etc.

Fritzsche (Curt. St. VI 325) compares *γῖγας*, from *gā*, *βιβημι*, but it is scarcely possible that while *gā* = *βη*, *γῖγας* = *βιβās*. The root must be *jā*, *jan* (\**jijat*).

{ *gārgara* (Brāh. *jarjara*): root *gr̥*.  
 { *jīgarti* (Brāh. *-jigarta*?): root *gr̥*.  
 { *jāgartūka*, *jāgrvi*: root *gr̥*, *jāgr̥*.  
 { *jugurvāṇi*: root *gr̥*, *gur*.  
*jāguri*: root *gr̥*, *jur*.  
*jógū*: root *gu*.

We have here a series of forms with RV. parallels to each from *gr̥* in various meanings, generally assumed to be distinct roots. Six roots *gar* are assumed by Brugmann (loc. cit., p. 293); five content Fick<sup>4</sup>; three (or four, *gur*) are given by Whitney. Some restriction can easily be made. Thus the roots marked as indicating 'noise' and 'crowd' are without difficulty traceable to one idea. From 'sound,' again, comes not only the group of sounds under Fick's third *gar*, all of which are garrulous or onomatopoeic, but also the gulping sense of 'swallow,' *gurgula*. It is, therefore, quite unnecessary to set up two *gārgara*. Between 'praise' and 'wake' the connection is obvious, if we follow Hindu

expression in other words. To wake is to rouse, or make rise, while to praise is to raise, elevate, extol, as is seen in *vṛdh* 'increase, praise,' and still better in *ṛ* with its derivatives (*ṛ* alone often has the sense of *arc* 'praise'). There are two *gr*, one of noise and one of motion, as there is a *kṛ* of noise and a *kṛ* of motion (*kar-kari*, *cakrā*, with a *kṛ* of praise, *cakṛti*), and a *jṛ* of noise and *jṛ* of motion (also a *jṛ* of praise).

*gārgara*: Compare *jargurāṇā*. Intensive as in *ararā*, *carcarā*, *tarturā*, *dardirā*, *nannamā*, *budbuda*-. Later (of sound) *jarjara* (compare Sk. *gharghara jharjhara*). Without reduplication, to be seen, I think, in *\*garna* (*gaṇa*), noisy crowd, tumultus. With determinative addition in PB. *gard*, JB. *gūrd*, RV. *gūrdh* 'exalt, exult'? Compare *gardabhā* ('noisy,' as I opine, not 'gierig,' ass); Nāigh. *gāldā* = *vāc* (*gandharvā* perhaps for *gar-dharvā*?). In the RV. verse this *gārgara* appears thus: "Let the *gārgara* sound . . . the *godhā* and the *piṅgā* resound," viii 69. 9. The two last are generally translated as if they were harp-strings. They are really bow-strings (the hymn is to the war-god), and *gārgara* is not a musical instrument, in my opinion, but a war-shout. It is the shout that gives, perhaps, the national name to Graikos (compare γράω, swallow in the gulp sense, and γράω = γράιος), Gallus (for garulus, as pullus stands for purulus), Galatia, Gallaeci, Gallic, German (borrowed), and is contained in proper names, Garga, Galerius. Out of simple noise come γρῦ, gruo, γέπavos, gallus (cock). With further sense from the war-cry comes Irish gerat 'hero,' gel 'valor,' gar, gair 'shout,' Latin gloria.

Another sort of reduplication is used in giving the gulping noise leading up to 'swallow,' gurgles. Comparing *jigarti* with *-jigarta* and RV. *ajigar*, it is evident that the weakened reduplication of present (aorist) is here comparable with that of *jigat* (*pīpru*?). The verbal intensive is *jargur*-, *jalgal*, perfect *jagāra*. Compare the intensive in Latin *galgulus*. With the weakened stem *gr*, *gir*, compare *gal*, *gil*, *glā* 'drop' (like *mṛ*, *mlā*; *man*, *mnā*). A further addition to the incoherent sound- and swallow-idea is, I think, to be found in the *jṛ* form weakened to *jal-p* 'mouthing, muttering' (prayer), which stands to *jṛ* as does *gal* to *gr* (so *tala*, *talpa*, from *tal* = *tṛ*). Compare *nijūr*, and *jūrv* (like *dhur*, *dhūrv*) = *jṛ* 'swallow' = *gr*.

Of *jāguri*: *gr* :: *tāturi*: *tṛ* I have spoken above (p. 10). In *jōgū*, *gu*, sound, there may be a still more primitive cognate of the *gr* above, since this intensive means 'praise' (*jōgū* stands to



*jōguve* as *juhū* stands to perfect *juhuve*). This might tempt us to put the 'praise' words in this category rather than in that of *gr* = raise, exalt, and there may be this connection that *gr* 'sound' becomes 'praise,' and sound over, make a noise over = wake. But the further derivatives seem to show a distinction that makes it necessary to assume the *gr* of motion.

This *gr* 'move, raise, wake' appears in the intensive adjective *jāgrōi* and *jāgartūka*. Compare the pf. ptc. *jāgrvāṅs*. With *jāgartūka* compare *parphartka*, etc.

In the sense 'raise, exalt, praise,' *jugurvāṇi* of this *gr* (*gurdhay*) is to be compared with the perfect *jugurat*, *jugurvāṅs*, and its parallel forms *tuturvāṇi*, *dadhṛṣvāṇi*, etc.

A further development of idea connects this root in unreduplicated form with *j*-equivalents, for *jṛ* 'praise' = *gr* 'praise,' and in the sense 'raised in age, grown,' like *vṛddhā*, is *jṛ* 'be old,' and *gurū* 'old,' as well as *jārat* and *jūrya* 'old.' Other unreduplicated forms are *gīr* 'praise' and *giri* 'elevation, hill,' etc. With *jārat*, *jūrya* = *gurū* compare γῆρων, γῆραι (as in Γραικοί); and *gurdus* i. e. 'senile' (?). Later *jarjāra* in *nirjarjalpa* (VS.)?

*jāghri*: Root *ghṛ* 'drip.' Compare AV. *anu-jighrā* (like *jīgat jāgat*), from *ghrā*, *jīghrati* 'smell.' Important as showing perfect-reduplication (by analogy) in the adjective with no perfect in the verb. Present *jigharmi* [perfect assumed, *jaghāra*].

<sup>1</sup>*cacarā*, *cārcara*, *carācarā*, *calācalā*, *āvi-cācali* (AV. *āvicācala*, *āvicācalat*), *cēru* (*nicerū*): From *car*, *cur* = *cal*. Without reduplication in *kucarā*, (voc.) *vicārin*, etc.

Perfect and intensive forms :

	Adjective.	Verb.
Present, aorist,	<i>carā</i> , <i>cārin</i>	<i>cāratī</i> , <i>acārit</i>
Perfect,	<i>cacarā</i> <i>cēru</i>	<i>cacāra</i> <i>cerūs</i> } AV.
Intensive,	<i>cārcara</i> <i>-cācali</i>	<i>cācartti</i> , AV. <i>carcūrydmāṇa</i> , RV. <i>cācalat</i> , AV.

The strong intensive is found only in the nominal form *carā-carā*, *calācalā* (compare *ghanāghanā*). The Mbhā. gives the modified middle intensive *cañcala* = *cārcara* (compare the still

<sup>1</sup> x 106. 8: Meaning dubious (PW.), but apparently connected with *car* (Grassmann).

later verb *cañcati*). A probable derivative is, I think, *cur* 'steal,' connected with *car* 'go,' phonetically, as is *tur* with *tar*, etc., and in sense as dhātup. *gluc* 'go' = *gluc* 'steal' (*gluñc*). Perhaps late Sk. *cañcu* and lex. *caṇa* (= *carṇa*), meaning 'celebrated,' are of this root. In Latin culcita, cacula, celer have been compared (cilium?). Probably *κίγκαλος* and *κίλλουρος*.<sup>1</sup> The same doubt as in the above besets comparison with *kṛ* forms and with *querquerus* beside *celer*. It is quite possible that *car* = *kar* 'go,'<sup>2</sup> as the root in the guttural form is Aryan, while verbal forms in Sanskrit are made only from *kal*, *car*, and only nominal forms from *kar*. The interchange *skr*, *kṛ* 'make' may have influenced the change of *kar* 'go' to *car*, yet the two forms apparently stood side by side (so *kup* = *cup* and *kan* = *can*). The side-form *cir* (like *kir* to *kṛ*, *gir* to *gṛ*) is found in *cirā* 'long,' indicating time as *kal* does in *kālā* 'time,' *i* in *eva*, aevum, lauf, course (of time).

*cikil*, *cikilū* (Vālahk.), *cikilvān*, *cikilvit* (SV. *cikiti*): Reduplicated root in verb and adjective alike (compare *rārāvan*).

*ciccikā* (a bird): *ṣabdānukaraṇa*.

*jakṣ*: A reduplicated double root, 1) *ghas*, *jighatsú* in AV. (*jagh* doubtful; see Whitney, Roots, s. v.); 2) reduplicated from *has*. Derivative, ÇB. *jāgdhi* 'food,' from *ghas*.

*jājhati*, *jānjati*: Probably onomatopoetic participial nominals from assumed roots.

*jigyú*: Perfect adjective; compare perfect verb *jigyús*, etc. For parallels see *babhrí* below. Desideratives are *jigiṣā*, *jigiṣú*.

*jājñi* (*āprajajñi*): From *jñā*, present *jānāti*, perfect *jajñús*. A perfect adjective, later also from *jan*, of which the perfect is also *jajñús*.

*tātā*, *tātyā*: See below *nanā* and above under *akhhkhala*. Later *tātāmahā*, grandpapa.

*tatanuṣṭi*: Explained as *titanuṣu* and attributed by native and modern scholars to *tan*. The perfect is *tatanvāns*, RV., implying *tatanus* as weak stem. The commentator's desiderative should be intensive. A perfect nominal with intensive meaning. The same root is found in the perfect *tate* (implying a *tā* form of *tan*). It is this root, and not *tas*, *tañs* (*vitantasāyā*, *tañsayādhyāi* in RV.), to which I should refer *titaū* 'winnowing-pan.' To be sure, *tan*

<sup>1</sup> Curtius sets *molacilla* = *κίλλουρος* as if *mola* meant *οὐρά*, or did he take *cilla* to be the tail?

<sup>2</sup> Compare with the form of *cacard* VS. *kdkara*, from *kar* ('sound' or 'go?'), a bird; *babara*, N. pr. TS.; and *vav(a)rd*, *sas(a)rd*, RV., below.



is probably one with *tañs*, of which the original meaning connects it closely with the *tan*-idea. But a dropping of the *s* between vowels is unnecessary to assume (with PW., Grassmann), if the form *tā*, *tate* be recognized as the root of *tītaiū* (compare *cālani*, PW.). We may have here a formation analogous to *dā*, *dadāū*,<sup>1</sup> etc., though it is necessary to suppose in that case either that the weakening of the reduplicating *a* to *i* originally took place in perfect as well as in present stems,<sup>2</sup> or that the nominal *u* of *dadāū tītaiū* was once more widely used.<sup>3</sup> But if we compare *tāy* as a form of the root with the perfect *mimāya*, from (*mī*) *mā*, we get a parallel for a perfect in *\*tatāū*, *\*tītāya*, which would suggest a parallel root, *\*ti-n*, *\*tī*, to *tan*, like *tīp* to *tap* (see below).<sup>4</sup>

*tāturi*, *tuturvāñi*, *vi-tarturām* : For parallels see above.

	Adjective.	Verb.
Perfect,	<i>tāturi</i> <i>tuturvāñi</i>	<i>tatāra</i> , <i>tatarūṣas</i> <i>tuturyāt</i>
Intensive,	<i>-tarturá</i>	<i>tārturāṇa</i>

Note that *turi* : *tāturi* :: *turāti* : *tatāra*, *tutur*-. Compare *tir* as side-form in *tirās*, *tirāmi*, *titirvāñs*.

*tūtumā* : Perfect adjective. The verb is *tu*, perfect *tūtāva*, but RV. *tumrā* shows that there was a side-form *tum* (Latin *tumeo*) : *tu* :: *gam* : *ga*, from which the perfect would have been *tūtūm*-, of which *tūtumā* is the adjective. Brugmann compares *ruvós*.

*tūtuji* : The participle of *tuj* is *tūtujāna* and *tūtujānā*; the present, *tuñjanti*. Compare Whitney, Grammar, §1013. By analogy with *tātṛpi*, a perfect.

*tātṛpi* : Vedic perfect *tātṛpus*. On these forms see above, p. 6.

*dadī* (*dilsū*) : Double reduplicated root *dad*, *did*, as if single, in nominal form. Compare VS. *dadītār*, Pāṇ. *dada*,<sup>5</sup> Çkdr. *dadana*, and the following forms. With *ditsū* compare *tīṭsu*, *dipsū*.

<sup>1</sup> These denominative perfects in *u* are at all times rare. Only seventeen or eighteen cases exist, of which in RV. there are only *dadāū*, *dadhāū*, *papāū*, *paprāū*, *mamāū*, *yayāū*, *lasthāū*, with *jahā* and *paprā* = *āū*. They seem to be used at first only in the third person, whence they extend to the first.

<sup>2</sup> Compare *vivakvāñs* and *jigāhire*.

<sup>3</sup> As in *tandti* = *tanau-ti*?

<sup>4</sup> In the *ṛ* forms both reduplications held side by side : *tatar-ūṣas* and *titir-vāñs*; *pīpriyé* and *paprāū* from the two developments of *pṛ* 'fill' (*pri* and *pṛā*). With *tan*, *tā* compare *san*, *sasavāñs*, *ran*, *rare*, etc.

<sup>5</sup> Compare *dadivāñs* and *dadāvāñs* (AV.), RV. *dadvāñs*.

*dādhi, dadhiṣū* (AV.) = *didhiṣū* (RV.): Compare *did-sū, ditsū*, from *dad*. Pāṇ. gives *dadha* (compare RV. *sasri, sasra*).

*dadhi, dadhān, dadhanvānt*: Perfect *dadhūs*, aorist *adadhāt*.

*dādi, sudādi, dādivi*: Perfect *dādiyūs, dādivāns*, present *dādāy-*, *didye*. Reduplicated root *dā*.

*dadhṛk* (*dadṛh*): Perfect *adadhṛhanta* and *dādṛhāṇā* (present *dṛhaya dṛh-*).

*didyū, didyūt*: Perfect *didyutus*, etc. (present *dyotate*, intensive *dāvidyut*).

*ā-dardirā*: Intensive adjective. Sanskrit *dardara, dardura, dardru, dadru, dadṛt*, Pāṇ. Intensive *dārdṛ-*, *dādṛ-*; *δανδαλίδες* is often compared. The lex. Sanskrit words *dardura dārdarika* 'frog' (compare *parpharika*, RV.) suggest onomatopoetic origin (PW.), but they seem to belong here in form; and *dardara* 'burst,' which has the meaning of musical instrument also, as have *dardura* and *dārdarika*, must certainly come from this root.

*didṛkṣya*: Desiderative, Vedic *didṛkṣēya*, unreduplicated *dṛkṣēya*, RV. Compare *papṛkṣēya*.

*dīdhiti* (*-didhayu*): Perfect *dīdhiyus, dīdhye*, etc., present *dīdhayas*. Reduplicated root *dhi* (compare *dādi*).

*dūdhi, dudhrā, dōdhat*: Reduplicated root *dhu*. With *dudhrā* Benfey compares *durdhara*, but *-ra* is here ending as in *gṛdhra, mṛdhra*, etc. (*dudhrāvāc* = *mṛdhāvāc*).

*dundubhi*: drum; onomatopoetic, analogous to *τενθρηδών, πεμφορηδών* (see above, p. 15).

*dṛdhrā, dādhrvi*: The first is formed as if from a reduplicated root (*r* radical); *dādhrvi*, see above, p. 7. With *dṛdhrā* compare *dhruvā* from the unreduplicated root.

*dadhṛṣā, dadhṛṣvāṇi, dādhrsi*: Perfect *dādhrśus* (AV.), *dadhṛṣa*; present *dhrṣ-*, *dharṣ-*. For *dādhrsi* see p. 6; *dadhṛṣvāṇi* (with *sāsaḥ*), p. 10.

*nanā*: Compare *tatā*. Compare *nānāndṛ*? This word is also found in the lex. form *nānandṛ*. There is no perfect *nanandus* till the epic, and no extant intensive [*nānand-*] except in the late noun *nānanda*. Perhaps *nanāndṛ* = *\*nanānṛ* (for *\*nanānā*), analogous to *svasṛ*, etc.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> I admit that this is rather a daring suggestion. Tradition gives the word to *nand*, and there are not wanting other words of relationship that would give support to the glos being called a thing of joy. The Hindu analogies are, however, on rather a weak basis, for the other derivatives of the same root meaning glos are very doubtful (lexicographic authority); and *nanda, nandana*,

*nanú*: ? Usually explained as *na + nu*. Perhaps only a reduplicated and hence intensive negative. The form would be something like the colloquial *nanú* with which Germans express a sort of prohibitive wonder (as an exclamation).

*nāna, nūndm, pāpā, (a)-pūpā*: Repetition, for intensity, plausibly explains these cases of reduplication. Perhaps *pāpā* = *πῆμα*; does *pūpa* = *pākā* 'cooked'? [See now Persson, I. F. ii 215.]

*ku-nannamā*: An intensive adjective (*nannamīti*) like *carcarā*, etc.

*ninitsú*: A desiderative adjective (*ninitsati*, see p. 6, note).

*ā-pībdamāna, pībdanā*: Apparently contracted reduplication from *pad*, with the adjective of this double root in *pībdanā* (compare *dad, ditsú*).

*su-paptani*: Apparently (like *pībdanā*) from *papatana*. Compare perfect *paptivāns*.

*pālpūlana*: An AV. word from *palpūlay* and means lye, the verb being used of a fuller. This noun, evidently intensive, takes its sense from the secondary meaning of the verb. The original meaning is 'cleanse,' and *palpūl* must be an intensive of *pul* = *plu* 'float' (Sanskrit *palvala* = *palpala*?). The cleansing of clothes is first washing, and 'flow' of water and 'wash' are closely connected (compare *kṣar* 'flow,' *kṣal* 'wash'). With the idea of washing and cleansing the connection with *pluṣ* 'burn' becomes evident. It is really 'purify' from the developed sense. So *pū* 'cleanse,' of fire or of water. With these forms compare *plināti* (*pliyante*, SVB.) and *pāllati*, a dhātup. root meaning 'go,' suggesting *πελεται*, for *pli* is a side-form of *pal* (= *pṛ*, as *dal* = *dṛ*). Curtius united

*nandin*, meaning 'son,' with the feminines *nandā, nandinī*, meaning 'daughter,' is really the signification of the word in Sanskrit. *Nandā* and *nandinī* = *ndnāndṛ* are apparently hypothetical. But the linguistic difficulty in *ndnāndṛ* = *\*nanāna*, through a form *\*nanānṛ* (analogous perhaps to *mama, mātṛ*; at any rate to the termination of other such words), I can get rid of only by a second conjecture, which, however, appears to me to be certain, viz. that *ndr* may sporadically result from *n + r*, as it does in *āv-δ-pōs*. No other satisfactory derivation of Indra has been found. If the god's epithets—*ind* and "*Indra vigva-minva*"—be compared it will seem plausible that the root of Indra is *in* (+ *ra*, as in *nam + rd, vṛt + rd*). Indra is the 'arouser,' perhaps 'begetter,' with the idea of *su* in Savitar. The accent is as in *dj-ra, vṛp-ra*. So Rudrá is from *ru + d + rd*, the 'breaker' (compare *viravd* 'lightning-stroke')? I should derive *ndnāndṛ*, then, from *nanā*, as reduplicated lallwort. In the same way I have heard a whole family (Mass.) use *māmama*, accent on the first syllable, as lallwort for grandmother, while accenting *mamá* for mother.

πέλεται with *car*, but it may be remnant of a time when *par* = *pal*, afterwards differentiated in Sanskrit and Greek so that *par* equals 'go' generally, and *pal* generally equals 'go in or by water' (πόρος, πλέω). Here belong in TS. *pālāyate* 'flee' and in ÇB. *palyayāte* 'go' (given to *i* 'go' + *pali* = *pari* by PW.). Compare *pru* 'flow' and *pluṣ* 'sprinkle' (so *dhāv* is 'run' and 'rinse'). Are Mbh. *pulina* 'island' and *piplu* connected? (see *pīpru* below).

*pāpi*, *pīpiṣu*: Perfect *pāpivāṇs*, *pāpiyāt*; intensive *pepi-*; present \**pīpati* (*pībati*), *pīpate*; ptc. RV. *pīpānā*, AV. *pīpāna*. *Pīpiṣu*, voc., desiderative, *pīpiṣati*.

*pīpiṣvant*: \**Ap.* λεγ. from *pi* (PW.) or *piṣ* (Whitney, interrogatively). Perfect *pīpiṣe*, whence *pīpiṣ-vant*, as in *dadhanvānt*; apparently from a reduplicated root become simple like *dadh-*.

*pāpri*, *pāpuri*: Both *pīparti* 'fill' (*pīparmi* = \**πιλπημι*) and *pīparti* 'pass' give *pāpri* (perfect of former, *pāpivāṇs*). *Pāpuri* (like *tāturi*) from *pr* 'fill,' perfect also *pupūryās*, like later SV. adjective *pūpuri*. Possibly *pīpru* belongs here; compare *babhrū* and *siṣṇu* with *sdsni* (in form more like Mbh. *pīplu*). Compare aorist *pīparat*.

*pīpilā*, AV. *pīpīlikā*: Perfect *pīpidē* (see PW.).

*su-pīppalā*: Sanskrit *pīppalikā* (ÇKdr.) = Lat. *papilla*, *papula*, apparently from *pr* 'fill' (Brugmann, Curt. St. VII 200). Compare aorist *pīparat*. Compare the bird *pīppaka* (*pīppika*), VS.?

*pupūḍni*: In x 132. 6; in form like *caḥṣāṇi*, as if from *pupūr* + *t* or *pū* + *t* (determinative). Meaning and form are unclear.

*pārpkṣēnya*: Compare *pārpkṣé*, *dadhiṣú* above for *didhiṣú*, and *didṛkṣé(ṇ)ya*, above. The form is desiderative; the root, I think, an extension of *pr* 'pass, go,' as in *yā*, *yāc* (cf. *yā*, viii 3. 11).

*psāras*, *psūr*: Reduplicated double root *bhas* in nominal form (?). Perhaps an independent root; compare Avestan *fsu*.

*parpharīka*: Like *ṣuṣulīka*, etc., save that, instead of perfect, intensive reduplication, that of the verb, is used. In *prapharvī* (compare *pharv-arā*) there may be a \**parpharvī* = \**parspharvī* (*sphur*)? Like this are *jāgarīka*, *bṛbūka*, *ṣuṣulīka* in RV. (later *yāyajīka*, *dandaṣṭīka*, etc.).

*balbaja-stukā* (Vāḷakh): *balba* for *balbal*? (*valva*). Later *valvaja*.

*balbūthā*, *bṛbū*, *bṛbuka*, *bṛbād-uktha*: On these words *bṛbū* = *barbar*, etc., compare Weber, Sitzungsber. d. k. P. A. d. W. zu Berlin, July, 1891, S. 29 (795). Intensive and perfect reduplication of *bṛ*, *bar*, *bal* (*balbutio*, *balbus*). The root of these words seems to

me to be the same with *brū* 'say,' as if iteration imitated stammering, just as it does in Sk. *gad* 'say,' *gadgada* 'stammering' = Sk. *balbalā-kr* (Βάββαρος) 'stammer' (*barburá* is a Nir. word for water, onomatopoeitic, like *marmara*, *murmura*; compare Βάββυρος).

*babhri*, *jarbhāri*; See above, pp. 6, 10.

	Adjective.	Verb.
Perfect,	<i>babhri</i>	<i>babhré</i>
Intensive,	<i>jarbhāri</i>	<i>jarbhṛtās</i>

In *sahabhāri*, *bhāra* the simple stem appears (verbal present, *bībharti*, *bībhrati*). It is impossible to connect *babhri*, later *babhṛd* (compare *sasṛá sasri*), with other than the perfect stem. Other later forms may be found in *bāmbhāri*, N. of a guarding genius, VS., and *bambhār* = *bambā*, TS. (Kāth.).<sup>1</sup>

*babhrū*: Compare *babhlu-ṣá*, VS. The root is *bhr*, *bhur*, with determinative in *bhrjj*, *bhrāj* ('roast' and 'shine'), *bhri* 'consume' and *bhurajanta*, RV. By analogy the perfect would have been \**babhrús*, etc., to which *babhrū* 'brown' is the adjective ('burn'-color). Compare *bṛbū*, *pīpru*, etc.

<sup>1</sup> *Bambhara*, which linguists love to equate with *πεμφορδών*, is a lex. word, not connected with this root. It has been suggested—I think by Bradke—that the *ja* of *jabhāra* (side-form of perfect) and *jarbhṛtās* results from confusing *bhr* with *hr*, the later equivalent of *bhr*. The form should be *ja(b)hāra*. Compare *kaku(b)hd*, *jagrāha* = *jagrāha*; *jīgharti*, later *jīharti*. Perhaps (*k*)*hṛd* and (*g*)*hu* (see *juhū*). In some of these cases there is evidently a time-factor at work, in others it may be questioned whether there is not a dialectic difference. Compare *dmu* = *dmhas*, *vivadh* = *vivahd* 'yoke.' In *rihvudn* (*rabh*) = *rihvudn* (*rihāyāh*, *stenanāma*) there is a further change to *ripū*, *stenanāma*, as in *rūpā* 'growth, form' from *ruh*. It seems quite impossible, for another instance, to believe that from the same dialect come, as noted above, a *kar* 'go,' a *car* 'go,' and a *jar* 'go'; a *kir* 'sing' and a *gir* 'sing,' with the various other parallels between guttural and palatal of apparently the same root. Some of the dhātup. forms might, with good reason, play a part in the question of pre-Vedic and Vedic dialect. Thus it is impossible not to admit that *kṛvid* = *svid* must be due to dialectic difference, and in the light of this it seems plausible to compare (Avest.?) RV. *kṣar* 'flow' with *ṣṛ* 'flow,' ÇB. *kṣal* 'wash' with *salild* 'water' (from *ṣṛ* = *sal*; here the dhātup. gives another *kṣal* = *kṣar*). It is, again, as a consonantal variation of this that I regard the unique initials of the RV. root *tsar*, which so much resembles *ṣṛ* in form and meaning (compare *tsāru* 'a creeping beast,' *tsārīn* 'creeping'), keeping, however, rather the meaning of (serpens) *ṣṛ-p* (= *ṣṛ* + determinative *p*), which in turn passes from 'creep' to 'flow' in *srapas* (Grassmann). Dialectic difference seems to me to be a more plausible explanation of these variations than any given by a theory of determinative prefixes.

*bībhatsú*: Desiderative adjective (see p. 6, note).

*budbudá-yāṣu*: Intensive nominal (see p. 14).

*māma*, *mamda*, *māmaka*, *māmakā*: Emphatic reduplication of the pronominal stem as in Latin. But also elsewhere. Compare e. g. Schulenburg's *Grammatik der Sprache von Murray Island*, p. 6: *kaka* = I, *mama* = thou, *uaua* = you.<sup>1</sup> In RV. of personal pronouns duplicated in full occur, I believe, only *tvāmtvam*, and *asmān asmān* (the latter in iv 32. 4).

*māmat* . . . *māmat* (iv 18. 8-9): = modo . . . modo (PW.). Compare *mad* 'delay' (*nimad*, *nimada* 'measured speech'), a developed form of *mā*, like *tu tud*, *ru rud*, *ṣā ṣad*, etc. (*mā* has a presumable *ma* behind it (μῆ-τρον)).

*mimikṣú* and *mumukṣú*: Desiderative adjectives (see p. 6, note).

*madryadrik*: See p. 11.

*a-māmri*: An AV. word of the same kind as others already explained, a perfect adjective (verbal perfect *mamṛvāṅs*). If *mūrmura* belong here it is to *mumurat* as *cārcara* is to its perfect verb. Some interesting side-forms are given in the AV. form *malimlū* (*mal* = *mṛ* as *dal* = *dṛ*, as *cal* = *car*). With the determinative *c* (found in *tu tuc*, etc.) there is Brāh. *malimluc* and AV. *malimlucd* (verbal perfect *mumloca*). With these are related *mlā* 'fade,' *mṛṇ* 'crust,' *mrad* 'crush,' *mra-kṣa* (*tuvimrakṣa*) 'destroying,' *mṛch* 'perish,' *markā* 'destruction,' *mṛṣ* 'touch,' *mṛj* 'wipe' (compare 'wipe out,' American English for 'kill'; and *sṛrdh* 'contend' with *sṛṛṣ* 'touch').<sup>2</sup> With *māmri* compare Latin *Mamars*.

<sup>1</sup> Compare p. 5: "Wie in den meisten Südseesprachen, so sind auch im Murray viele Wörter durch Verdoppelung gebildet, die teils quantitative (intensive, durative, plurale), teils qualitative Bedeutung haben; z. B. *laglag*, 'wollen' (lag, 'Wille'), *daradara*, 'Dorn' [etc.]."

<sup>2</sup> With 'touch' and 'rub' as a basis is related *mṛṣa*, *marūka*, *marūt*, *maryādā* (*maryā*), *mṛṣ* 'mark' (*anu-marṣ* = 'be-merken'). From 'mark' comes *mārga* 'march.' Compare German *mal*, 'spot,' of time (*einmal* = *se-mol*?), and *malen*, 'paint.' The ideas of break and shine (*μαρμαίρω*) are equated in *ruc*, *ruj*, *ru*. With these compare *lok*, *loc* 'see,' which gives us the key to *dṛṣ* 'see,' i. e. *dṛṣ* = *dṛ* + *ṣ*, from *dṛ* 'divide, split,' like *dis-cerno*. Analogous is *sūrkaṣ* 'heed' with *sṛk* 'be sharp, pierce' (compare *ā-dṛ* 'heed'). All of these ideas work back to a verb of motion differentiated in various ways (*mṛtā* itself may be simply 'gone') into rapid going (shimmer), touch, spot, wipe, etc., with 'passing away' (*mlā*, *mluc*) prominent in others. *Mlecchā* may belong here, from *ml* = *mṛ* (of this root) in the sense of 'strike,' i. e. stumble, stammer, just as English stutter goes back to Icel. *stauta*, 'beat, strike, stutter.' In that case *mlecchā* is a barbarian because he stammers. With *mraṣd* (dhātup. *mlakṣ* 'cut') I would



*yayī* (-*yīyū*), *niyayin*, *yayāti*: The perfect is *yayāu* (*yayus*); later intensive, *iyāy-* (?). The present is unreduplicated. Compare *iyacakṣas* with the perfect *iyūs* (intensive *iyāyate*, later). In AV. *yayū* (of the horse) is (like *hāya*) the 'goer.' With *yayāti* compare *jigar-ti*, etc. With *yayī* compare the third singular aorist passive, as with *yayāti* the (red. +) present *yāti*. In ÇB. *yāyajñka*, in TS. *yāyāvarā* (intensive).

*yavyā*, *yavyāvati*: Doubtful in derivation. Comparing *gāngyā*, *sasrā*, apparently intensive from *yu = yā* 'go' (compare *gu = gā* in *vanargū*), as in the nominal *yū* 'traveller' ('going').

*yūyuvī*: From *yu* 'separate' (see p. 7).

*yūyudhi*, *yavīyudh*: Strong perfect and intensive adjectives of *yudh* (*yu + dh*). In the verb *yuyudhé* (no verbal stem *yavīyudh-*). Compare the Mbh. aorist *yūyudhas*. See p. 6.

*rārāvan*: Reduplicated adjective, apparently from the verbal (present *rārāṇa*, *rārāte*; perfect *rārīvāṇs*, *rārē*). The one other case of this sort of adjective has normal accentuation (-*vān*) and comes from a double root (*cikitvān*).

*ririkṣū*, *rurukṣāṇi*: Desiderative adjectives (see p. 6, note).

*lalāṭa*, AV. (*rārāṭa*, VS.), *lalāma*, AV., *lalāmī*, RV.: Brow and brow-mark. If from a root independent of that in *lakṣā*, which I connect above with *mrakṣa*, one strangely like it in derivations implying 'touch, attach, attack, mark, injure,' etc. The late Sanskrit *lāñc = rañc* (in *nirañcana*) 'mark' are forms of *lakṣ*, determinative of *lag* 'attach' (compare the classical *luñc* 'tear' and RV. *rikkh*, AV. *likh* 'scratch').<sup>1</sup> A further derivative is *rakṣ* 'injure.' In dhātup. *rak = rag*, *lak* (lecken) *lag*, and here belongs *rdjju* 'cord,' not as PW. says from *srj*, since a cord attaches, while *srj* lets go. The series of *lag* and *lamb = ramb*, continues in *lañgh*, Nir. *khañje* (*lañga*, Kāty. Çr. Schol. = lahm) 'hanging' in walking (fastening to something), and *liñga* 'mark,' reverts to *\*lig = likh* in the sense of mark, while *liḥ* 'lecken' reminds one of *\*lak* in that sense (*āsvādane*). So much for the striking sense-similarity with the *mṛ*, *ml* root. It appears to me wiser, however, to refer *lalāmī* directly to *li*, *la* (lie, lie on), and

further, in view of 'mark' (*mṛg*) and *mḍa* 'spotted' (dirty or worn-out cloth), unite *\*mlakṣd = lakṣd* 'mark' (compare *maryādā* 'mark'). Intensive adjectives of these roots are RV. *marmṛjénya*, AV. *marīmṛgd*. Persson, p. 65, assumes an initial *s* in *mṛṇ*, etc., *\*smṛ*, *\*smel*. Compare now Johansson, I. F. ii 37.

<sup>1</sup> With the sense of *lāṅgala* 'plough' ('cutter') compare MHG. *sech* 'plough,' Latin *secare* (signum?).

sever it from the *mṛ*, *mā* forms with which, through *lakṣā*, it seems to agree. With each determinative of *li*, *la* (*ra*) a new set of ideas is produced, and the whole body hereto related is very large. So comes from 'rest' the idea of pleasure, *rāte*, joy, etc., the classical *lam* = *ram* 'take pleasure,' where is found the perfect *lalāma*, of which the archetypical reduplication lies in *lalāmī* of the RV. in nominal form and other sense (a reduplication of this root like that in *dadh* gives *lal* and cognates).

*vāvāta*, *vāvātṛ*, *vānvānas*: Here, as in the example above, the only form of the intensive lies in the nominal. The perfect stem is *vāvan-*; from such a stem like *vāta* from *vā* comes *vāvāta* as adjective. In AV. MSS read *vāvātā*.

*vāvahi*: See pp. 6, 7. The epic perfect is *vavāha*, the classical intensive *vāvahiti*. In RV. there is only perfect *uvāha*, *ūhūs*; in Brāh. intensive *vānivāhyāte*.

*vivici*: RV. perfect *vivikvāns*. Intensive *vevekti*, post-Vedic. But PW. regards *vivici* as a *vivat*.

*vevijā*: Intensive adjective. Compare AV. *rerihā*, *abhi-rorudd* (see pp. 6, 7).

*vavrā*, *vavri*: Perfect *vavrivāns*, *vavrus*, etc. The present stem is not reduplicated. Of the intensive stem only the lex. verb *varvr-* is known, not extant.

*varivṛta*: AV. intensive word like *sarivṛpā* in RV.

*vāvr̥dhādhyāi*, *vāvr̥dhēnya*: Reduplicated noun (infinitive) and adjective (verbal perfect *vāvr̥dh-*; intensive *varivṛdh-*, not extant).

[*ṣaṣā*,] *ṣaṣvant*, *ṣaṣayā*, *ṣiṣayā* (PW. 'freigehend'), AV. *ṣiṣira*: Add to these perhaps *ṣuṣulūka*. The word *ṣaṣā*, in view of 'hase,' is regarded as assimilation for \**ṣasā*, from the determinative of *ṣā*, *ṣas*. In this case *ṣasā*, from the idea of *ṣā* 'be sharp,' is identical with *dṣva* in meaning; English 'a sharp pace.' In view of AV. *ā-ṣaṣānd* it is, however, possible that *ṣaṣā* is from the primitive root with perfect reduplication and independent of the formation in 'hase.' These words are all forms of *ṣāṣi* 'be sharp, sharpen,' connected with *ṣi* = *κίω* 'go.' Compare the irregular form *ṣaṣayānā*, pf. ptc. from *ṣi* 'lie.' Compare the determinatives *ṣas* 'cut' (*ṣās*), *ṣaṣ* and *ṣal* 'leap.' *ṣaṣvant* and *ṣaṣayā* (AV. *ṣaṣayā*) are from the idea of repeated action, as in *gāngā*, etc. I see no occasion to change to \**sāṣvant* with Brugmann. In *ṣiṣira* 'cold' there lies the same thought as in English 'sharp air' (AV. *ṣāiṣirā*). In *ṣuṣulūkayātu* there lies a \**ṣul* = *ṣal* and *ṣal*: *ṣā* :: *sthal*: *sthā*, a determinative form. Both *ṣaṣ*

and *ḥal* 'leap' are, however, late roots, though not necessarily denominative. Especially *ḥal* seems not to be so, and it may perhaps be connected with *sal*, since the sibilants are occasionally exchanged, as in later Sanskrit (*ḥasya* = *sasya*, etc.).

*ḥiṇḥāpā*, a tree, and *ḥiṇḥumāra* (= *grāha*) are perhaps from *ḥiṇā*? AV. *ḥāṇḥapā* (sic) and Mbh. *ḥiṇḥa*.

*ḥiṇu* (AV. *ḥiṇukā*), *ḥiṇḥila* (like *vidvalā*, diminutive), *saṁḥiṇ-varī*, *sūḥiṇvi*: Later *ḥiṇava* = *ḥiṇu*. All these go back to *ḥū*, *ḥvā*, *ḥvi* 'swell,' of doubtful perfect in the verb (compare Whitney, Roots, s. v.). The present is *ḥvāyati*; aorist *aḥiṇvayat* (?).

*ḥiṇā-deva*: Perhaps for *\*ḥiṇuna*, from *ḥū* (compare *siṇu* from *san*, *sā*), like *ḥeru* from *ḥi* 'swell' (Ved. St. i 81). AV. *ḥiṇā* 'penis.' I would suggest that *ḥunā* 'prosperity' (as well as, with Benfey, *ḥvān* = lex. *ḥuna*) comes from the same root, in the meanings of 'increase, productive.'

*ḥiṇātha*: PW. 'das durchbohren' (Grassmann, 'Angriff'). The present stem in *ḥnathat*, aorist in *ḥiṇnathat* (no extant perfect, no intensive) shows, as in other cases noted above, that the aoristic reduplication, as well as that of the perfect, is employed in nominals; in other words the aoristic reduplication is only a weakened form of that in the perfect and on a par with the same weakened form in the present.

*ā-ḥiṇḥāni*, *ḥiṇḥvāni*, *ḥiṇḥvanā*: The first of these is desiderative (see p. 6, note). With the others—perfect reduplication—compare *suḥiṇvan* and, for reduplicating parallels, *jugurvāni*, *tuturvāni*, *dadhṛṇvāni*. The intensive stem is only *ḥiṇuc-*; the perfect, *ḥiṇḥvāns*.

*ḥiṇḥika*: See under *ḥaḥā*: *ḥul* = *ḥal* = *ḥā* + *l* as *sthal* (στέλλω) = *sthā* + *l*. Compare *ḥiṇḥila* above.

*sasā* (RV.), *sasyā* (AV.): Compare *sāw*, \**seso* (sero), satum. According to native grammarians *sya* is the same with *ḥiṇḥpa* 'winnowing pan' or 'sieve.' To this *sya* is related, as I think, the determinative *sya-nd* 'move quickly' (e. g. *syandanā* means *currus*). The same relation of ideas is seen in English 'shake' and 'shog' ('move quickly'). This invites comparison with *ḥiṇḥpa* itself, for under *ḥaḥā* was given *ḥal* = *ḥul*. Now, *ḥal* seems to point to a *ḥr*, not, indeed, in the sense given by Whitney, 'resort,' but in the sense of *ḥr* as it plainly shows itself in *ḥiṇḥpa* (compare *ḥr*, *jūrv*, etc.), viz. 'mover, shaker,' whence come *ḥarā* 'arrow' (?), *ḥṛla* 'spit' (used as weapon), lex. *ḥara* = water (compare *marmara*) and *ḥārira* = 'mover,' body. From the

same growth in meaning as in *mṛ* above to *mṛd* there comes *ḡūr*, *ḡūrlá* 'shaken, destroyed,' with which I have elsewhere<sup>1</sup> identified *ḡūra* 'shaker, destroyer.' Fick, on the other hand, gives \**seso* to 'sē' (root of ἵημι) "from the perfect." In either case *sasá* (Latin \**seso*) is a reduplicated noun.<sup>2</sup>

*sásni*, *siḡnu*, *sisāsú*, *siḡāsātu*, *siḡāsáni*: The present is not reduplicated. The perfect is *sasavāñs*, *sasāna*. Compare the parallels *sásri*, *jāghri*, etc. The desideratives are from the verbal *siḡāsati* (see p. 6, note).

*sāsahi*, *visāsahi*: The intensive is not extant; the present is not reduplicated; the perfect stem is *sāsāh-* (see p. 6).

*súḡvi* (RV.), *sūsā* (AV.): Perfect *suḡāva*, *suḡvāná*; RV. present *suḡvati*.

*sasrá*, *sasrí*: The perfect is *sasāra*, *sasré*, *sasrmāná* (!), *sasṛva*, *sasṛvāñs*. The intensive is *sarsrē*. The present has only weak reduplication, *sisarti*. This root *sṛ* = *sal* = *sul* (*prasulāmi* = *pratilāmi* 'go forward': *til* = *tr*, *tar*?), like *lal* = *lul* or, above, *ḡal* = *ḡul*.

*sasarpat*, *sarīṣpá*: The first is not to be compared with the intensive *karkari* (see above), but with the perfect *sasarpa* (present only *sárpati*). The verbal intensive parallel to *sarīṣpá* does not occur till the classical period, *sarīṣpanṭ*. I have explained *sasarpat* = *vāc* ('flowing speech') above.

[*salatūka*:] This word in iii 30. 17, translated by PW. 'umher-schweifen,' by Ludwig 'keil,' appears to be from *sal*, as in *salilá*. In terminative form it is comparable with *jāgarūka*, *bṛbūka* and *ḡuḡulūka*, which suggests the reduplication recognized by Grassmann. Since, however, *-ūka* appears in unreduplicated words (*maṇḍūka*, etc.), and since in *salilá* there is apparently only the ending *-la*, I do not, for my part, think that this is a case of reduplication at all; but I regard it as *salala* = *salila* (+ *ūka*).

*a-paspr̥ḡ*: Reduplicated adjective; perfect of verb *paspr̥ḡ* (x 22. 13; so PW.).

*sasyád* (RV.), *sanisyadh* (AV.): Perfect *siḡyanda*, aor. *ásiḡyadat*, present *syándate* (original reduplication *sasyand-*, kept in classical *sasyande*; see *sasá* above). Intensive participle RV. *sadniḡyadat*.

<sup>1</sup> A. J. P. XIII, p. 6, note.

<sup>2</sup> Could *ḡ* = *s* (in RV. compare Bloomfield-Spieker, Proc. A. O. S., May, 1886), *ḡarpa* would be comparable with the denominative *sarp*, and perhaps a change which is not unusual later may now and then be safely assumed for an earlier period (see above under *ḡaḡd*).

*sasvár*: Analogous to RV. *sasrút* and later *sasvaram*. This should mean 'with sound,' but, on the contrary, it means 'quietly, in secret,' as does *sasvarta*, the adjective (*sasvartā*). PW. discreetly refuses to give the etymology; Whitney places the word under *svar*. There is an epic *sasvara* (Latin *susurrus*), but in *sasvár*, if belonging to *svar* at all, there must be a *sa* = *sē* = 'without.' I think it more probable, however, that *r* in this word is an adverbial ending, as in *prātár*, *antár*, and *sasva*, *sasvár*, *sasvartā* are to each other as *múhu*, *múhur*, *muhúrtā*. The *sasva* so obtained I take to be from dissimilation for *\*svasva* 'for one's own self.' The same *sva* might, however, as plausibly be supposed to be united with *svar*, and *svasvár* would be 'murmuring to oneself' (?), just as *svasít* (RV.) is 'going by oneself.'

*jāghāna*, *jāghni*, *jāghatnú*, *ghanāghand*: Of the last word (compare *carācarā*) I have spoken above, p. 7, as of one exhibiting what may be called the nominal strong intensive as opposed to that of verbals, *ghanighnat*, the participle, as is so often the case, preceding true verbal forms (see my paper on the Aryan Future, p. 7). The noun *jāghāna* corresponds with the perfect *jāghāna*, of which stem the forms *jāghni* *jāghatnú* are, as in *jāgmī* *jāgatnú*, contracted. Perhaps *jahnú* *jahnāvi* belong here. Compare the late form *jaghnu* and *jahnuyāt*, Vās. i 23 (Bühler 'offend'). The intensive equivalent of *jagh-* is found in the verbal form *jānghanat*.

*jāñhas*, *jāñghā*: Both from *ghā* = *hā* 'go' (*hāyanā* 'goer'; compare aevum). Compare Sanskrit *jañga* and *jañgama* and RV. *gāñgā* for the nasal. Whitney ascribes *jāñghā* to *han*; PW. to 'jañh.' Compare later *jāhāka*, *jahana*.

1) *juhū* 'spoon': As the intensive *jōguvé* stands to *jōgū* so the perfect *juhvé* = *juhuve* stands to *juhū*; present *juhulé*. There are two words, *juhū* 'spoon' and *juhū* 'tongue,' the latter an application of the former, according to Grassmann, while PW. regards the 'spoon' as called *juhū* because it resembles the tongue. This *juhū* 'spoon' comes, however, from *hu* 'pour' (oblations), 'sacrifice.' See the next word.

2) *juhū*, *jihvā*, *jihvikā* 'tongue,' *johūtra* 'calling': This *juhū* comes from *hū* 'call,' perfect *juhvé* (as of *hu* 'sacrifice'); present also reduplicated *juhūmāsi*, etc. The intensive is *jōhavīti*, *jōhuvāna*, from which stem comes *johūtra*. The determinative form of this *hū* is to be found in the older *ghu-ṣ* 'sound' with aorist and adjective *ghóṣi*, noun *ghóṣa*. As this word still survives in

*gh* form, while *hū* has only *h* in R.V., the two nouns were probably for a time kept apart as *jughū* 'tongue' and *juhū* 'spoon,' then subsequently identified, as *ghū* became *hū* (compare *gr̥hū* = *gr̥bhū*, R.V.). I see no difficulty in identifying this form with that in *jihvā*, for *jihvā*, from *hū*, *hvā*, has exactly the same reduplication as appears in *ṣiṣvan*, *ṣiṣu*, from *ṣū*, *ṣvā* (and has, therefore, nothing to do with *lingua*, *dingua*, which comes, I think, from *digh*, *dih* 'taste,' literally 'touch,' as 'tasten' becomes 'taste,' confused with *lih*, *lingo*, 'lick'); but see below under *jihma*.

*jāhusd*, *jihmd* and *arhariṣvāni*: Three doubtful derivatives close the list. *Jāhusd* is a proper name like *Jahnū* above (compare later *Jahu*), and appears to contain some sort of reduplicated stem, perhaps from *hvā* (*ghuṣ*?). In *jihmd* there is a reduplicated root *jih*, apparently from *hā* 'leave,' found in *jéhamāna* (so Whitney), with the ending as in *áj-ma* (PW. to *hvar*). The meanings 'loll, pant,' 'lechzen,' might suggest that *jihvā* is to be divided *jih-vā* instead of *ji-hvā*, and ascribed to this root. The derivation given above seems to me, however, more plausible. The last of these words, *arhariṣvāni*, may not contain reduplication at all, though so interpreted by PW., which compares *da-dhr̥ṣvāni*. It is an epithet of Indra, and, according to PW., imperfect reduplication of *hr̥ṣ*. Sāyaṇa says *arhari* + *svāni*. Comparing another epithet of Indra, *ṛṣvāñjas*, and the fact that *Arha* = Indra, according to native lexicographers, I am inclined to divide *arha* + *ṛṣvā* + *ni* (compare *turvā*, *turvāni*). This adjective (*ṛṣvāni*) *ṛṣvā* is especially used of Indra. The ancient word *\*arha* is from *arh* = ἔρχομαι as *ardh* = εἰθεῖν, and is connected with *ar-ch* 'get to' a thing, while *ardh* means 'arrive, thrive,' and *arj* 'attain'—all of these determinatives showing movement as the base (*r*, *ar*).<sup>1</sup> So in *arha-ṛṣvā-ni* lies perhaps an ἄψι βίβις ('lofty in gait') rather than 'worthily high.' If a reduplicated form, it should (apart from the absence of reduplication!) be from *hr̥* rather than from *hr̥ṣ* (compare SV. *dlar̥ṣi* from *r̥*).

It is instructive to add to these forms, if but to see their rarity, those of the later literature referable to recognized roots. I have collected the latter from the denominative forms under each

<sup>1</sup> Compare ὀρχέομαι with ἐρχομαι, ὄρχος with ἄρχω; in *arh*, *arghd* there is the same thought developed as in ἄρχω. In fact, even in legal Sanskrit *danḍam-arhati* means 'he gets punished, he attains to punishment' quite as much as 'he deserves punishment.' Compare English 'I have got to' = I should, I ought. Compare viii 3. 17: ṛṣvābhir ὃ γαῖ, etc.

verbal in Whitney's Roots, excluding only the desideratives, which in the later period can be made from almost any root, and become, indeed, rather a fad of the classical period. Of these I would note only, as companion forms to some of those cited above, *çuçruśēnya*, TS.; *jijanayiṣitavyā*, ÇB.; *jijñāsenya*, *jijñāsu*, Brahmanic and epic. The epic list may be illustrated by *pipṛkṣu*, *rurukṣu*, *vivikṣu*, *cukopayiṣu*, *cukṣobayiṣu*, and so forth. The onomatopoetic and reduplicated forms not referable to Sanskrit roots are also excluded, although some of these seem to be connected with roots still living in other languages, e. g. *mirmirā* 'blinking,' TS.; *marmara* 'rustling,' Ragh.; *dardara*, *dārdura*, *dardurā* 'frog, drum' (see above); *murmura*, name of a river in the Mbhā.; compare also classical *miṇmiṇa* 'nasalizing,' *caṅkurā* from *kar* 'go,' Vedic *babara*, a proper name, etc., none of which has, however, certain connection with any known Sanskrit root.<sup>1</sup>

Simple reduplication: Vedic *-jigitha*; Upan. (chānd.) *babhasa*; Mbh. *piplu*, *mumucu*; R. *jijñu* (?); class. *paśpaçā* (perfect *paçpaçé*; see above *apasṛç*).

Simple intensive: ÇB. *yāyajñka*; Yājñ., Mbh. *lolupa*; Mbh. *lālasa*; class. *nonuva*.

Middle intensive: AV. *dpra-caṅkaça*, *adhi-caṅkramā*, *jaṅgiḍa* (*jaṅguḍa*, *jaṅgala*); compare the AV. and Brāh. forms in the list above; TS. *carci*; VS. *nirjarjalpa*; Nir. M. *jaṅgama* (compare *dandrama-ṇā*); Mbh. *caṅcala*, *jarjara* (*dandaçṭika*; *dandaça* in Wilson), *dandhvana*, *manmatha*; classical *-jaṅjapa* (*jaṅjapṭika*).

Strong intensive: Besides those above, in AV. *paniṣpadā*, *marimṛçā*, *sanisrasā*; VS. *kanikradā*; ÇB. *dāridra*; Ait. Br. *a-vadāvadā* (class. *vadāvin*); Kauç. S. *patāpatā*.

It is evident that the mass of reduplicated nominals is old. The formation is obsolescent even in Vedic times. The cases in Avestan show also primitive character. Note *kakahyu*, *kahrka*, *cakuša*, *cakhra*, *carekarethra*, *cicarena*, *cicašāna*, *jaghāuru*, *jaghrud*, *jahi*, *jazhu*, *tūtuc*, *dadaiti*, *dadus*, *dadāñši*, *dadhañh*, *dādara*, *dādhmainya*, *didadha*, *didraghzhāñh* (*dazda*, *dadhvāo*), *hañuharena*. Some of these are evidently the same with their

<sup>1</sup> The question of the relation of onomatopoetic and radical forms has been discussed above. As good examples of the radicalizing of onomatopes may be cited JB. *cukṣūṣati*, which naturally means 'sneezes,' and classical *hikkati* 'sobs' (hiccup). The forms in the following list exclude, of course, also such given by Pāṇini as are unfound, e. g. *aṭātyā* (= *aṭaṭā*) = *aṭā*, although they have an importance of their own.

Sanskrit fellows: *kahrka* = *kṛka*; *cakhra* = *cakrá*; *jaghāuru* = *jāgarūka*, etc. Compare also Jackson's Av. Gr. §745, note 2.

With an attempt to answer one or two questions connected with the subject of reduplication, I close the inquiry into the nature of this formation. From what evidence is handed down in the forms and use of them syntactically, I am persuaded that all reduplication is at bottom that which it shows itself most plainly to be in desiderative, intensive categories, and onomatopoetic sporadic cases—a means of emphasis by repetition; and that in the perfect there remains only a survival of this force. The same applies to present and aoristic reduplication, which has, for secondary purposes, been subsequently differentiated from that of the perfect, as was that of the intensive category. As this is all theory, however, it is perhaps useless to expand the theme.

A very practical question arises, on the other hand, in the interpretation of what for the nonce I call, with others, weak perfects. I ventured above to place the perfect *cerús* alongside of the adjective *cēru*, as if it stood in the same relation to it as does *cacāra* to the adjective, *cacard*. These perfect stems—*lep* beside *tap*, *debh* beside *dabh*, *nem* beside *nam*, *pet* beside *pat*, and the like—are often explained as due to contraction. From a strictly Sanskrit point of view, I do not believe that this position is tenable. They appear to stand to their radical equivalents in exactly the same relation as stand the like forms of present stems to their respective radical equivalents: *ej* to *aj*, *bhres* to *bhraç*, *edh* to *ardh*, *eç* to *arç*, *yeç* to *yas*, *ven* to *van* (compare later *vell* to *val*), etc. Now, although Grassmann illogically (as compared with his explanation of other like forms) explains *ven* as contracted reduplication from *van*, few, I fancy, will uphold him (I. F. ii 36 an attempt to explain *yeç* as thus formed from *yas*). To all appearance the stems of these presents are like the stems of the raised perfects, thus: *vānate* : *vēnate* :: *namē* (pres.) : *nemē* (pf.). The mutual relation of the first proportion is elucidated by the fact that besides *e*-forms are sometimes found *i*-forms. Thus *ṣjate* 'drives' stands between *ājati* and *ṣjati*. This leads us to the question whether the 'weak' perfects are not also from parallel *i*-roots. Reduplication is not necessary to the perfect; *takç*- and *yam*- being perfect stems as well as *tatakç*- and *yayam*-. Take now *cerús*, AV. perfect. Just as *tir* stands beside *tar*, *gir* beside *gar*, *kir* beside *kar*, so it is reasonable to assume a *cir* beside *car*. This is found in raised form in the adjective *cēru*, and in unraised



form in the adjective *cirá* (: *car* :: *tírd* : *tar*), while from *car* comes *cará*, *cāra*.

To trace out such parallel roots is a task not unopen to many doubts. But it is worth investigating, if only for the general result. All later raised perfects may be fairly reckoned imitative (*cem*-, *cel*-, *ter*-, *jep*-, *ned*-, *res*-, *lep*- in the epic, and *deh*-, *bhrem*-, *les*-, *vem*- in the classical period), although *cel*- might, indeed, be suspected in *cilicima*, *ter*- in *tírás*. But the forms of the early language are the only ones worth examining, and here I think are found some more or less probable indications of parallel *i*-roots. Thus of RV. and AV. forms—

With *cerús*, AV., compare RV. *círd*, *círu*.

With *tepāná*, RV., compare lex. root *típ*, *tepati* 'drop, dribble,' i. e. melt = be hot (*tap*), exactly like *ghr* 'drip,' *gharmá* 'hot.'

With *debh*-, RV., compare dhātup. *dibh* (*dimbh*) 'drive, agitate,' with the same growth of meaning as in *yu*, *yudh*, and in *in* 'drive' compared with *em* 'injure.'

With *nem*-, RV., compare the noun *nemi* and the ptc. adj. *nimnd* (of waters) with *ne-d* 'flow.' Here *\*nim* : *nam* :: *çim* : *çam* :: *tim* : *tam*.

With *sed*-, RV., *śdati* (like *ijate*),<sup>1</sup> compare AV. adj. *sedī*.

With *sep*-, RV., compare *sev*, both meaning 'serve,' and the latter a denominative (*sévate*, *sévati*).

With *seh*-, RV., compare AV. *śhu* (?), *siṁhá* (*\*sih*) 'seizer' or 'strong' (= *sāhd*).

From the forms of the Brāhmanic period :

With *neç*- compare dhātup. *niç* 'hide' and (RV.) *niç* 'night.'

With *ped*- compare *pedú* (like *perú* from *pír*, *par*?).

With *meth*- compare *mith*, *methati*, *mithás*, *mithū*.

With *men*- compare *ménā* (see below *ma*, *mī*).

With *rebh*- compare *ribhvan* 'thief' (Nāigh.).

With *rem*- compare Pāṇini: "*remī*, a Vedic adjective from *ram*" (i. e. *\*rim*, like *nemī* to *nam*, *\*nim*).

With *fed*- 'fall' compare *çi* 'fall' (Roots, s. *çi*).

With *çem*- 'be quiet' compare "*çam* = *çim*" (Whitney) and the Vedic adjective *çima*.

With *çrem*- compare *çri*, *çréni* ('lean, be weary').

Some of these parallel *i*-roots may seem questionable, but in many it is impossible not to see the original form of the adjectives

<sup>1</sup> If from *sīd*, this should be *siḍ*, like *niḍ* and *piḍ*.

corresponding: in *céru*, *nemí*, *remí*, *sedí* are adjectives apparently raised as denominatives from *i*-roots like their comrades *édha*, *eṣṣá*, *léjas*, *bhedá*, *réku*, *védas*, etc. Such roots, analogous to *kim kam*, are extant in *ḡim* = *ḡam*, etc., and may be assumed more readily than to regard the adjectives as formed apart from the like formation in *léjas*, etc. The surprising similarity of *cerús*, *céru*; *sedús*, *sedí*, etc., is rationally explained in accordance with analogy and probability as derivatives of the same radical. These are perfects made without reduplication; their strengthening lies not in repetition, but in the raising of the vowel. So *nemí* 'tire' stands as a perfect noun to (*\*nim*) *nemé* as stands *cakrá* to *\*cakara* (*kar* 'roll').

Other examples in RV. are *perú* from *\*pir* = *par*; *képi* from *\*kip* = *kap* (*kapī*); *keru* in *mdhikeru* from *kir* = *kar* 'praise' (*kīrin* = *kārin*); AV. *syédu* from *\*syid* = *syad*; and possibly *petva* from *\*pit* = *pat* (so Grassmann).<sup>1</sup>

In some of the roots which, like *tan*, betray their early form, RV. *ta* in pf. *taté* beside *tatne* and *tatane* (*tenire*, AV., *tenus*, epic), may be found the explanation of the closer connection between, e. g., *van* and *ven*. The first is from *va* + *n*, the second is raised from *\*vin* 'win,' as a whole, which in turn is (like *san*, *si*) from *vi* + *n*. So that *jénaya* and *venyd*, RV. forms parallel respectively to *jānas* and *vānas*, would really be respectively denominatives from *jc-n*, *ve-n* (*ji-n*, *vi-n*). There is apparently here such connection as is assured in the case of *blā*, *bhan* (φη, φαν) and *sā*, *san*, *si*. We might push the question and ask whether there is not the same *n* in *sa-n-at* and *si-n-āti*. This would help us to see the connection of thought in *mā*, *mi*, *minóti* 'build' and *ma-n-ule* 'einbilden'; *hi-n-óti* 'drive' and *ha-n-ti* 'drive at, to strike'; *ji-n-óti* 'quicken' and *ja-n* 'make alive' (cf. *jinu* 'quicken' and *jīu* 'to live'). The same root lies in *jī* 'conquer' (cf. κρατέω), from the root-idea 'be strong'; *jyā* 'overpower, oppress,' but also *jyā* 'mother, earth' (thus *βία* *βίος* are from the same root and thought).<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> A list of all the 'weak' perfects is given by Bartholomae in his essay in KZ. XXVII 337 ff., where is registered also the previous literature.

<sup>2</sup> Compare for a like interchange of ideas *tu* 'be strong,' *tuj* 'urge,' *tuc* 'impel, generate.' For form compare *ḡis*, *ḡaḥs*, *ḡās*; *diḡ*, *dāḡ*, *daḡ-an*, and note that *dāḡan* generally mean the fingers in RV. (the ten pointers), while there is identity of meaning in *dāḡ* and the intensive of *diḡ*, *giro deditis* (viii 102. 13). This is perhaps the explanation of *mēnā* 'woman,' which Grassmann absurdly suggests belongs to *man* 'to think.' *Mēnā* is to *man* as *sēnā* is to *san* (*sā*, *sī*, *sināti*, *sandti*, cf. *kā*, *kan*), or as *dhenā*, *dhenū* is to *dhinóti* 'nourish' = *dhā*

So perhaps *medhā* (*madh*) comes from \**midh*, *mith* 'mix,' Lith. *mitus*, Bulg. *medu*. Compare *sidhyati*, *sédhati* with *sadh*, *sādh*; and *sri-dh-at*, *sre-dh-ati*, *sre-v-āyantas*, *sreman*, *srāmd* from *sri*, *srā*.

There is, so far as I can see, in the series of perfects *sāsāha*, *sāsāhat*, *sasāhé*, *sāsahvās*, *sāhvāns* (*sahvāns*), *sehānd* really no cogent reason for calling *seh* a reduplication of *sasah* any more than for calling *sāhvāns* contracted. The form *jénya* is Rig-Vedic and contemporary with *jajanús*, *jajñ-*, but this latter is never 'contracted' to *jen* as a perfect stem.

Against the contraction theory can be urged that there is no reason why *pāpac* should contract and *jajan* should not, and no direct evidence anyway that *pec* is contracted. *Cēru* may be regarded as from \**cāru*, but the analogy of *rēku* and its many parallels would rather suggest that it comes, as said above, from *cir*, as *rēku* from *ric*.<sup>1</sup> These perfects seem to be survivals of a period where perfects made without reduplication were marked by raised vowels, as in the case of *vēda*. The implication that this obtained even in the plural is opposed to *īdmev*, etc., but, on the other hand, upheld by such surviving archaisms as RV. *viveçús*, *yuyopimá*, where even with reduplication the plural has the strong form.

It is, however, possible that both *sedī* and *sedús* are merely lengthened forms of *sēd*, over against the later *sad* with reduplication, conclusive evidence of which in *sed-* I see neither in adjective nor verb of this formation; and surely these adjectives (like *yayú*, nominal, beside *yayús*, verb) must be explained with their corresponding verbal forms.<sup>2</sup> Possibly both cases survive in our vocabulary, some, like *vēda vēdas*, connected with *i*-roots, some merely lengthening of *ē*-roots; some diphthongal, some monophthongal.

Another phase of perfect reduplication seems to find its explanation in that which has been shown above. The late reduplicated

'suck,' i. e. from *mi(n)* = *man*, and means the same with its cognate from *mā*, *mātī* 'builder, maker' (cf. *metī*). So *pā* 'protect' has a side form *pi* in RV., *pīti*, *pīṭ*. *Śdati* is from *śid* as *miḍhvāns* is from *mih* (the latter like ep. *darçivāns*, RV. *vidvāns*, without reduplication).

<sup>1</sup> Compare *celati*, dhātup. root.

<sup>2</sup> To which they perhaps originally stood in the relation of *mandú*, adjective, to *mandús*, verb, etc. I note here that *medīn*, given to *mad* by Whitney, seems to me to come from *mid*, in the sense 'to be thick with one, friendly'; so Mbh. *medinī* = 'earth,' i. e. *festes* land.

nominals *dandaçhka* and *dandaça* go back to *dañç*, perfect *dadaç-*, RV. (later *dadañç-*), intensive *dāndaçāna*. So *manmatha* goes back to *mathnāti mánthati*, perfect *mamāth-*, intensive not found. That is to say, the nasal of *dañç* rather than the consonant is taken to form reduplication. Now, as is well known, the early cases of *ān*-reduplication in the perfect are from nasal roots, with the exception of *ṛc*, *ānṛcús*, which, however, by analogy with the parallel derivative *ṛj*, *ṛñj*, from the same primitive *ṛ*, would seem also to have had an *ṛñc* equivalent of *ṛc*.

Compare *andkti*, *añjet*, *ānajé*, *ānjan*, *ānajāná*, *anajyāt* in RV. with later *ānañja* and the adjective *añji*, the noun *āñjas*.

Compare *ānṛcús*, RV., with *ānṛjús*, AV., from *ṛñj* (from *ṛ*, *ṛch* in RV. *ārús*; Mbh. *ānarch-*).

Compare *açñóti*, *āndñça*, *ānāça*, *ānaçús*, *anāçāmahāi*, aorist *ānaç* (or to *naç*), with *āçús* (like *āça* 'eat').

Compare *ṛdhñoti*, *ānṛdhe*, *ṛndhat* with *ṛnádhat*. There remains only TS. *ānṛhus* (RV. *arhire*), an early imitation, later widespread. The development of these forms is best illustrated by *añç*. The reduplication is that of the strong perfect (= simple intensive). It gives us from *añç*, *ānañç*, reduced to *ānāç*, to *ānaç*, to *anaç*—simply because the nasal was at first so strong that it was felt to be the chief of the consonants in the stem (compare the stem in Avest. *dadāñšī*<sup>1</sup>); and it was helped to this by reduced middle intensives where consonant + *an* took the place of consonant + *a* + consonant (in nominals *kañkata*, *cañkaça*; in verbs *jañjabh-*, etc.). So *ānaje* from *añj*, where the nasal force, even in the present, is all-important (*anaj-ti*), may be historically expressed by *ānaN(j)* reduced (with a partial eclipse of the nasal in the stem, but preservation in the inherited reduplication) to *āna(n)j*. The nasal was strong enough in the *añç*-root to develop a special *naç* = (*a*)*nç* = *anaç*, which shows the antiquity of the nasal formation (*nanciscor*). The forms are all archaisms, even in the Veda.<sup>2</sup>

BRYN MAWR, Nov., 1892.

EDWARD WASHBURN HOPKINS.

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps, like *πλεκ-*, *plet-*, *danta*, *dat*, *dens* belongs here, with a *t* determinative for *ç*.

<sup>2</sup> The strong perfect must, in the light of the above, be regarded as earlier than the simple perfect. In Greek *δείδευμαι*, compared with *sāsāh-*, etc., when taken alone, 'prove little,' as Brugmann says (Gr. Gr. §131), for the assumption of the strong (heavy) perfect, but in connection with intensives, as explained above, it is difficult to believe in an independent simple perfect. The original reduplication must have been heavy.

## II.—ON THE JUDAEO-GERMAN SPOKEN BY THE RUSSIAN JEWS.

### I. HISTORY OF THE JUDAEO-GERMAN.

There had been colonies of Jews in the South of Russia even in Roman times, and probably those living there influenced the Khozár Khan Bulan in the seventh century to accept Judaism.<sup>1</sup> A religious correspondence was carried on by one of the princes, Joseph, with Rabbi Chisdai of Spain; but the Khanate did not last long, and after its overthrow by the Russians nothing more is heard of it. It is not improbable that the Karaites living in the Crimea have some Khozár blood running in their veins; they even now read some of their liturgy in the Tartar language.<sup>2</sup> So also the Lesghians in the Caucasus who exercise the Mosaic rites may be of Khozár origin; they are of a warlike disposition, serve in the Tcherkess regiments of Russia, and speak the dialects of their Mohammedan and Christian neighbors.

In the year 1096 Jews had fled from Bohemia to Poland,<sup>3</sup> and there were even older settlements in Kieff. There are good grounds to believe that before the fifteenth century the Slavic had been the common language of intercourse among the Jews in Russia and Poland.<sup>4</sup> A Slavic prayer-book written with Hebrew characters<sup>5</sup> is said to have been in the possession of the learned Jew, B. J. Levenson, as late as the middle of this century. In 1270 Daniel of Galitch invited strangers, among them many German Jews, to settle in the province now called Galicia, which had been devastated by the Tartar Batui<sup>6</sup>; in the next two centuries there was a further immigration of German Jews into Poland, which

<sup>1</sup> Selig Cassel in Ersch and Gruber's *Encyklopaedie*, Article Juden (Geschichte), p. 121.

<sup>2</sup> Dr. Zunz, *Die gottesdienstlichen Vortraege der Juden*, 2te Auflage, p. 440, quoted from Jost.

<sup>3</sup> Selig Cassel in E. and G. *Encyklopaedie*, pp. 130–31.

<sup>4</sup> Harkavy, *שפת היהודים והסלאוים*, quoted by Dr. Max Grünbaum in "Jüdischdeutsche Chrestomathie"; A. Schulman in "Di Geschichte fun der Zargonliteratúr," in "Di Jidische Folksbiblioték," vol. 2, etc.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 127.

<sup>6</sup> Rambaud, *History of Russia*, vol. I, p. 125.

later, in its final union with Lithuania, extended to a line drawn from the Baltic to the Black Sea and within a few miles of Moscow. Into Russia proper Jews had not been admitted by legislation, but by connivance, and in the late expulsion they were driven back into the pale—that is, into the former Polish possessions.

Town-life was but weakly developed in Poland before Sigismund II, while the newcomers from Germany had lived compactly in cities. So they flocked into boroughs and laid the foundation for towns, where they even now are frequently in a majority.<sup>1</sup> It may be that to this is to be ascribed the phenomenon that within a Slavic country they have preserved their German language, and that the Polish and Russian of the less strongly represented and less cultured native Jews has fallen into desuetude. From the few scanty records of the sixteenth century written in Judaeo-German it is fair to suppose that before that time this variety differed from the High German only in a free admixture of Hebrew words referring to religious ideas and such as had become familiar to them in their Talmudic studies.<sup>2</sup> They, however, wrote the German with Hebrew characters, and from the care taken in the transliteration of the words we can judge that they were anxious to conform to some recognized standard of German speech.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In Berditcheff, Bielostok, they are in an overwhelming majority, and in Minsk, Grodno, Wilno and Warsaw at least one-third of the inhabitants are Jews.

<sup>2</sup> Zunz quotes R. Salomo Luria in his documents of the year 1556 as a proof that the German of the Russian Jews at that time was yet pure; even the dative ending in *en* in proper nouns is preserved. In the Judaeo-German glossary to Isaiah and the twelve minor prophets, which is still in manuscript in the State library at Munich and which seems to belong to the fifteenth century, there are already to be found the peculiarities that distinguish the Russian variety of the Judaeo-German from the N. H. G., and yet they are accounted for by Dr. Grünbaum as analogous forms to those in the various German dialects of the Middle Ages. Such forms are: 'zu' for 'zer' in 'zubrechen'; 'as' for 'als, wie, da' and 'asó' for 'also.'

<sup>3</sup> In the year 1542 there was published at Isny an anonymous translation of a Hebrew work into Judaeo-German under the name of 'Sittenbuch' and, as usual, in Hebrew characters. At the end of that work the author gives rules on orthography, which one may find fully discussed in note VII of Dr. M. Güdeman's *Geschichte des Erziehungswesens und der Kultur der Juden in Deutschland*. The following remark is interesting: Aus der vorstehenden Uebersicht ergibt sich, dass die jüdisch-deutsche Orthographie der deutschen angepasst und dass sie kunstvoll und planmässig angelegt ist. Wenn Steinschneider (Serapeum, 1864, S. 129) von einer Handschrift des 'Sittenbuches'

The Jews in Russia were cut off from active intercourse with the Germans, and soon began to vitiate their language under Slavic influence. In the sixteenth century began the inroads of the Kossacks on the Ukraine; the inhabitants were ruthlessly massacred, and thousands of Jews fled before the name of Chmielnicki into Germany. At that time the state of religious culture among the German Jews was low, and the Polish immigrants, who were well versed in Talmudic lore, were employed to teach the younger generation. The development of Judaeo-German, or Mauseheldeutsch, ought to be dated from this period<sup>1</sup>; in course of time it approached nearer and nearer to High German, and is now well-nigh extinct.<sup>2</sup> But in Russia it has so far deviated from the mother-tongue that in the form of the modern Jargon<sup>3</sup> it represents a new language that stands in the same relation to German as Spanish to Portuguese, as Swedish to Danish.

Within the last twenty-five years a great activity has been developed by Jargonists, and thousands of books and scores of periodicals are published yearly on a variety of subjects. In the year 1888 there were published 114 books in 268,950 copies and 125,000 almanacs in Russia alone.<sup>4</sup> This and the fact that nearly 5,000,000 people in Russia, Austria, Roumania and the diaspora (America,<sup>5</sup> Palestine) speak it, should certainly justify the linguist's interest in the same.

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sagt: "Die Orthographie ist auch hier eine sehr schwankende," so kann man dasselbe Urtheil über die Orthographie jedes deutschen Buches aus dieser Zeit fällen . . . Dieser Verwilderung gegenüber stellt man der jüdisch-deutschen Orthographie ein 'sehr ehrendes Zeugniß aus, wenn man sie bloss "schwankend" nennt.

<sup>1</sup> Ibid., pp. 294-97.

<sup>2</sup> Much interesting material has been collected by F. C. B. Avé-Lallemant in his 3d and 4th volumes of "Das deutsche Gaunerthum" on the further fate of the Judaeo-German in Germany and on the interest that Buxtorf, Wagenseil and other Protestants of the time of the Reformation took in this dialect.

<sup>3</sup> So the Russian Jews call it, pronouncing it, however, in the Russian manner, namely Zhargón; from this the noun Jargonist (pr. Zhargoníst) is derived, meaning one writing literary productions in Jargon.

<sup>4</sup> Di Jidische Folksbibliothek, vol. 2, article "A Reéster fun ale žargonische Bicher vos zenen opgedrukt in'm jor תרמ"ט." Warsaw and Wilno figure most prominently as places where the books were printed.

<sup>5</sup> Dr. Max Grünbaum in his Jüdischdeutsche Chrestomathie claims that the seat of the Jargon is now in America, but that is a hyperbolical statement; it is true that nearly 1,000,000 Jews in New York and other large cities speak that dialect, but the great majority is still in Russia and the adjoining countries. The passage (p. 7) runs as follows: "Heutzutage sind es zunächst die Pollakim

Its *raison d'être* has variously been questioned, severely attacked or warmly defended<sup>1</sup>; it has, however, proven to be the best means of reaching the common people and of humanizing them. A. M. Dick's moralizing stories in the Lithuanian variety of the Jargon, and S. J. Abramowitz's satires in the Southern dialect have done a great deal to elevate the masses. But for us the interest at present lies in its linguistic peculiarities, which we will proceed to investigate.

## II. PHONOLOGY.

### *System of Sounds.*

The Jargon consists of two main divisions: the Polish and the Lithuanian. The Lithuanian Jews live in German colonies of the former Lithuanian kingdom, and their vocabulary has been greatly influenced by the current German language, so that many words which in the other idiom betray a M. H. G. origin have been abandoned, and corresponding modern words have been intro-

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—mit welchem Collectivnamen im Jüdischdeutschen die aus den slawischen Ländern stammenden Juden benannt werden—auf welche die Bezeichnung als Wandervolk passt, und so findet man auch in Amerika sehr viele aus Polen—wie auch aus Russland, Böhmen und Mähren—eingewanderte Juden, welche eigene Gemeinden bilden, wie denn in New-York allein eine böhmische und eine polnische 'Schul' (d. h. Synagoge) existirt [that was in 1882; there are many more now]. Diese polnischen, böhmischen und russischen Juden sind nun Hebräer (עבריים) im eigentlichen und ursprünglichen Sinne des Wortes, insofern als sie von jenseits des Meeres herübergekommen sind. Natürlich wurde mit ihnen zugleich auch ihr Idiom importirt, und so hat man denn in New-York und in andern amerikanischen Städten jeden Tag Gelegenheit, das reinste polnische Jüdischdeutsch zu hören. Das in der alten Welt ziemlich verklungene und verschollene (?) Idiom hat so in der neuen Welt einen neuen Boden gefunden, auf dem es fröhlich gedeiht. Fröhlich? In einer Erzählung von Charles Dickens behauptet Jemand, die französische Sprache sei eine sehr traurige Sprache. Der Mann, der dies sagte, war ein Gefängniswärter und hatte zeitlebens das Französische nur von Gefangenen und Züchtlingen gehört. Auch das Jüdischdeutsche ist eine traurige Sprache; es reflectirt alle die Leiden und Drangsale, die das jüdische Volk zu erdulden hatte. Schon die vielen dumpfen Zwitterlaute, die dunklen Vokale haben etwas Elegisches; das ganze Idiom ist ebenso gedrückt, beengt und düster wie das Ghetto, in dem es entstanden; es ist ein Ben-Oni. Auch die jüdischdeutschen Bücher sind Libri Tristium, Klagen der Verbannung, und was sie erzählen ist Leid und Schmerz.

<sup>1</sup> O żargonnoj literatury woobschtsché i o njekotórich jejó profzwedjénjach w tschásnosti—'On the Jargon Literature in general and some of its productions in particular'—in the Russian magazine 'Woschód,' X, October, 1888.



duced in their stead.<sup>1</sup> The Polish dialect is spoken in Poland proper, and a variety of it in the South of Russia. Its vocabulary, and especially its intonation (a cadenced sentence rhythm), indicate the Polish influence. It is further removed from H. G., contains many M. H. G. words, and is more uniform in its structure. There are a number of local varieties, so that one can imperceptibly pass from the remoter dialect of the South to the Germanizing form of the Lithuanian. It is perhaps on these grounds that Jost<sup>2</sup> and others said that no grammar of the Judaeo-German is possible. But we must not forget that we can pass by imperceptible shades from Swedish through the *bondesprog* in Norway to the Danish language; that by slight steps we can pass from the Spanish through the Catalan, the Provençal to the French. And yet grammars of the separate dialects, and even local varieties of them, have been written. I think I shall establish through the present essay the regularity and uniformity of its grammar and its just claims to a distinct language.

The Southern dialect more than any other has been used for literary purposes, and is receiving its highest polish by a number of cultured Jargonists. Among them Abramowitz<sup>3</sup> excels for his fine linguistic ear and admirable native wit, and has made his dialect the Jargon *par excellence*. I build all my linguistic investigations on his diction, but shall indicate the deviations of the Lithuanian dialect wherever they are prominent. But being more familiar with the sounds of the Lithuanian dialect as it is spoken in and around Bielostok, my table of sounds will differ slightly from that of the Southern variety.

In order that the words may indicate to the eye their German analogies, I preferred to differ as little as possible from the German alphabet, consequently only imperative changes have been introduced.

There are no closed vowels in the Jargon; this is evidently Slavic influence. *A, e, i, o, u* have the short sound in the German words *hat, denn, mit, Gott, zucken*. The unaccented *e* has the

<sup>1</sup> Such as *ist* for *isund* 'now,' *dizer* for *der doziger* 'this.'

<sup>2</sup> Eine Grammatik kann es nicht geben; es sind alle Formen der Grammatik auf die nachlässigste Weise durch einander geworfen. Ersch and Gruber's Encyklopädie, article Judenteutsch.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. L. Bienstock, *Prázdnik žargónnoj literatúri*. S. M. Abramowitz i jewó 25 létnejá literatúrnejá djéjatelnostj. Woschód, 1884, No. XII—'A holiday of the Jargon literature. S. M. Abramowitz and his 25 years' literary activity.' Quoted in *Bibliotheca Hebraica Post-Mendelssohniana*.

same sound as the corresponding German *e* and is not indicated by any variety of type. The letter *r* following *i*, *o*, *u* has a tendency to lengthen the vowels—that is, they are pronounced more slowly.

In the Polish dialect *u* has a dull, heavy sound, especially when it stands for *o* in the Lithuanian; so also in Polish *ó*, representing an organic *o*, has that sound, as in *wóz*, gen. *woza*, 'a waggon.' The other vowels, when accented, have a longer sound, due to a chanting rise and fall or circumflex sound as in Polish and Swedish. These become exceedingly long in interrogative and exclamatory sentences.

The seeming exception of a closed *e* in Jargon is due really to the *y* (*j*) sound following the *z*, just as in Russian in the words *majěj* 'of my,' *salawěj* 'nightingale.'

The diphthongs are formed from the vowels *a*, *e*, *o*, *u* by adding the *y* (*j*) sound: *aj*, *ej*, *oj*, *uj*.

*Aj*<sup>1</sup> is pronounced like *i* in *mine*; for example, *hajnt* (G. heute) 'to-day.'

*ej*                    "                    "    *ay* in *day*; for example, *kejn* (G. kein) 'no,' *gejn* (G. gehn) 'go.'

*oj*                    "                    "    *oy* in *boy*; found only in Slavic and Hebrew words: *goj* (H. גוי) 'gentile.'

*uj*                    "                    "    *ui* in the German *pfui*; found in a few Slavic and Hebrew words.

There is a diphthong for which there is no corresponding sound in Russian or German: it is *öj*, pronounced like a short *ö* followed by *j*; thus *böjdem* 'a loft' is pronounced like *bö-jedem* with the *e* after *j* left out. This sound in Poland generally becomes *oj*, and in some localities it passes into the flatter sound *ej*. Its German equivalent is long *o*,<sup>2</sup> so that the process of change may be represented in this order: *ö—ō+i—ō+j—öj—ej*.

There is only one combination with *u*, namely, *ou*, pronounced *o+u* in quick succession. This sound was still in existence in M. H. G.,<sup>3</sup> and is the usual pronunciation of *au* in Eastern Germany even now. But I take this rather to be Russian influence, which has no diphthongs with *u*, so that in foreign words the attempt is made to pronounce both vowels. The *au* in the word *schlagbaum* 'tollgate' sounds like *ou* with the accent on the *o*.

<sup>1</sup> In Poland *aj* sounds *aj* and even *ä*.

<sup>2</sup> In some localities in the west of Germany *oi* occurs for *o*.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. M. H. G. *ouge* 'eye,' *souc* 'sucked.'

The consonants are the same as in German, but *g* is always like *g* in *good*, *j* like *y* in *yet*, *z* = English *z*, *sch* = English *sh*, *ž* = French *j* in *jour*; *r* and *ch* are more guttural than in German.

*Correspondence of Sounds in Words of German Origin.*

*a) Vowels.*

The Jargon *a* corresponds to *ä* in German, as in *ander* 'other,' *tapen* 'grobe,' *zach* (G. Sache) 'thing,' *schtark* 'strong, very,' *warem* 'warm.' The German *ē* before *r* has a tendency to become *a*: *warfen* (G. werfen) 'throw,' *harz* (G. Herz) 'heart,' *fartig* (G. fertig) 'ready,' *arbes* (G. Erbse) 'pea,' *ljarm* (G. Lärm) 'noise.' In a number of words *a* before *r* stands for German *i* or *ü*; there must have existed an intermediate stage of *i* before *r* changed into *e*, as we will find this the more frequent transformation. Examples: *far* (G. für, also G. vor) 'for, before,' *bar* (G. Birne) 'pear,' *karsch* (G. Kirsche) 'cherry,' *barscht* (G. Bürste) 'brush.' Some words which in the Lithuanian dialect have *e* before *r* change the *e* to *a* in the Polish dialect, as *wargen*, Lith. *wergen* (G. würgen) 'choke.'

*E* stands for German *ē* (except before *r* as above): *fremd* 'strange,' *schteken* (G. Stecken) 'cane'; there are, however, a number of words in which the German *e* before *r* is retained, as in *erd* 'earth,' *erscht* 'first,' *ferd* 'horse.' German *ē* before *l*, *m*, *n*, *r*, *g*, *d*, *b* in the same syllable or in words inflected from stems ending in these consonants becomes *e* in Jargon: *felen* (G. fehlen) 'fail, want,' *dem* (G. dem and den) 'the,' *nemen* 'take,' *jener* 'that,' *weben* 'weave,' *reden* 'speak,' *gelegen* 'lain.'<sup>2</sup> In *kenen* 'to be able,' *efnen* 'to open,' *erter* 'places,' *brekel* 'small piece,' etc., the *e* = G. *ö*; in *heren* 'to hear,' *megen* 'to be allowed,' it is = G. *ö*. In general the umlaut of *a* and *ö* is *e* in Jargon: *kelber* 'calves,' *hent* (G. Hände) 'hands,' *kleren* (G. klären) 'meditate,' *teg* (plural of *tog*) 'days.' In *fregen* 'ask,' *geleger* 'couch,' the *e* = G. *ä*, probably through an umlaut of the words (*er frägt*). The prefixes *ant* in *antworten* and *dar* in *darüber* become *ent* and *der*: *entferen* 'answer,' *deriber* 'therefore.' *E* also stands for *a* in *men* (G. man) 'one,' *ken* 'can,' *weksene* 'waxen.' In *azelche* 'such' the *e* = G. *o*.<sup>3</sup> The sound *i* before *r* generally changes into *e*:

<sup>1</sup> Cf. English *heart*, *smart*, etc.

<sup>2</sup> This was also the case in M. H. G., as in *rēgen* 'rain,' etc.

<sup>3</sup> In Western Germany *sölche* is used for *solche*.

*schteren* (G. Stirn) 'brow,' *ergiz* (G. irgend) 'somewhere,' *fertel* (G. Viertel) 'quarter.'<sup>1</sup> In the South of Russia there is a tendency to pronounce an unaccented *e* before a consonant as a very short *i*, and also to change *i* before *ch* into *e*, thus: *lecht* (G. Licht) 'light,' *ech* (G. ich) 'I.' In Lithuania the plural ending *ich*, which in the South sounds *ech*, has a tendency to become *ach*.

The letter *i* stands for German *i* and *ī* (i. e. *ie*): *zich* 'self,' *wisen* 'know,' *ligen* 'lie,' *bewizen* 'proved,' *geschriben* 'written.' It also corresponds with G. *ü*, whether as umlaut or otherwise: *schiten* (G. schütten) 'pour,' *bicher* 'books,' *berimt* 'renowned.' In the South and in Poland a number of words having *u* in German and in the Lithuanian show *i*, which must have come through an umlaut; such are *hint* (Lith. *hunt*) 'dog,' *in* (Lith. *un*) 'and,' *krim* (Lith. *krum*) 'crooked.'

*O* corresponds to G. *ō*: *zolen* 'shall,' *kosten* 'cost'; it more rarely stands for G. *ö*: *oder* 'or,' *on* (G. ohne) 'without.' Much more frequently it stands for G. *ā* and *ā*: *dos* 'that,' *op* 'away,' *lozen* (G. lassen) 'let,' *nomen* 'name,' *zogen* 'say,' *schlofen* 'sleep,' *bronsen* (G. Branntwein) 'brandy,' *jor* 'year,' *bord* 'beard.' In the Polish dialect this latter *o* has a tendency to become a dull *u*; we saw before that this is Polish influence where *o* is pronounced *u*, as in *wóz* (gen. *woza*) 'waggon.' German *u* before *r* becomes *o*: *schlorem* 'storm,' *worem* 'worm,' *korz* (only in the P. dialect) 'short,' *nor* 'only.' In *ton* 'do' it stands for G. *ū*.

*U* is G. *ü* and *ū*: *un* 'and,' *arum* 'around,' *rufen* 'call'; also G. *ō*: *fun* 'from,' *truken* 'dry,' *kumen* 'come.' In *wu* 'where' the *u* = G. *ō*.

*Aj* stands for G. *ei* in *zajn* 'his, to be,' *rajben* 'to rub,' *zajt* 'time.' It represents *äu* and *eu* in *majlchen* 'little mouth,' *ajch* 'you,' *hajnt* 'to-day.'

The sound *ej* is the German *ei* in *kejner* 'no,' *zwey* 'two,' *rejn* 'pure.' *Ej* = G. *ö* in *nejtigen* 'compel,' *schejn* 'beautiful,' *trejsten* 'console.' The differentiation of G. *ei* into *aj* and *ej* is one inherent in the German itself, and in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries they were differently written; in the east of Germany *ei* sounds even now *ej*.

*Oj* in German words is rare in Lithuania, but in the Polish dialect it stands for the Lith. *öj*, which corresponds to German *ö*, as in *a3öj* 'so,' *öjr* 'ear,' *höjch* 'high.' It also represents the G. *au* in such words as *öjch* 'also,' *öjg* 'eye,' *glöjben* 'believe.'

<sup>1</sup> Cf. English *first*, *stir*, etc.

Otherwise *au* is represented by *ou*: *hous* 'house,' *arous* 'out of,' *bouch* 'belly.'

b) Consonants.

*B, p, f* and *w* generally correspond with the same sounds in German. In *ejbig* 'eternal,' *lejb* 'lion,' the *b* = G. *w*. Before *t* *b* is sometimes dropped, as in *ir hot* 'you have,' *er git* 'he gives.' Final German *b* sometimes becomes *p*, as in *op*, *arop* = G. *ab*, *herab*. The *pf* does not exist in Jargon, and is substituted by *p* when final and by *f* when initial: *kop* 'head,' *top* 'pot,' *kuper* 'copper,' *schtupen* 'push'; *fefer* 'pepper,' *fajfen* 'whistle,' *ferd* 'horse.' In *entferen* 'answer,' *bronsen* 'brandy,' the *w* has passed into *f*, perhaps on account of the preceding *n*. The German *f* between two vowels is generally changed into *w*: *briwel* (G. *Brieflein*) 'note,' *pruwen* 'try,' *schtiwel* 'boot,' *hejwen* (G. *Hefe*) 'yeast,' also *wolwel* (G. *wohlfeil*) 'cheap.' So also *b* between two vowels has a tendency to become *w*, as in *owent* (G. *Abend*) 'evening.'

*D, t, z* are generally the same in both languages. The following exceptions are to be noted: *d* disappears before *t*, as in *ajngeret* 'persuaded,' and frequently after *n*, as in *geschtanen* 'stood,' *gefinen* 'find,' *un* 'and,' *faran* (G. *vorhanden*) 'there is.' Contrary to this rule, the *d* is inserted in diminutives ending in *n*: *bejndel* 'a little bone,' *schtejndel* 'a little stone,' *zundel* 'a little son,' *sendel* (from *fon*, G. *Fahne*) 'a little flag.' *D* also disappears after *r* in *weren* 'to become,' *geworen* 'become.'

*T* is sometimes added to words ending in *n*: *gewejntlich* 'generally,' *nohint* 'near,' *fun wanent* 'whence,' *forent* 'in front'; also after *s* in *destwegen* 'therefore.' Initial German *d* is frequently changed to *t*: *tuz* 'dozen,' *betajten* 'to mean,' *fartajttschen* (G. *ver-deutschen*) 'translate.' *T* is dropped after *t* in the conjugation of verbs, as *gefast* 'fasted.' The verb *löjgen* (G. *taugen*) 'to be of value' loses the *t* in the third person; *flegen* (G. *pflegen*) 'to be accustomed to' follows the same rule with most writers.

*Z* stands for final *s* after *l*: *halz* 'neck,' *alz* 'everything'; it also represents final *st*, as in *kunz* (G. *Kunst*) 'art.'

*G, k, ch* differ but little from the corresponding German sounds. *G* is sometimes interposed between two vowels: *geschrigen* 'cried'; in *akegen* 'against,' *kajn* 'towards,' *k* stands for G. *g*, and in *schikeln* 'to shake' for G. *t*.

<sup>1</sup> This also occurs in German dialects.

The *liquids* present few changes. The forms *leben* and *neben* are found for 'nearby.' Final *n* frequently becomes *m*, as in the article *dem* (acc.) 'the' and in the words *buzem* 'bosom,' *böjdem* 'loft,' *fodem* 'thread,' *bezem* 'besom, broom'; also *zamd* (G. Sand) 'sand.' *R* is sometimes dropped before *d* and *t*: *fodern* 'demand,' *matern* 'vex,' *federscht* 'foremost.' *R* changes the preceding *i* to *e*, *e* to *a*, which see. An *e* is frequently inserted between *r* and following *m*: *warem* 'warm,' *orem* 'poor.'

*H*, *s*, *z* differ but little from the German. There is a tendency for *h* to disappear between two vowels, as in *belfer* for *behelfer* 'paedagogus.' In Lithuania the rough and smooth breathing are sadly confounded, and one may hear *hober* 'but,' *ober* (G. Hafer) 'oats,' *hajzen* 'iron,' etc.

Final *s* becomes *z* in *iz* 'is,' *lozen* 'to let,' *az* (G. als) 'as,' *mu<sub>z</sub>* 'must.' *S* after *r* becomes *sch*: *erscht* 'first,' *dunerschtog* 'Thursday,' *untersch* 'lowest,' *andersch* 'otherwise,' and in the ending *nisch* for *nis*: *finsternisch* 'darkness,' *ajlenisch* 'hurry.' The German *nicht* 'not' becomes *nischt* or *nit* in the Jargon. In some parts of Lithuania the Siboleth is very pronounced and the inability to make the sound *sch*.

The *accent* is materially the same as in German, remaining on the stem syllable; accordingly the G. *lebendig* 'alive' sounds in Jargon *lébedig*.

#### *Sounds in Slavic Words.*

Words derived from the Russian and Polish show few peculiarities, since the vowel-sounds in Jargon are the same as in the Slavic. But Polish words frequently become antepenults and cause the following vowels to become slurred and pronounced like toneless *e*: *kápete* (Pol. *kapóta*, from the French) 'coat,' *lópete* (Pol. and Rus. *lopáta*) 'spade.' The final *a* of Slavic words becomes toneless *e*, as in *strune* 'a violin string, a horse-hair.' Polish *cz* (G. *tsch*) is sometimes changed into *z*, as in *zi* (Pol. *czy*) 'whether,' *ápa*.

Foreign nouns derived through the Russian (mainly scientific terms) get the Russianized ending, but with toneless *e*: *geogrd-fije* 'geography,' *matemdtike* 'mathematics.'

#### *Sounds in Hebrew Words.*

Before entering upon the sounds of Hebrew words in Jargon, it is necessary to get acquainted with the manner in which Hebrew is pronounced by Russian Jews. It is, in the main, the German

pronunciation modified so as to represent the Slavic sound-influence. *Dagesh* has no power to double the consonant, but in the case of ב, כ, ת it strengthens them, so that without dagesh they are *w, ch, s* respectively; with dagesh *b, k, t*. The other consonants are the same as in German. There being no long or closed vowels, the following changes take place: *·* is always *a*, *·* = *ɛ*, *·* = *ej*, *·* = *i*, *·* = *o*, *·* = *u*, *·* = *öj* (*oj* in the Polish dialect). The accent is generally on the root syllable and on the penult. The first few lines of Genesis would sound in the mouth of a Russian Jew as follows: "Beréjschis bóro elohím éjs haschomájim weéjs hoórez; wehoórez hójsó sōjhu wowōjhu wechōschech al penéj sehōjm werúach elohím al penéj hamójim; wajōjmer elohím jehí öjr wajhí öjr."

Words derived from Hebrew are further changed as they become genuine Jargon words.<sup>1</sup> Thus, final unaccented vowels become toneless *e*: *tōjre* תורה 'bible, doctrine,' *broche* ברכה 'benediction,' *tschuwe* תשובה 'answer,' *zdokes* (or *zdokes*) צדקות 'charity,' *sukes* סוכות 'feast of the tabernacles,' *jonkipér* יום כפור (instead of the biblical יום כיפור) 'day of atonement,' *bocher* בחור 'boy,' *meschumed* משומד 'apostate.' Those ending in ים and ה keep their *im* and *ach* sound: *pónim* פנים 'face,' *mekōjach* מכח 'in strength of.'

In compound words the unaccented (sometimes accented) last syllable of the first word becomes *e*: *balebatim* בעלי הבתים 'masters of the house, bosses,' *klézmer* קלמר 'musician.'

The ה (art.) of the second of the compound words becomes toneless *e* or is entirely neglected: *balebos* בעל הבית 'master of the house, boss,' *besōjlem* בית העולם 'cemetery,' *besmedresch* בית המדרש 'synagogue.'

The frequently occurring *aa* of the Hebrew becomes simple *a* if no syllable follows it, otherwise *aj*: *balmelóche* בעל מלאכה 'artisan,' *majse* משע 'story.' In the Polish dialect *aa* always becomes *a*.

In a number of words the pronunciation is at variance with its written vowels; as in most of these cases there is a reversion to the Spanish or Sephardic pronunciation, Levenson tried to prove that the Sephardic was the traditionally correct pronunciation of Ancient Hebrew, and that the German and Russian form was a corruption of the older form. I do not need to enter here into

<sup>1</sup> B. J. Levenson devotes eight pages of closely printed text in his יתרון לאדם to Benseb's עברי לשון תלמוד to the discussion of these changes.

any controversy regarding the matter, but should like to indicate to future investigators that in Russia they will find a hitherto untouched field for phonetic studies in Hebrew.

In some twenty or thirty words, sounds like *a*; for example, *dam* דָּם 'blood,' *chawer* חָבֵר 'companion,' *zman* זְמַן 'time, term,' *dajge* דָּאָגָה 'care, trouble.'

Rarely *e* is pronounced *e*, as in *besdin* בֵּית דִּין 'clerical court,' *ger* גֵּר 'stranger'; in a few words, sounds *ej*: *mejlach* מֵלָךְ 'king,' *pejsach* פֶּסַח 'Passover,' *zejlem* צֵלָם 'cross,' *chejder* חֶדֶר 'school-room,' *kejwer* קֶבֶר 'grave,' *pejger* פֶּגֶר 'carcass.'

In some forty words *i* sounds like *o*; the most frequently occurring words are *mázellow* מָזֵל טוֹב 'good luck, congratulate,' *roscheschóne* ראש הַשָּׁנָה 'New-year,' *roschchöjdesch* ראש הַחֹדֶשׁ 'first of the month,' *kol* קוֹל 'voice,' *sof* סוֹף 'end,' *jontew* יוֹם טוֹב 'holiday.'

### Orthography.

German was written with Hebrew characters even before the sixteenth century, and it is evident from the explicit rules at the end of the translation of the 'Sittenbuch' that the German sounds were correctly rendered by their Hebrew equivalents. As the modern spelling of the Jargon is a direct development of that of the Sittenbuch, it will be necessary to summarize the laws and the discussion of the same in note vii of vol. III of Dr. M. Güdemann's *Geschichte des Erziehungswesens und der Cultur der Juden in Deutschland*.

The *i* was used to render German *i* and *e*: דִּיך = *dich*, גֵּן = *gen* (gehn). But that was also done in the German of those days, as in *den Irbirn weisinn* for *den Erborn weisen*.

א stood for *a* and *o*; for example, וואנהאפטני = *wohnhaftig*. ו stood for *u* and וי for *au*, thus: טוט = *tut*, ברויכן = *brauchen*.

The *e* sound was more generally represented by ו; for example, ווען = *wenn*; the *ai* sound was expressed by יי, צוויי = *zwei*, איין = *ein*. The א after *i* at the end of words was not read, and seems to be French influence and an attempt to represent the final silent *e*.

וי sometimes represented *ö*; frequently א and ו were not written, as in נִימַנְט = *nimant*, גִּישְׁפְּרַאכֵן = *geschprochen*.

Of the consonants only the following are of interest to us: כ, and never ח, was used for German *c*, *ch*, *k*; מ, and not ת, expressed German *t*, וי stood for *w* and ש for *s*.



The orthography of the Jargon is vacillating, but in every case is built on the above; the following changes, however, are to be noticed: ן stands for *ou* and *öj*, as indeed *ou* and *öj* are the direct developments of *ou* and *ö* or *ō*; only *v* represents *e*; instead of *ש* the Russian Jews use *ס* for the *s* sound. Since *כ*, *פ* represent *k*, *p* respectively, a line over them makes them soft, thus: *כ̄*, *פ̄* = *ch*, *f* respectively. *o* is represented by *ף*. In printed books the text is unnecessarily burdened with the vocal signs; in this case *b*, *k*, *p* are represented by *ב*, *כ*, *פ* and *w*, *ch*, *f*, by *וו*, *כ*, *פ*. *ž* is represented by *זש*.

Words of Hebrew origin are spelled as in Hebrew, no matter what the pronunciation may be; suffixes and prefixes are separated from such words by apostrophes, but this rule is not observed by all writers. Here follows text and transliteration of a short passage:

קאַבצאַנסק! געדענקסט-דו אַ דעם אָרַח, וואָס איז ביי אַ דיר פאַר אַ יאָרען  
ווער געווען? דו ביסט אַויס דער הויט געשפּרונגען, האָסטו זיך געבראָכען דעם  
מוז.

"Kabzansk! Gedejnst-du dem öjrach, was iz baj dir far a joren zumer gewén? Du bist ous der höjt geschprungen, host zich gebrochen dem möjach."

The editor of the Jidische Folksbibliothék has made an attempt to establish a new orthography, but he has still more confounded the confusion by demanding that words of German origin should be written as in German; so he introduces different spelling of homonyms, etc.

In writing a cursive is used which will be found fairly well rendered in Avé Lallemand's *Das Deutsche Gaunerthum*, vol. III.

### III. ACCIDENCE.

#### Article.

The Jargon, like all Germanic languages, has two articles, the definite *der*, *di*, *dos*, and the indefinite *a*, *an*. The definite is declined:

	Masculine.	Feminine.	Neuter.	Plural.
Nom.	<i>der</i>	<i>di</i>	<i>dos</i>	<i>di</i>
Dat.	<i>dem</i>	<i>der</i>	<i>dem</i>	<i>di</i>
Acc.	<i>dem</i>	<i>di</i>	<i>dos</i>	<i>di</i>

The indefinite *a*, *an* (before a vowel) is indeclinable.

After prepositions the definite article of the masculine and neuter genders sing. is generally shortened to 'n; thus we have *farn folk* 'for the people,' *oufn weg* 'on the road.' But if the preposition ends in a vowel or *n*, the letter *m* is added instead, thus: *zum glik* 'fortunately,' *funm tajch* 'from the pond.' The preposition *in* may also be used without the sign of the article; for example, *in jam* (H. בַּיָּם) 'in the ocean,' *in kop* 'in the head,' *in harzen arajn* 'into the heart.'

The definite article stands before *ale*, contrary to German and English usage: *di ale menschen* 'all the men.'

The indefinite article frequently enters into a close connection with a noun or adjective, and is written together with it as one word by some writers: *azá* (G. eine so) *gringe arbajt* 'such an easy work,' *abisel* 'a little, somewhat.'

*A* stands after *zejr* 'very' and *gor* 'quite': *Er iz zejz a guter mensch* 'he is a very good man.' *zejz* even precedes the preposition: *zejz ouf a schlechten schtand* 'in a very bad position.'

*Wos far a* 'what kind of a' sometimes keeps the *a* in the plural. *A* is also kept in the plural with *gule* in the sense of 'rather more than': *a gule etliche scho* (H. שְׁעָרִים) 'rather more than two hours.' A similar use of *a* is made in speaking approximately of a number: *jinger mit a jor zen* 'some ten years younger,' *es meg kosten a kerbel drajsig ferzig* 'it costs 30 or 40 roubles.'

The indefinite article (sometimes the definite also) is repeated for emphasis' sake in such expressions as *a guter a fajner mensch* 'a good and indeed a fine man,' *a gulen Judens a zun* 'a son of a good Jew.'

Before certain words meaning an aggregate no article is used; such a word is *kol* (H. קָהָל) 'the congregation'; to this may be added *in schul* 'in church,' *in schtub* 'in the room.'

In the expression *bis acht a zejger* 'till eight o'clock,' *a* has the value of the English *o*.

#### Noun.—Declension.

There are 3 genders in the Jargon: masculine, feminine and neuter; but the latter is rarely used in Lithuania, feminine or masculine being used instead. There is a great diversity of genders<sup>1</sup> in different localities, but in most cases the gender (if

<sup>1</sup> Sismondi, Literature of the South of Europe, speaking of the Provençal, says: "The substantives had a quality peculiar to this language, of being employed either as masculines or as feminines, at the option of the writer. The flexibility of the substantives gave the language a more figurative character."

the word is of German origin) reasserts itself in the dative case. Frequently the gender of the corresponding word in Russian or Polish influences the change; so we find *di kop* and *der kop* (Pol. *głowa*) 'the head,' but in the dative only *oufm kop*; *der* and *dos ort* 'the place,' *der* and *di parschöjn* 'the person,' *der* and *dos jor* 'the year.'

Certain words always differ from the corresponding German words in gender; such are *di licht* 'the candle,' *di eller* 'age,' *di finster* 'darkness,' *di waser* 'the water,' *di hejm* 'the home.' *Schpiz* 'point' and *ek* 'end' are always masculine. Words from the Russian and Polish generally preserve their original gender; so do Hebrew words. But we find *in der emes* (H. אמץ) 'in truth' and *ich zog ajch dem emes* 'I tell you the truth,' *dos majzel* (H. מזל) *irs* 'her fortune,' etc.

The declension in the singular is as follows:

Nom.	<i>der foter</i> the father	<i>di majse</i> (H. משע) the story	<i>dos kind</i> the child
Dat.	<i>dem foter</i>	<i>der majse</i>	<i>dem kind</i>
Acc.	<i>dem foter</i>	<i>di majse</i>	<i>dos kind</i>

The dative of all genders and the accusative masculine of many monosyllables and words ending in a vowel, and proper nouns, may get the ending of the German weak declension *n* or *en*. Such forms are *baj dem jiden* 'at the Jew's,' *in der luften* 'in the air,' *er wet dich machen far a schtikel menschen* 'he will make a man of you,' *bajm reben* (Chaldaic) 'at the teacher's,' *zu Zelden zajn wajb* 'to Zelda his wife.'

In some cases a difference of meaning is produced by the addition of *n*: *in der woch* 'during the week,' *in der wochen* 'during week-days'; *far a jor* 'for a year,' *far a joren* 'a year ago.'

The genitive is as in English: *fun a foter* 'of a father,' *fun der mamen* 'of the mother'; or, if used possessively, an *s* is added to the dative case: *majn frajnds a buch* 'a book of my friend's,' *der mamens a fatschejle* (Ital. *fazzoletto*?) 'a kerchief of my mother's' (cf. German dialectic: 'Dem Karl sein Buch').

Remarkable is the use of the mother's first name in the possessive added to that of her children; so most people are named in Russia; for example, *Lejbze Tenes* 'Leo the son of Tene.'

*Formation of Plural.*

The plural is formed in six different ways :

- I. By receiving no sign of the plural.
- II. By adding the ending *er*.
- III. By adding *en*.
- IV. By adding *s* or *es*.
- V. By adding *im*.
- VI. By adding *ech*.

The first and second class generally modify the vowel as in German, which consists in changing *a* and *o* to *e*, *u* to *i*, *ou* to *aj*.

I. To the first class belong many words that modify the vowel in German and add *e*. Words ending in *er* belong to this class, but they may also form the plural in *s*. A number of monosyllables that form their plural differently in German remain unchanged in the Jargon.

To this class belong such words—as—

<i>der fus</i> , the foot	<i>di schtot</i> , the city
<i>der schuch</i> , the shoe	<i>di wiant</i> , the wall
<i>der wolf</i> , the wolf	<i>der hunt</i> , the dog
<i>der patsch</i> , the box on the ear	<i>der klap</i> , the stroke
<i>der barg</i> , the mountain	<i>der nomen</i> , the name
<i>der schmiz</i> , the thrust, whipping	<i>der zelner</i> (G. Söllner), the soldier
<i>di licht</i> , the candle	<i>di kaz</i> , the cat [dier]

The plural of some of these words would be : *schich*, *hint*, *berg*, *nemen*, *schmiz*, *zelner*, *kez*. *Der zon* 'the tooth' forms the plural *di zejn*.

II. To this class belong most German nouns forming the plural in *er* and also the following :

<i>dos hemd</i> , the shirt	<i>dos harz</i> , the heart
<i>dos bejn</i> , the bone	<i>der böjm</i> , the tree
<i>di schtub</i> , the house	<i>der schlejn</i> , the stone
<i>dos schtik</i> , the piece	<i>di grub</i> , the ditch
<i>der plan</i> , the plan	• and many more.

The Hebrew word *ponim* (H. פנים) 'face' forms the plural *penimer*. Some of the above-mentioned words, as *der plan*, *dos harz*, may form their plural in *en*.

III. The greatest number of German words belong to this class, such are :

<i>der parschöjn</i> , the person	<i>der first</i> , the prince
<i>der wejtig</i> , the pain	<i>der zok</i> , the sock
<i>der jid</i> , the Jew	<i>der öjring</i> , the earring
<i>der weg</i> , the road	<i>der mansbil</i> , the man
<i>der fejgel</i> , the bird	<i>di welt</i> , the world
<i>di lip</i> , the lip	<i>di kunz</i> , the art
<i>di trer</i> , the tear	<i>dos tol</i> , the valley
<i>dos töjer</i> , the gate	<i>dos gescheft</i> , the business

Words in *el* get the plural in *len*, thus: *di gorgel* 'the throat,' *di gorglen*, *der fejgel* 'the bird,' *di fejglen*.

To this class also belong foreign (French, Latin) words that have been introduced through the Russian or Polish, also many monosyllabic words of Slavic origin :

<i>der traktir</i> , the restaurant	<i>der kolir</i> , the color
<i>der inžinjer</i> , the engineer	<i>der talant</i> , the talent
<i>di klase</i> , the class	<i>di forme</i> , the form
<i>der donos</i> (Rus.), the denunciation	<i>der sklad</i> (Rus.), the magazine

All such words, except those ending in *e*, have the accent on the last syllable.

IV. Words of German origin ending in *e* or *l*, *m*, *n*, *r* receive the plural *s*; but those in *er* may also belong to class I, and those in *el* to class II :

<i>di mume</i> , the aunt	<i>di jidene</i> , the Jewess
<i>der schpigel</i> , the mirror	<i>der bejgel</i> , the doughnut
<i>der böjdem</i> , the loft	<i>der fodem</i> , the thread
<i>der höjfen</i> , the heap	<i>der ajzen</i> , the iron
<i>der macher</i> , the active person	<i>der schnajder</i> , the tailor

All Slavic words not in class III and all Hebrew and German words with Slavic suffixes belong to this class :

<i>di kápete</i> , the coat	<i>der ratman</i> , the alderman
<i>di lezerke</i> , the (female) reader	<i>di plejce</i> (Pol. <i>pleco</i> ), the shoulder
<i>di zabe</i> (Sl. <i>žaba</i> ), the frog	<i>di keschene</i> (Pol. <i>keszeń</i> ), the pocket

All Hebrew words of feminine gender ending in the plural in *ot* get *s* or *es* in the plural:

*di dire* (Chal. דִּירָה), residence      *di kasche* (Chal. קֶשְׁיָה), question

Sometimes Hebrew masculine nouns get the ending *s* instead of *im* to express contempt: *rebe* (Chal. רֶבִּי), *rebes* instead of *rabonim* 'sciolist.'

V. All Hebrew words of masculine gender form their plural as in Hebrew and end in *im*:

*balebos* (H. בַּעַל הַבַּיִת) 'master of the house'; pl. *balebatim* (H. בַּעְלֵי חֲבָתִים).

*ejwer* (H. אֶזְוֶר) 'member' (of the body); pl. *ejwrim* (H. אֶזְוֵרִים).

Two words not of Hebrew origin, *der nar* 'the fool' and *der dokter* 'the physician,' form the plural *naronim*, *doktöjrim*.

Hebrew compounds get in Jargon only the last in the plural:

*jontef* (H. יוֹם טוֹב) 'holiday,' has the plural *jontöjwim*, although in Hebrew it is יָמִים טוֹבִים.

*balmeloche* (H. בַּעַל מְלָאכָה) 'artisan' has the plural *balmeloches* (H. בַּעְלֵי מְלָאכָה).

VI. Diminutives in *l* and *le* form the plural in *lech*:

*dos kelbel*, the little calf; pl. *kelblech*

*dos schmejchele*, the little smile; pl. *schmejchelech*

Diminutives in *chen* form the plural in *echlech*:

*dos majlchen*, the little mouth; pl. *majlechlech*

*dos schtilchen*, the little chair; pl. *schtilechlech*

In Hebrew words the diminutives sometimes get both the Hebrew and the *ech* sign: *dos meschöjrerle* (H. מִשְׁחֹרֶרֶל) 'the chorister,' pl. *di meschöjrerimlech*. *Dos kindele* 'the baby, the little child,' has the double plural *kinderlech* (cf. German *Kinderchen*).

The word *mensch* forms also the plural *lajt*, which latter may be used in the singular: *ich wel im machen far a lajt* 'I shall make a man of him.' In the oblique cases the form *lajten* is frequently heard: *mit lajten* 'with people,' *far lajten* 'before people.'

The possessive genitive is formed, as in the singular, by adding *s*, but if the plural ends in *s* nothing is added: *ertliche balmeloches kinder* 'children of honest artisans.'

*Derivation of Nouns.*

Nouns may be formed from nouns, adjectives, verbs by means of German and Slavic suffixes, or if taken from Latin, Greek and other foreign languages, by Russian suffixes. There is a greater freedom in Jargon in forming nouns from verbs, and a variety of shades of meaning is produced such as the German cannot express. Thus, by dropping the infinitive ending *en*, a masculine noun is produced expressing a quick, sudden action: *der löjf* 'the run,' *der gej* 'the sudden start,' *der mach* 'the quick motion.' This form of the noun is used very effectively with the verbs *geben* and *ton*, in the present tense, to express the historical present: *er git a jog* 'he started in a hot pursuit,' *der man tut a schtarb* 'the man suddenly died.'

By adding the prefix *ge* (when the noun may also be of the neuter gender) the noun expresses an incoherent, chaotic action by many persons: *dos gezej* 'the confused coming and going,' *dos genem* 'the universal grabbing.'

The infinitive used like a noun (neuter in the South, masculine in Lithuania) has almost the same meaning as in German.

By the ending *er* added to the stem of the verb the actor is expressed, as in German: *der schrajber* 'the clerk,' *der macher* 'the active person.' By adding to such nouns the accented ending *aj* (G. *ei*) we get an abstract noun expressing frequentative activity, as *dos macheráj* (but feminine in Lithuania) 'the being a busybody,' *dos löjferáj* 'the running to and fro.'

These nouns preceded by the prefix *ge* express continuous activity of many persons: *dos geschrajberáj* 'the frequent writing, red tape.'

Nouns may be formed from verbs by the endings *ung*, *schaft*, *z*, *echz*, *nisch* (or *nis*). *Ung* expresses merely the action of the verb; *schaft* has a slightly depreciatory meaning of that action; *z* and *echz* implies mixture, piling up and contempt; *nisch* expresses generality of action. Examples: *achtung* 'attention,' *libschaft* 'love affair,' *gekechz* 'cooking, olla podrida,' *schejlechz* 'peelings,' *schrajbechz* 'confused heap of writing,' *chapenisch* 'general grabbing.' In the South all these derivatives are of the neuter gender, in Lithuania the feminine prevails.

Most nouns formed from adjectives end in *kajt*: *schlechtkajt* 'badness.'

The Russian suffixes *nik*, *tschik*, *ke* are most frequently met

with; other suffixes occur in Russian words only, and are not to be regarded as separate Jargon suffixes: *jungermantschik* 'young man,' *rožinke* 'raisin.'

### Formation of Feminines.

Feminines are formed from masculines by adding the German suffix *in* or *ene*, or the Slavic suffix *ke*, to the masculine gender; those in *nik* take the feminine *nice*; masculines in *er* take either *in* or *ke* to form the feminine. Examples: *koch*, *kechin* 'cook,' *jid*, *jidene* 'Jew, Jewess,' *bedner* (Pol. *bednarz*), *bednerke* 'cooper,' *schlimesalnik*, *schlimesalnice* 'person having bad luck,' *schnajder*, *schnajderin* or *schnajderke* 'tailor, seamstress.' Other words from the Hebrew form their feminines in *te*: *balebos*, *baleboste* 'lady of the house,' *chawer*, *chawerte* 'friend,' *ganew*, *ganewte* 'thief.'

Some Hebrew words get the ending *ke*, *sche*, *che*, *iche* to express 'wife of': *melamed* (H. מלמד), *melamedke* and *melamediche* 'wife of teacher,' *Lejwiche* 'Levi's wife,' *rabinersche* 'the rabbi's wife.' Some Slavic words are formed in the same way: *stružeche* (from Pol. *stróż*) 'wife of porter.'

Other words, again, get the characteristic Hebrew feminine endings and internal changes: *chóchem* (H. חכם) 'wise man,' *chachóme* (H. חכמה) 'wise woman.'

### Diminutives.

There is a greater number of diminutives in Jargon than in German, and the great charm of Jargon diction consists in the frequent use of these words of endearment, diminution and contempt. The most of them are formed by the German suffix *el* or *ele*; others by the Russian *ik*, *tschik*, *inke*, or the Polish *inju*, *unjo*, *usjo*.

Those in *el*, *ele* express either youth or smallness: *Senderl* 'little Alexander,' *kelbel* 'young calf,' *brüwel* 'note.' The ending may be added to German words, as in *schmejchele* 'a little smile,' *bajchel* 'little belly,' or to Hebrew or Russian words: *simchele* (H. שמחה) 'little joy,' *traktirl* 'small restaurant.'

If the word ends in *n* the diminutive gets the ending *del*; for example, *schtejndel* 'little stone, pebble,' *schterendel* 'little star,' *bejndel* 'little bone.'

The number of diminutives in *ik*, *tschik* is small, and generally confined to proper nouns: *jungermantschik* 'young man,'



*Schmuelik* 'little Samuel, Sam.' The ending *inke* is found in *pizinke* 'little bit,' *tatinke* 'dear little father.'

Proper nouns with the Polish endings express endearment: *Rejzinju*, *Möjschinju*; to this also belong *zejdinju* 'grandpapa,' *tatinju* 'papa.'

Some words receive both the Slavic and German ending: *kapótleke* 'little coat.'

Among the diminutives must also be counted the frequently used words *leb* (G. *Leben*) and *kröjn* (G. *Krone*) that are added to words that are frequently diminutives in themselves, as *Möjsche leb* 'dear Moses,' *tatinju kröjn* 'dear father.'

The Slavic endings *ak*, *njak*, *atsch* are used to express contempt or depreciation: *jungatsch* 'loafer,' *trefnjak* 'one who eats forbidden food.' Sometimes contempt is expressed by changing the initial consonant of a word, as *pamilje* 'family' (of one who boasts with his family).

#### Compounds.

Nouns may be compounded of various origin: *kaporehindel* (H. *כַּפּוֹרֵת* and G. *Hindel* 'dog') 'scapegoat,' *mamzerschtikel* (H. *מַמְזֵר* and G. *Schtikel* 'piece') 'Yankee trick,' *höjzenkeschene* (G. *Hosen* and Pol. *keszeń*) 'trousers pocket,' *talename* 'parents'; or the first word may be an adjective, as *oremán* (*orem man*) 'poor man, beggar,' *ellerzejde* 'great-grandfather.'

#### Adjective.—Declension.

In the masculine and feminine gender the adjective is declined alike after the definite and the indefinite article:

		Singular.	
		Masculine.	Feminine.
Nom.	<i>der guter mensch</i> , the good		<i>a mazeldige scho</i> , a happy
Dat.	<i>dem guten menschen</i> [man		<i>a mazeldiger scho</i> [hour
Acc.	<i>dem guten menschen</i>		<i>a mazeldige scho</i>
		Plural.	
Nom.	} <i>di gute menschen</i>		<i>mazeldige schos</i>
Dat.			
Acc.			
		Neuter.	
		With the definite article.	With the indefinite article.
Nom.	<i>dos kalte waser</i> , the cold water		<i>a gutes menschel</i> , a good
Dat.	<i>dem kalten waser</i>		<i>a guten menschel</i> [man
Acc.	<i>dos kalte waser</i>		<i>a gutes menschel</i>

The plural is *gute* throughout. Much more frequently, however, the adjective in the neuter gender after the indefinite article remains without endings; for example, *a fet bejndel* 'a fat little bone'; this is sometimes the case after the definite article also.

The adjective not preceded by any article is declined in the same way, and the neuter remains undeclined.

If the adjective ends in *n* the ending *en* is changed to *em*; for example, *mit a zuschpollenem kop* 'with a cracked head'; the word *naj* 'new,' although ending in a vowel, has in the same cases *najem*.

In short locutions the adjective frequently remains undeclined: *gut morgen* 'good morning,' *gut woch* 'good-day' (during week-days), *gut schabes* 'good-day' (on Saturdays).

If the neuter is used substantively or when it follows the noun, it must preserve its *s*: *kajn zoures* 'nothing sour'; so also in the dative; *ongefilt mit aldes guts* 'filled with everything good.'

In some words *s* is changed into *sch*: *epis andersch* 'something else.' The adjective preceded by the article may follow another adjective for emphasis' sake: *es wil zich nischt arajnsolen in a finster a nas hous* 'one does not like to stumble into a dark and damp house.' *Wejnig* is always an adverb, even in such an expression as *wejnig fun zej* 'few of them.'

The declension of *ale* is peculiar; in the singular only the neuter occurs:

	Singular.	Plural.
Nom.	<i>alz</i>	<i>ale</i>
Dat.	<i>alemen</i>	<i>alemen</i> and <i>ale</i>
Acc.	<i>alz</i>	<i>alemen</i> and <i>ale</i>

In the plural it is regularly *ale* when used adjectively.

Although the definite article precedes *ale*—*di ale menschen* 'all the men'—yet in expressions like *zu alde schwarzjor* 'by all the black years' (euphemistic for 'to the devil') *alde* seems to stand for *ale di*.

#### Comparison.

The comparative is formed by the ending *er*, the superlative by the ending *st*:

<i>schtark</i>	<i>schtarker</i>	<i>schtarkst</i> , strong
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The letter *u* is modified to *i*, and *öj*, *ej* to *e*:

<i>gezunt</i>	<i>gezinter</i>	<i>gezintst</i> , healthy
<i>gröjs</i>	<i>greser</i>	<i>grest</i> , large
<i>klejn</i>	<i>klener</i>	<i>klenst</i> , small

The following are irregular:

<i>no</i>	<i>nenter</i>	<i>nenst</i> , near
<i>gut</i>	<i>beser</i>	<i>best</i> , good
<i>fil, a sach</i>	<i>mer, mejn</i>	<i>mejst, mejnst</i> , much

### Derivation.

Adjectives may be of German, Slavic or Hebrew origin. Those from the German are formed similar to the German adjectives. From nouns, adjectives, adverbs the most adjectives are formed by the endings *en*, *ig*, *dig*, *sch*, *isch*; the adjective is modified if the noun from which the word is derived is modified in the plural:

<i>gold</i>	<i>golden</i> , golden
<i>hi</i>	<i>higer</i> , native
<i>harz</i>	<i>harzedig</i> , hearty
<i>kinder</i>	<i>kindersch</i> , childish
<i>mansbil</i>	<i>mansbilsch</i> , male

From the Slavic adjectives are formed by the simple declensional endings; but if the word ends in a consonant followed by *r*, no further *r* is added: *a spokojner man* 'a quiet man.'

Those from the Hebrew are formed by the ending *dig* or *isch*:

<i>mores-chöjredig</i>	—H. מְרֵרָה שְׂכוּרָה—melancholy
<i>mazeldig</i>	—H. מְזֵל—lucky
<i>schabesdig</i>	—H. שַׁבָּת—Saturday's
<i>balebatisch</i>	—H. הַבֵּית הַבֵּל—lordly, economical
<i>göjnisch</i>	—H. גִּבּוֹר—smart, clever

Adjectives may be used in a diminutive form with the Slavic suffixes *inke*, *itschke*, *owate*: *gröjsinker* 'somewhat large,' *klejninker* 'very small,' *altitschker* 'old and feeble,' *tamowater* 'slightly foolish.'

The use of the adjectives in Jargon is much freer than in German; where we have a compound in German, the Jargon uses an adjective before the nouns, as in *weksene Chanেকে*

*lichtlech* 'little Chanuka wax candles.' This is evidently Slavic influence, where the adjective is similarly used.

### *Numerals.*

The ordinals are

<i>ejn</i> , one	<i>achzen</i> , eighteen
<i>zwey</i> , two	<i>najnzen</i> , nineteen
<i>draj</i> , three	<i>zwanzig</i> , twenty
<i>fir</i> , four	<i>cjnunzwanzig</i> , twenty-one
<i>finef</i> , five	<i>draysig</i> , thirty
<i>zeks</i> , six	<i>ferzig</i> , forty
<i>ziben</i> , seven	<i>fufzig</i> , fifty
<i>acht</i> , eight	<i>sechzig</i> , sixty
<i>najn</i> , nine	<i>zibzig</i> , seventy
<i>zen</i> , ten	<i>achzig</i> , eighty
<i>elf</i> , eleven	<i>najnzig</i> , ninety
<i>zwelf</i> , twelve	<i>hundert</i> , hundred
<i>drajzen</i> , thirteen	<i>hundert un ejn</i> , one hundred and one
<i>ferzen</i> , fourteen	<i>zwey hundert</i> , two hundred
<i>fufzen</i> , fifteen	<i>touzent</i> , thousand
<i>zechzen</i> , sixteen	<i>miljón</i> , million
<i>zibzen</i> , seventeen	

The cardinals, except *erschter*, *dritter*, *ferter*, are formed by adding *ter* up to twenty and *ster* to the rest of the ordinals.

By adding *er* to the ordinals, denominations of money are expressed: *a drajer* 'a three kopeks coin,' *a zener* 'ten rouble bill.'

Then there are such combinations as *andertalb*, *dritalb*, *fertalb* = one and a half, two and a half, three and a half, respectively. By the ending *ling* an approximate number is expressed: *a zenlling* 'some ten.'

Denominators of fractions end as in German in *tel*: *draj fertel* 'three-fourth.'

In writing dates the Hebrew chronology is used, and, as in Hebrew, the letters are used to express the year, thus: תרל"ז = (5)637 = 1877 A. D.

*Pronoun.*

The *personal pronouns* are declined as follows:

	Singular.			Plural.		
	1st pers.	2d pers.	3d person.	1st pers.	2d pers.	3d pers.
Nom.	<i>ich</i>	<i>du</i>	<i>er, zi, es</i>	<i>mir</i>	<i>ir</i> <sup>1</sup>	<i>zej</i>
Dat.	<i>mir</i>	<i>dir</i>	<i>im (em), ir, -</i>	<i>uns</i>	<i>ajch</i>	<i>zej</i>
Acc.	<i>mich</i>	<i>dich</i>	<i>im (em), zi, es</i>	<i>uns</i>	<i>ajch</i>	<i>zej</i>

In the Lithuanian dialect the accusative is of the same form as the dative. The genitive but rarely occurs in the German form, and is to be regarded as an encroachment of literary German on the Jargon, as in the sentence *ich wolt schejn gern gewen zajner poter zu weren* 'I should like to get rid of him.'

The neuter *es* is frequently used as an expletive, like the Dutch *er*, as in the sentence *fun wanen gejt ir es do?* 'from where do you come?' *Wi azôj schrajt men es do in schul ouf azâ kol!* 'How dares one cry out loud in the synagogue!' The dative neuter does not occur; in combination with prepositions *der* is used, followed by the preposition: *dermit* 'with it,' *derfun* 'from it.'

The *possessive pronouns* are of two forms—the indeclinable, when immediately preceding a noun; the declinable, when following the noun or when preceding a noun with its indefinite article. The indeclinable gets the ending *e* in the plural. The pronouns are: *majn, dajn, zajn, ir, zajn; unzer, ajer, zejzer*.

The declinable ending in *n* are declined like *majn*:

	Singular.		Plural.
	Masc.	Fem.	All genders.
Nom.	<i>majner</i>	<i>majne</i>	<i>majne</i>
Dat.	<i>majnem</i>	<i>majner</i>	<i>majne</i>
Acc.	<i>majnem</i>	<i>majne</i>	<i>majne</i>

Those ending in *r* are declined like *unzer*:

	Singular.		Plural.
	Masc.	Feminine.	All genders.
Nom.	<i>unzer</i>	<i>unzere</i>	<i>unzere</i>
Dat.	<i>unzern</i>	<i>unzerer (unzer)</i>	<i>unzere</i>
Acc.	<i>unzern</i>	<i>unzere</i>	<i>unzere</i>

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Ph. Mansch mentions a form *ets* for the 2d person plural, but I have never heard or seen it. Dr. Mansch is the only one who has written at greater length on the Jargon; his articles appeared in the 'Israelit' of Lemberg in 1888, '89, '90, but they are inexact, and devoid of philological value.

The possessive pronouns of the neuter gender, used substantively, may also end in *ige*: *dos majnige* 'mine,' *dos zejrige* 'theirs.'

The declinable pronouns before the indefinite article express indefiniteness; for example, *majner a guter chawer* 'a good friend of mine.' They are used after the nouns to express the reference more emphatically: *di nesije zajne* 'illa peregrinatio ejus,' 'his journey.'

The second person plural of the personal and possessive pronouns are used in address, but in speaking to Germans the third plural is frequently heard; in speaking deferentially of persons present or absent in the third person, the third person plural is used.

The *reflexive pronouns* for all persons is *zich*; this is evidently Slavic influence, where (in Russian) *sja* is added to the verb in all persons to form the reflexive. Occasionally the German reflexive is found: *mir, mich, dir, dich*, etc., but I have never heard it spoken.

*Alejn* means 'myself, thyself,' etc.: *alejn bin ich fun Teteriwke* 'I, for my person, am a native of Teteriwke.'

The indeclinable *demonstratives* are *azá* (only in the singular) 'such a,' *azöjne* and *azelche* (only in the plural) 'such,' *ot* = French *là*, as in *ot der mensch* 'cet homme-là,' 'that man'; this *ot* is evidently an abbreviation of the Russian *wot*: *wot etot tschelowjek* 'cet homme-là.'

The declinable demonstratives are—

*der, di, dos*, declined like the article, 'that,' 'hic.'

*jener, jene, jens*, declined like the article, 'that,' 'iste.'

*der doziger*, declined like adjective, 'the above-mentioned,' 'ille.'

*dizer*, used only in the Lithuanian, 'this.'

The *interrogative wer, was* 'who, what' is declined as follows:

	Masc. and Fem.	Neuter.
Nom.	<i>wer</i>	<i>wos</i>
Dat.	<i>wemen (wem)</i>	<i>wos</i>
Acc.	<i>wemen (wem)</i>	<i>wos</i>

*Wos far a* 'what kind of a' sometimes keeps the *a* in the plural; it is indeclinable. The interrogative *welcher* 'which' is declined like an adjective.

There are two classes of *relative pronouns*, the declinable and

the indeclinable. The declinable is *welcher, welche, welches*; for example, *zej hoben gezen zu welche zej dinen* 'they have idols whom they worship.'

The indeclinable is *wos*; it may be always used for *welcher*, even more freely than English *that* for *who, which*: *der mensch wos beklogt zich* 'the man who complains.' Strange is the use of the prepositions with the relative *wos*, in that they follow *wos*, themselves followed by a personal pronoun or adverb; for example, *di oreme lajt wos men hot baj zej di höjt opgezöjgen* 'the poor people whose skins they had flayed,' *der wos ich bin nit wert zu dermonen zajn nomen* 'he whose name I am not worthy of mentioning,' *di kuliklech schtröj wos derouf iz im wajch gewén zu ligen* 'the bunches of straw on which it was soft to sleep.' This seems to be due to Hebrew influence.

*He who* is expressed by *der wos*: *di wos handlen mit trejfe schöjres* 'those who deal in contraband goods.'

*Wos* may be strengthened by the demonstrative *der*, as in the following sentence: *der top der wos schtejt ouf'm tisch* 'the pot that stands on the table.'

There are many indefinite pronouns in the Jargon: *epis* (indeclinable) *ajn* 'some, any' (*der mensch beklogt zich beschás epis ajn umglik* 'the man complains in any (least) misfortune'); *azöjns* 'such a thing' (*wos hoben mir azöjns gekent fargesen?* 'what could we, indeed, have forgotten?'); *itlicher* 'every' (declined like an adjective) (*es wolt beser gewén far itlichen* 'it would have been best for everybody'); *chotsch* (Russian) *wer* 'any one' (*chotsch wos es iz* 'let it be anything'); *abi wer* 'anybody, the first best,' *imizer* 'somebody,' *jederer* 'everybody,' *der un der*, 'such and such a one,' *wer—wer* 'some—some' (*wer in schljapes wer in fatschejles* 'some in hats, some in kerchiefs').

LEO WIENER.

### III.—THE RELATIVE POSITION OF ACTORS AND CHORUS IN THE GREEK THEATRE OF THE V CENTURY B. C.<sup>1</sup>

#### PART I.

#### CONSIDERATION OF THE EXTANT THEATRES.

#### THE GREEK THEATRE.

It has been assumed, and by many writers on the subject it is assumed to-day, that the great Athenian dramatists, Vitruvius, all the grammarians, lexicographers and scholiasts had before their eyes the same Greek theatre, which remained practically unchanged from the time of Aischylos to the days when Nero and Hadrian were spectators in the theatre of Dionysos. The 'Vitruvian stage' has been accepted as *the* Greek stage for the entire period of the Greek drama, and the description of the Greek theatre by the same authority has been used as a Procrustes bed to which all plans of theatre ruins must in some way be made to conform.

Within the last decade, however, the revolt against the writers of post-classic times as authorities on the theatre of the V century has been rapidly spreading. The excavations in the theatres of Athens, Epidauros, Sikyon, Oropos, Megalopolis, and Eretria have yielded results of the highest importance. With the knowledge gained from these excavations, with the carefully drawn plans of these theatres before us, the older works dealing with the construction of the Greek theatre, and plans such as are found in Wieseler's 'Theatergebäude' must be considered as antiquated. Therefore, before entering upon the discussion of the extant dramas, we will consider the Greek theatre as described in classic

<sup>1</sup> The substance of this paper has already appeared under the title 'Der Standort der Schauspieler und des Chors im griechischen Theater des fünften Jahrhunderts. (Inaugural-Dissertation.) Mit dem Accessit gekrönte Preisschrift. München, 1892.' Contrary to the usage of the Journal, the paper is reproduced here as a necessary introduction to the new matter which will be embraced in the subsequent article.—B. L. G.



literature and as it actually exists in the more recent and more important excavations.<sup>1</sup>

*Theatre of Dionysos at Athens.*<sup>2</sup>

Oldest of the existing ruins are the remains of the ancient orchestra, *KNO* (vid. Fig. 1). All stage-buildings of which traces still exist were built over a portion of this circle. A glance at the plan shows that the present cavea has no connection with it. At *O* the Acropolis rock was cut away in order to make room for this circle; so the level of this entire orchestra could not have been lower than the rock at *O* is to-day. At *N* and *K* are still *in situ* portions of the circular supporting wall, whose character can best be studied at *N*. It is built of roughly shaped pieces of Acropolis limestone, which is the oldest building material in Athens, and was not used later than the V century. This is plainly a supporting wall; the outside was intended to be seen, but the inside is rough, just as the stone was broken from the quarry. The bottom of this wall at *N* is 5 or 6 ft. lower than *O*. Therefore the level of the earth within the orchestra circle at *KN* was originally at least 5 or 6 ft. above the level of the ground outside the circle at these points. This fact alone is fatal to the theory of Wilamowitz (Hermes, XXI, S. 597 ff.) that the audience to the earlier plays of Aeschylus stood or sat in a complete circle about this orchestra. Furthermore, at the time when this orchestra was constructed no stage-building<sup>3</sup> could have existed. For, if present, its front must have been nearly tangent to the circle on the south. In that event the level of the orchestra must needs have been continued to the entire front of the stage-building, the outer surface of the wall *KN* would not have been carefully dressed, and, in fact, this wall would not have been necessary at all. It has also been urged that a 'stage' 10-12 ft. high was

<sup>1</sup> Some of the more important discussions are: Höpken, *De theatro Attico saeculi a. Chr. quinti*. A. Müller, *Bühnenalterthümer*, and *Philol. Anz.* XV 525 ff. Wilamowitz, *Hermes*, XXI, S. 597 ff. Haigh, *Attic Theatre*. Dörpfeld: in A. Müller's *Bühnenalterthümer*, S. 415 ff.; on Haigh, *Attic Theatre*, in *Philol. Wochenschrift*, 1890, S. 461 ff.; on Hartzmann, *Quaestiones Scaenicae*, *ibid.*, S. 1658 ff.; on Oehmichen, *Bühnenwesen*, *ibid.*, S. 1532 ff. Kawerau, in *Baumeister's Denkmäler*, S. 1730 ff.

<sup>2</sup> The facts concerning the Athens theatre are from the lectures of Dörpfeld in the theatre itself during the winter of 1890-91.

<sup>3</sup> As a matter of convenience, 'stage,' 'stage-buildings,' etc., will be used, though the writer is convinced that no stage existed in the V century.

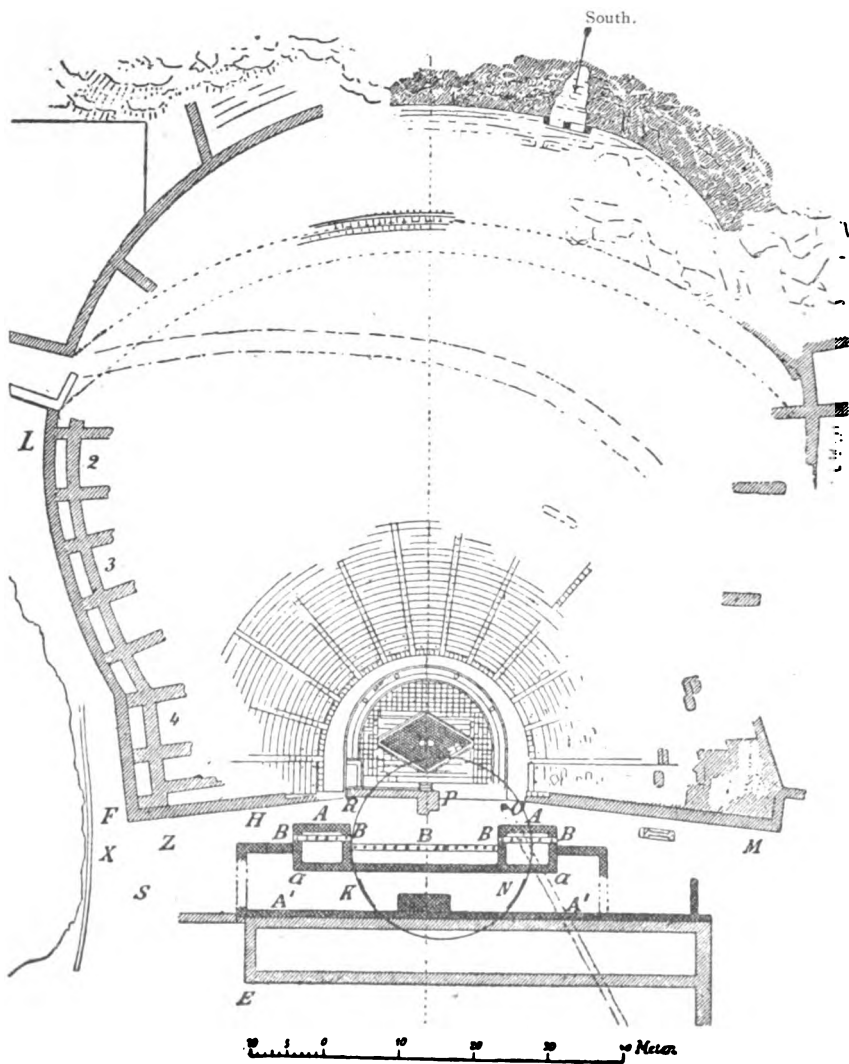


FIG. 1.

necessary in order to give room underneath for the disappearance of an actor, as in the Prometheus. Since there was a difference of 6 ft. between the level of the orchestra and the level of the earth under the supposed 'stage,' a height of 10-12 ft. for this would cause the actor to drop 16-18 ft.! Suidas (v. *Πρατίνας* and *Αἰσχύλος*) informs us that the wooden seats having broken down under the weight of the spectators, a stone *θέατρον* was built by the Athenians in Ol. 70. In this connection may be mentioned some walls not yet published on any plan and not on Fig. 1 because of the lack of accurate measurements. These walls, at *XZ*, are not parallel with *FH*, and from their direction could hardly have had anything to do with the orchestra belonging with the extant cavea. Whether these walls belonged with the *θέατρον* erected after the Pratinas-Choirilos-Aischylos breakdown can perhaps not be fully decided. They at least take us back a step nearer to that oldest stone cavea.

The walls of the oldest stage-buildings are represented on Fig. 1 by the shaded lines *AAA'A'* and are of the same age and method of construction as are the supporting walls of the cavea, e. g. *FL* 2, 3, 4. Wherever these walls were not exposed to view, as in the inner supporting walls of the cavea at 2, 3, 4 and in the lower foundations of the stage-buildings, they are constructed of blocks of breccia of the same size, shape and method of working throughout. If exposed to view, as in the outer cavea wall *LF* and in the upper courses of *AA'*, Peiraieus limestone was used. Where any portion of the superstructure remains the Peiraieus limestone is covered by Hymettos marble. The entire similarity of construction proves that these oldest foundations of stage-buildings and the cavea belong to the same period of building. But no ruin is known in Athens constructed, in the manner just described, of breccia, Peiraieus limestone and Hymettos marble which dates prior to the IV century B. C. At *H*, on a stone in the supporting wall of the cavea, are found α and ο, the former of the shape in use after the time of Eukleides. At the corner *F* is to be seen the inscription published in CIA. I 499. The stone is in its original position, and was formerly covered by two courses of stone, which were between it and the corner *F*. The inscription, then, could not have been added after the stone was placed in its present location, but was placed there when the stone was in some previous position. It is variously dated from the middle of the V century (Julius) to 408 B. C. (Kirchhoff). The stone was

surely not removed from the earlier structure and built into this cavea wall immediately after this inscription was added. These two inscriptions, then, render the construction of the cavea walls, and hence of these oldest stage-buildings, before the end of the V century impossible. For all students of the theatre of Dionysos agree that these walls represent one and but one period of construction. Haigh (*Attic Theatre*, p. 123) contends that these inscriptions date the construction only as late as the end of the V century. Dörpfeld (*Wochenschrift*, 12. Apr. 1890, S. 423) well replies: "Dieser Einwand kann kaum ernstlich gemeint sein: denn wer die Geschichte Athens kennt wird niemals glauben, dass die Athener am Ende des fünften Jahrhunderts ein grosses steinernes Theater errichtet haben." The extant cavea and the oldest stage-buildings were constructed, then, in the IV century. In this century we know of one and but one great period of theatre-building; that mentioned in connection with the orator Lykourgos (cf. Müller, B.-A., S. 86). Such important construction could hardly have been completed before his time and have passed unnoted by classic authors. In that event, too, nothing would have remained to be done by Lykourgos of sufficient importance to merit the attention which his work on the theatre has received. Hereafter, therefore, we shall refer to the cavea and the foundations *AAA'A'* under the name of Lykourgos.

The stylobate *BB* is later than the time of Lykourgos. When it was built the fronts of the paraskenia *AA* were cut back so that they ended beneath this stylobate. The original foundations of the paraskenia are still *in situ*. The upper course of *BB* is of Hymettos marble, but this marble rests directly on a rough, poorly constructed foundation largely made up of breccia. In IV-century construction in Athens this never occurs. A course of Peiraieus limestone was in this period always placed between the breccia and the marble. Upon *BB* stood full columns whose diameter, .50 m., can still be measured. These, with the epistyle, would, at the time they were constructed, be about 12 ft. high. So this proskenion would in height correspond very nearly with the one in Epidauros. The upper surface of *BB* is exactly on a level with the pavement of the present orchestra, and the front of the slabs which compose this stylobate is worked out to receive the edges of slabs of a similar pavement. Therefore the surface of *BB* was on a level with the orchestra circle existing at the time of its construction. In Epidauros, Oropos and Eretria the pros-

kenion walls were constructed of half-columns, the spaces between which, as is proven at Eretria and Oropos, were filled by *πίνακες*. In the centre of each of these walls was a door leading out on the level of the orchestra. At Athens were full columns, and in the centre were three doors, only a single column separating each of the side doors from the one in the centre. This last, exactly in the middle of the stylobate, was the widest (1.60 m.). The other two are wider than the usual intercolumnar interval. The markings made on the stylobate by door-posts and hinges admit of no doubt as to the existence of the doors, and these could, of course, have had no meaning unless the intervals between the other columns had been closed in some way.

*RP* represents what still remains of the 'stage of Phaidros,' the erection of which in the III century A. D. is dated by the inscription (CIA. III 239). Its height is that customary in the later theatre, and a glance at the plan shows that its depth, back to the foundations of the stage-buildings, was also quite 'Roman.'

The reliefs which now adorn the front of this stage have been cut down to fit their present position. Their artistic execution is similar to that of the torsos of some large satyrs which are now found scattered among the ruins of the theatre, along with the fragments of the massive architrave which they helped to support. On this architrave can still be read (CIA. III 158) [Διονύσῳ 'ΕΛ]ευ-  
θερίῃ καὶ [Νέρωνι Κλ]αυδίῳ Καίσαρι Σε[βαστῷ Γερμανικῷ κ. τ. λ. The unchanneled columns which, with the torsos, supported this architrave are much too large ever to have stood on *BB*. But immediately behind the Lykourgan wall *aa* stands a much later strengthening wall (not given on the plan). The wall *aa* thus strengthened alone, of the walls found in the ruins of the stage-buildings, could have borne the weight of the Neronian columns and their epistyle. This wall was therefore the front of Nero's stage-building. The stage itself extended over the stylobate *BB*, well forward towards the position of the front of the stage of Phaidros. For under Nero the wide Roman stage would be constructed.

The history of the theatre of Dionysos during the 800 years from Aischylos to Phaidros, so far as it can now be read in the ruins themselves, is briefly as follows:

1. Dating to the V century or earlier is the ancient orchestra *ONK*. In connection with this orchestra permanent stage-buildings never existed.

2. Such buildings were first completed in connection with a new theatron by Lykourgos, in the latter half of the IV century. The form of this 'scenae frons,' the wall *aa* with the paraskenia *AA*, was naturally that of the temporary wooden scenae frons which existed before this time, i. e. the form was what the requirements of the plays demanded. This, then, is the best representation we possess of the scenae frons before which the plays of the great dramatists of the V century were acted.

3. The stone proskenion on *BB* was added at some period considerably later than Lykourgos, but before the time of Nero. That such stone 'proskenia' did not exist in the V and IV centuries is a strong indication that the plays of the great dramatists were not exhibited before one fixed form of a background, but that proscenia were erected in accordance with the requirements of the various plays.

4. The 'Roman' stage was built under Nero.

5. This was altered in the time of Phaidros, about 290 A. D.

### *The Thymele.*

It becomes necessary to examine the evidence to see if the structure which we have thus far called the 'proskenion' was ever used as a 'stage.' Since the extant plays emphatically demand that there shall be no impediment to the free intermingling of actors and chorus, and since, if the actors were on a stage 12 ft. high while the chorus were on the orchestra-level, such free communication would be impossible, Hermann, Wieseler, Müller and many others have assumed that a supplementary stage was erected for the chorus, to which the name *θυμέλη* has been assigned. A. Müller (B.-A., S. 129 ff.) is the latest who has undertaken to prove the existence of such a platform. He first cites (S. 129, An. 1) Pollux, IV 123: *καὶ σκηνὴ μὲν ὑποκριτῶν ἴδιον, ἡ δὲ ὀρχήστρα τοῦ χοροῦ, ἐν ᾗ καὶ ἡ θυμέλη, εἴτε βῆμά τι οὐσα εἴτε βωμός.* But here it is simply said that the thymele was in the orchestra and was a kind of platform for a speaker (*βῆμα*), or an altar (*βωμός*). Neither of these statements indicates that it was a large platform, or that the chorus ever took position on it. The epigram of Simmias Thebanus (Müller, S. 129)—

τόν σε χοροῖς μέλψαντα Σοφοκλέα παῖδα Σοφίλου,  
τόν τραγικῆς Μούσης ἀστέρα Κεκρόπιον  
πολλάκις ἐν θυμέλῃσι καὶ ἐν σκηνῇσι τεθληλὺς  
βλαιοδὸς κ. τ. λ.

only testifies that the thymele and the skene were two important portions of the theatre. The inscription referring to the actress Basilla (CIG. 6750), ἐνὶ σκηναῖσι λαβοῦσαν παντοίης ἀρετῆς . . . εἶτα χοροῖσι πολλάκις ἐν θυμέλαις, shows in addition that the chorus was particularly associated with the thymele, as would naturally be the case, since this was the altar in the orchestra (Pollux, IV 123). The remark of Hesych. v. γλυκερῶ Σιδωνίῳ. δρᾶμα δέ ἐστιν ἐν ᾧ τῆς θυμέλης<sup>1</sup> ἄρχεται οὕτως, adds nothing. Here seems to be said only that the play opens with a choral ode. Isidor Origg. XVIII 47 "thymelici erant musici scaenici, qui in organis et lyris et citharis praecinebant, et dicti thymelici, quod olim in orchestra stantes cantabant super pulpitem, quod thymele vocabatur" is valuable as proving that the musicians had their place on some portion of this altar. The scholion to Aristides, III, p. 536, Dind. ὅτε εἰσῆει ἐν τῇ ὀρχήστρᾳ ἥ ἐστὶ θυμέλη, only states that the thymele was in the orchestra. So in Vitruvius, V 7, 2 "actores in scaena peragunt, reliqui autem artifices suas per orchestram praestant actiones itaque ex eo scaenici et thymelici graece separatim nominantur" the writer simply understands that the chorus performed its part in the orchestra and received a name from the thymele, the most important object in this portion of the theatre. The scholiast to Aristoph. Eq. 149: ὡς ἐν θυμέλῃ τὸ ἀνάβαινε is speaking of an actor, and the application of his words will appear when this passage in the Equites is considered. The story of Alkibiades and Eupolis in schol. Aristid. III 444 adds nothing. The only passages in which Müller finds that thymele really means platform are Gloss. Philox., ed. Vulc., p. 176, 18: pulpitem, θυμέλη, σανίδωμα, ἐπίπεδον; Charisius, I, p. 552, 18, Keil: pulpitus, θυμέλη. These definitions should be compared with Pollux, IV 123. They do not at all indicate that the thymele was a large platform for the chorus. The citations from Thomas Magister, p. 179, ed. Ritschl, and Strabo, p. 468, Cas. (Müller, S. 130, An. 1), as Müller rightly remarks, only show that the musicians had their place on the thymele. In the famous Hyporchema of Pratinas in Athen. XIV, p. 617 C: τίς ὁ θόρυβος ὅδε; τί τάδε τὰ χορεύματα; τίς ὕβρις ἔμολεν ἐπὶ Διονυσιάδα πολυπάταγα θυμέλαν; the poet is complaining of the insolence of the flute-players in taking the lead, instead of being content to accompany the chorus. His τίς ὕβρις refers to the insolence of the musicians, and the πολυπάταγα θυμέλαν is so called because it resounded to their music. The words of Ulpian to

<sup>1</sup> Wecklein emends: τὰ ἀπὸ τῆς θυμέλης.

Dem. Mid., p. 502, explain that some one led the dishonored (τοὺς ἀτίμους) away from the altar (ἐκ τῆς θυμέλης); but they contain no hint of a platform. The grammarian Phrynichos, p. 163, Lob. (Müller, S. 130, An. 5), not only does not declare in favor of a special stage for the chorus, but by using λογεῖον and ὀρχήστρα shows that he is speaking of the later Roman theatre. For λογεῖον, as applied to the theatre, is never used till Roman times (Dörpfeld).

In fact, no one of the advocates of this special platform has as yet brought from the writings of the ancients one word of positive testimony for its existence, while the argument against its existence is overwhelming.<sup>1</sup> It is hardly possible that, among the many notices which have come down to us from antiquity concerning the Greek theatre, there should exist no mention of this special platform for the chorus, if it ever existed. Vitruvius (V 6, 7) takes pains to explain what he considers to be the chief points of difference between the Greek and the Roman theatres. Had such a platform ever existed, he could have mentioned nothing else that would have emphasized this difference so much. He is, however, silent on this point. Again, if such a θυμέλη were ever present, we should be compelled to believe that the Greeks first built their stage much too high; then, when they discovered their mistake, in order to bring the chorus within reach of the actors, they built each year another platform nearly as high. This requires us to believe that the Greeks were exceedingly unpractical.

The entire area of the orchestra was required for the dithyrambic choruses of the City Dionysia. This platform would have interfered with the motions of these cyclic choruses, and consequently must have been erected after the dithyrambic contests, and removed at the conclusion of the performance of the dramas. This renders the existence of such a θυμέλη improbable. For the yearly erection of such a staging special appliances would undoubtedly be present—sockets, holes for the supporting posts, mortices in the walls of the 'stage' front for the reception of beams, some indication of the inclined plane or steps leading from the parodoi to the platform. Not a trace of these things has ever been found.

In all but three of the plays of Aristophanes, actors and chorus go off together at the end. In the Wasps the poet tells us that

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Petersen in Wiener Studien, VII, S. 175 ff., and Haigh, Attic Theatre, p. 156 f.

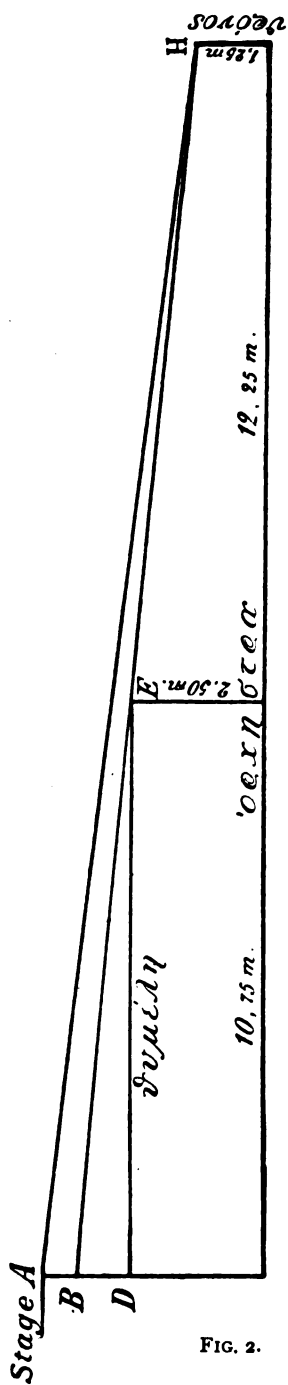


all depart dancing. They undoubtedly do the same in the Peace, the Birds, and the Ecclesiazusae. This action would be impossible in descending from a platform to the parodoi.

In several plays persons enter riding upon chariots drawn by horses. As will appear later, these could not have appeared on the so-called stage. Equally impossible is it that they could have ascended to this special platform. The din made by horses and chariots moving over such a hollow wooden platform is in itself sufficient to make such a theory improbable.

The fronts of the 'stages' at Athens, Epidauros, Oropos, and Eretria were ornamented with handsome columns; in the middle of each 'stage'-front was a door leading out on the level of the orchestra. This special platform for the chorus would have cut these columns and doors in half, and they would then have presented a very unpleasing appearance to the eyes of the spectators. To say that the theatre was used for other than dramatic purposes is no sufficient reply to this argument. The theatre, particularly the 'stage,' was principally for theatrical purposes, and it requires most special proof to show that the architecture found therein was intended for some other use.

The size and shape of this imaginary platform are not the same in any two of the many authors who have advocated its existence. In Epidauros the 'stage' was 4 m. high. Since the sole object of the platform now under consideration was to bring the choreutae and actors near each other, it is fair to assume for Epidauros at least 2.50 m. as its height. In Epidauros the *θρόνοι* of the front row of seats rest on a basis whose upper surface is exactly on a level with the orchestra (cf. plan in *Πρακτικά*, 1883, πιν. Α' 2). The height of the seat of these *θρόνοι* from the basis is .43 m.—practically the same as that of the similar chairs at Athens and Oropos. The average man as he sits has the level of his eyes not more than .80 m. above the seat. From the level of the orchestra to the level of the eyes of the spectators in the front row of seats at Epidauros, the distance would not be greater than 1.25 m. Since the thymele was to be large enough for all the evolutions of twenty-four choreutae (in comedy), it is not too much to say that it should extend from the front of the 'stage' to the centre of the orchestra. Fig. 2 represents the appearance of the 'stage' and of such a thymele to the spectator in the middle seat of the front row in this theatre. *HA* is the line of sight from the spectator's eye to the top of the stage; *HEB* the corresponding



Τομή της οερήσεως εν Επιδείξει

line over the front edge of the thymele. If the choreutae were near *E* on this platform their bodies would effectually conceal the stage from the spectator at *H*. If they stood in the rear near *D*, only the upper portions of their own bodies would be visible. To avoid this last difficulty the slope of the thymele must be nearly as great as that of *BE*—rather a sharp incline, it must be confessed.

But we must consider not only the man who sits at *H*, but also the spectators at the extreme ends of this row of seats. Here the spectator was not, as at *H*, separated from this thymele by a distance of 12.25 meters, but the edge of the platform must have been very near to him. If, as was natural, the thymele covered the entire width of the orchestra, its edge was only 2.50 m. from the *θρόνοι*. Every foot taken from the width to withdraw the edge farther away removed one foot from each side of the platform. A simple mathematical calculation shows that this process of cutting would soon render the platform too small for use. In any event, the spectators at the ends would be much nearer to the thymele than those in the centre of the front row. Consequently the edge of the platform must have been so much the lower that they might see over it. The slope towards the ends of the rows of seats was greater, then, than that towards *H*, and the edges of this platform opposite the end seats could have been very little higher than the eyes of the spectators sitting there, i. e. very little more than 1.25 m. high. But if this double slope towards the two ends existed, the persons seated in these portions of the front row could have seen only the half of the platform next to them; the opposite half would have been cut off from their eyes by the higher middle portion of the thymele (along *DE*, Fig. 2). The shape of this platform must have been, then, like the half of a gigantic turtle-shell, with the diameter placed against the 'stage' and the incline extending in all directions to the edges. This is a self-evident absurdity. The only way to overcome all these difficulties is to reduce the height of the platform to 1.25 m., the level of the eyes of front row of spectators. But in that case the stage would be over 8 ft. above the level of this platform, and communication between actors and chorus would be practically as difficult as if no such thymele existed.

The argument for Epidauros applies fully at Athens, except that the base on which the Athenian thronoi stand is .30 m. above the level of the orchestra. In Oropos a new difficulty is found (cf. *Πρακτικά*, 1886, πιν. 3). The chairs of honor are in their

original position, and are actually placed within the orchestra. It is incredible that any platform could ever have been erected immediately before the eyes of the occupants of these thronoi.

Of great weight in this connection are the discoveries in the theatre of Eretria (cf. Preprints of the Am. Journal of Arch., Vol. VII, No. 3). An inscription found in the theatre (v. Jour., p. 23) proves that the theatre was at least as old as the IV century. The oldest portion is probably of a yet earlier date. Exactly in the centre of the orchestra (cf. plan in Jour.) a flight of steps leads down into an underground passage which extends to a position behind the 'stage'-front, where similar steps lead again to the surface. The work of the walls of this tunnel is excellent; it is older than the stone 'stage'-front—which corresponds to the similar structures at Epidauros, Oropos, and Athens; it is .89 m. wide and 2 m. high (C. L. Brownson in Jour., p. 43), and it is entirely unconnected with any drain. Its only possible purpose was to allow an actor to pass from behind the 'stage'-front and appear in the middle of the orchestra. 'Charon's steps' (Pollux, IV 127) appear clearly to us moderns for the first time in Eretria. In Sikyon (cf. Am. Jour. of Arch., Vol. V, Fig. 9) a similar passage has been found, but this tunnel served also as a drain. Such underground passages exist also in Magnesia and Tralles. So the Eretrian tunnel by no means stands as an isolated example. These passages would have been entirely unnecessary had a special platform for the chorus existed. One would surely not expect the ghost of Dareios, for example, to pass through this passage to the orchestra and then climb to such a thymele.

In view of all these objections, a special platform such as has been imagined for the chorus seems an utter impossibility.

#### *The So-called Greek Stage.*

The 'stages' of Epidauros, Athens, and Eretria were about 4 m. high. The corresponding structure in the smaller theatre of Oropos was only 2.51 m. high. The appearance of the 'stage'-front in each of the four theatres was much the same. The depth of this 'stage' was in Epidauros 3 m., in Athens 2.25 m. (Dörpfeld), in Eretria 2.14 m., in Oropos 1.93 m. This depth does not, however, represent the space at hand for the actors during the presentation of a play. In front of the wall of the stage-building must have been placed the *δισθεγία*. A. Müller (B.-A., S. 140 ff.) explains what this was in classic times. The scenes in the dramas

in which this platform was used will be discussed later. Suffice it here to say that the *distegia* must have been broad enough to contain several persons and to permit freedom of action. The real scenery must then have been placed on a framework in front of the wall of the stage-building (Müller, B.-A., S. 142), far enough away to allow room for the *distegia*. Two feet in depth would be altogether too narrow accommodations for the numbers who at times appeared on this platform. Yet, subtracting two feet from the depth of the 'stage,' and there would remain for actual use in the presentation of a play a shelf, at Athens and Eretria less than five feet deep, at Oropos four feet deep, and even in Epidauros only about eight feet deep. These are hard facts of actual measurement which cannot be explained away. If this structure was a 'stage' in one theatre it was a 'stage' in all, and the same *distegia* was necessary in each.

The scene of the drama was often a hillside, part way up the slope of which was the mouth of a cavern to which, in 'Philoktetes,' a path leads up. Taf. III im Theatergebäude von J. H. Strack shows the impossibility of representing such a scene on such a 'stage' as we are discussing. Under the various plays will be noted the many other instances where it would be simply impossible to accommodate, on any such platform, the accessories actually mentioned in the text. Yet we are asked to believe that, in addition to the scenery, the altars and other accessories, the in many instances numerous train of actors and mutes, even the chorus also appeared, moved and danced on this shelf 8, 5, 4 ft. deep! It has been soberly maintained also that chariots and horses were driven out upon it!

It has been customary to assume that the necessary connection between the 'stage' and orchestra was formed by the steps mentioned by Pollux, IV 127, and Athenaios de Mach., p. 29, Wesch. A flight of steps 12 ft. high reaches the ground some 15 ft. from the foot of a perpendicular let fall from its top. If these steps extended directly into the orchestra, they would render a considerable space useless for the evolutions of the chorus. If they were placed close against the 'stage'-front, they would partially conceal the columns which ornamented these 'stage'-fronts, and would therefore be a very ugly addition. Up and down such lofty stairs it would be impossible for actors and chorus to pass in the many scenes which require quick and easy communication between the entire body of the chorus and the actors. In fact,

the movements of the tragic actors, incumbered as they were by their robes and impeded by the lofty cothurnos, over such steps would have been attended by much of difficulty and even of danger. On the well-preserved epistyle of the 'stage'-front at Oropos there exists not a scratch or a mark to show that steps ever rested against this 'stage'; nor has there been found in any Greek theatre any indication that they ever existed.

Vitruvius, V 6, is describing the Roman theatre; Pollux, IV 124, 126, seems also to have this later theatre in mind. Fettered, however, by these passages and by the information obtained from such Roman theatres as those of Orange and Aspendos, writers have been unwilling to believe that the doors in the 'stage'-fronts of Epidauros, Athens, Oropos, and Eretria could have been meant for the actors. The theory has obtained that there must have been at least three doors opening on the 'stage.' Yet the ruins of no Greek theatre are so well preserved as to show whether or not doors ever opened from the wall of the stage-buildings on this 'stage' (Dörpfeld, *Wochensch.* 1890, S. 1536), and in most of the extant dramas only one door in the background is required. Beneath the stage-buildings at Eretria (cf. plan in *Jour. of Arch.* cited above) is a finely constructed vaulted passage 1.98 m. wide and 2.95 m. high. For the entrance of the public and the chorus the parodoi afforded ample room. The orchestra is some 3.50 m. below the level of the earth behind the stage-buildings. That this tunnel was constructed and so well constructed is sufficient proof of its importance. This passage, then, as well as the tunnel leading into the middle of the orchestra, could hardly have had any other use than as a means of ingress and egress for the actors while the performance was going on in front of the 'stage,' not upon it.

The plans of the theatres of Epidauros, Athens, Oropos, Eretria, Megalopolis (cf. *Jour. of Hell. Stud.*, vol. XI, p. 295) and Termessos (cf. *Spratt, Travels in Lycia*, p. 240) may serve as examples to prove that the rows of seats in a Greek theatre extend over an arc of more than 180°. The seats in the ends of the rows are so arranged that the spectators occupying them have an excellent view of what is going on in the orchestra; but in order to see the top of the 'stage' they must turn themselves half about. The Greek theatre was not hemmed in by the walls of a building. It would have been easy, therefore, to turn these seats so that their occupants could have had an unobstructed view of the 'stage,'

had this view been desirable. If the 'stage' had been used, the distance between the public and the actors would have been so great that the chorus would necessarily be the important element in the performance. The great force of the last two arguments is only fully appreciated when one is in the theatre itself.

The height of this 'stage,' the lack of means of communication with the orchestra, its slight depth, its distance from the cavea, the doors leading out on the level of the orchestra, the arrangement of the seats themselves, all unite to prove that this structure could never have been used as a stage.

Against this emphatic testimony we have the word of Vitruvius (V 7) that this *proskenion* was the stage of the Greek theatre. The general correctness of his architectural views proves that the architectural authorities from which he drew his information concerning that earlier theatre which he calls Greek were excellent. Misled by the existence of a stage in the later theatre and by the term *λογεῖον* as applied to this, and finding no other structure on the plans of the earlier theatres before him to which the name could be applied, he made the mistake of naming the *proskenion* *λογεῖον*. The only theatre he would naturally have an opportunity to inspect was that theatre which he called 'Roman.'

Haigh (*Attic Theatre*, p. 158) maintains that the *proskenion* was used as a stage, but conjectures that the stage of the V century was only 6 or 7 ft. high. For this assumption he has, of course, no proof. The latest plays of Euripides and Aristophanes required the same freedom of communication between actors and chorus as did the earliest plays of Aischylos. There could have been no increase in height in the V century. The historical fact is that with the disappearance of the chorus in the IV and III centuries there developed what we know as the Roman stage. If a 12-ft. stage had ever been used I agree with Todt (*Philol. Suppl.* VI, S. 131) that it existed when the 'Prometheus' was first given. But the stage-theory requires two sudden springs. We have absolutely nothing between the table of Thespis and the 'stage' at Epidauros, and there is no intermediate step between this 'stage' 4 m. high and the 5-ft. Roman stage. No satisfactory explanation is offered for these changes, which are contrary both to reason and to the historical development of the classic drama and the classic theatre from the age of Aischylos to late Roman times.

The inscription on the epistyle of this structure at Oropos puts beyond doubt that its proper name is *προσκήμιον*. This agrees with the article in Photios, *τρίτος ἀριστεροῦ*· ὁ μὲν ἀριστερὸς στοῖχος ὁ πρὸς τῷ θεάτρῳ ἦν, ὁ δὲ δεξιὸς πρὸς τῷ προσκηνίῳ. The words of Glycera in Alciphron, Ep. II 4, are perhaps not to be reckoned here, since the latest editor, Hercher, following a hint of Meineke, reads *ἐν τοῖς παρασκηνίοις* instead of *ἐν τοῖς προσκηνίοις*. But in the Life of Nero, 26 "interdiu quoque clam gestatoria sella delatus in theatrum seditionibus pantomimorum ex parte proscaenii superiore signifer simul ac spectator aderat," Suetonius refers to the top of the *proskhenion*, i. e. 'stage,' in the words "ex parte proscaenii superiore." CIG. 4283, from the theatre of Patara, distinguishes sharply between the *προσκήμιον* and the later *λογεῖον*. Athen. XIII, p. 587 B, Photios and Suidas v. *Νάννιον*, Suidas v. *προσκήμιον*, Cramer, Anecd. Paris, I 19. Duris in Athen. XII, p. 536 A (Müller, B.-A., S. 117, 168), have reference either to the painted decoration in front of the *προσκήμιον* or to that temporary structure which existed before the stone *προσκήμιον* was built.<sup>1</sup>

On the plan of the Odeion of Herodes Attikos in Athens (Baumeister, Fig. 1824) the front of the *λογεῖον* and the row of columns which formed the background before which the play was presented are both indicated. This row of columns is 1.84 m. from the wall behind them.<sup>2</sup> That is, they formed the *προσκήμιον* in this Roman theatre, of the same form, position and purpose as the *προσκήμιον* which stood on *BB* in the neighboring theatre of Dionysos. The *προσκήμιον* remained the same throughout the history of the classic theatre; in the later, the 'Roman' theatre, a stage, a *λογεῖον* was placed before it.

The word *σκηνή* refers in general to the 'stage'-building, and in no classic writer does it mean 'stage' (cf. Reisch in *Zeitsch. für österreich. Gymnasien*, 1887, S. 270 ff.). Therefore the *ὑποσκήμιον* is not the room 'under the stage' or even under the *προσκήμιον*. Pollux (IV 124), in *ὑποσκήμιον* κίσσι καὶ ἀγαλματίοις κεκόσμητο, by *ὑποσκήμιον* plainly refers to the wall which the inscription from Oropos calls the *προσκήμιον*. As often happens elsewhere in Pollux, a mistake has been made in the term used. For in IV 124 he explains by *τὰ ὑπὸ σκηνῇ* the things that have plainly taken place

<sup>1</sup> Synes. Aeg. III 8, p. 1286 *εἰς τοῦτο κυνοφθαλμίζοιτο διὰ τὰ ὑποσκήμιον* refers to the entire stage-buildings.

<sup>2</sup> Tuckermann, *Das Od. des Her. Att.*, S. 1. T. is in error when he assumes that other columns were placed above these (Dörpfeld).



'behind the scenes.' ὑπὸ σκηνῇ has this same meaning in Pollux, IV 130 ὑπὸ τῇ σκηνῇ θπισθεν; Philost. Vit. Apollon. VI 11, p. 244 Ol. τὸ ὑπὸ σκηνῆς ἀποθνήσκειν; Plutarch, Phocion, c. V Φωκίωνα . . . περιπατεῖν ὑπὸ σκηνῇ; Arat. XV νυνὶ δὲ ὑπὸ σκηνῇ ἐωρακώς. With this meaning Athenaios agrees in XIV, p. 631 Ἀσωπόδαρος ὁ Φλιάσιος . . . αὐτὸς ἔτι ἐν τῷ ὑποσκήμφ, τί τοῦτ'; εἶπεν. Therefore Sommerbrodt (Scaenica, S. 140) is correct when he interprets ὑποσκήνια, in Pollux, IV 123, as the rooms in the stage-buildings, in the σκηνή.

The references to the cyclic chorus in Dem. Mid. 17, to the Ithyphalloi in Harpok., p. 100, 22, Athenaios, XIV, p. 622 B, and to the Phallophoroi in Athen. XIV, p. 622 D, may be dismissed with the remark that it is absurd to suppose that they entered the theatre from the skene upon a lofty stage and then clambered down a flight of steps to reach their position in the orchestra.

The attempt to prove the existence of a stage in the Athenian theatre of the V century from vase-paintings found in Southern Italy has decidedly not succeeded.<sup>1</sup> With perhaps a single exception (Baumeister, Fig. 904), there is no trace of the Old Comedy on these vases. No one of the scenes has been referred to the Middle or the New Comedy. The oldest of these vases goes no farther back than the beginning of the III century. They are found only in Magna Grecia. It is incredible that the vase-painters of this period in Southern Italy should go back more than a hundred years and select from Athens the scenes which they placed on their wares, particularly when no Athenian vase-painter had set them an example. In no other field has the Italian vase-painter shown such originality. A chorus is never found in these representations. The stage is of the rudest description. The steps leading therefrom are too narrow and too steep to meet the requirements of the Attic dramas of the V century. We are warranted, then, in saying that these scenes were taken from the 'Phlyakenpossen,' as these were presented in Southern Italy at the time when these vases were manufactured.

#### *Outline of the Development of the Greek Theatre.*

Beyond question, from the earliest times an altar stood in the orchestra.<sup>2</sup> The previous discussion has clearly shown that this altar was sometimes called θυμέλη. Around this altar, before the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Arnold in Baumeister, S. 1750 ff.; Heydermann, Jahrbuch d. k. Arch. Ins. 1886, S. 260 ff., and A. Müller, Philol. Suppl., Bd. VI, S. 59 f.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Suidas v. καθάρσιον; Pollux, IV 103; Plut. Cimon, c. 9; Philost. Vit. Apoll. IV 22.

beginning of the real drama, the assembled crowd danced.<sup>1</sup> The first actor stood on a table near this altar.<sup>2</sup> This table is also called *θυμέλη* in Et. Mag., p. 458, 30; Orion, Theb. Etym., p. 72; Cyrill. Lex. in Alberti on Hesych. I, p. 1743. In speaking of the theatre of later times also, the actors are also brought into close connection with the *θυμέλη*, as in Diodor. 4, 5; Plutarch, Demetr. 12, and De Pyth. Or. 22; Alciphron, II 3, 16; Suidas v. *θυμελικοί*; Plut. Sulla 36; Athen. XV, p. 699 A; CIG. 3493. Since the musicians and the *ῥαβδοῦχοι* (cf. Suidas and Schol. Aristoph., Peace 733) had their place on this *θυμέλη*, it could hardly have been that portion of the altar on which the offering was laid. In Olympia that portion of the altar on which the priests stood was called the *πρόθυσις* (Dörpfeld). In the theatre, as we have seen, it was called *θυμέλη*, and an inscription from Delos in Bull. Cor. Hell. 1890, p. 396 ἡ *θυμέλη* τοῦ βωμοῦ, clearly shows that the thymele was a portion of the altar.

So long as there was only one actor this *θυμέλη*, this step, as it were, beside the *βωμός* on which the actor stood, was sufficient. As soon as the real drama began, with the introduction of the second actor under Aischylos, more room was needed. Then the cothurnos (Cramer, Anecd. Paris, I 19) was invented, and the elevation of the *θυμέλη* became movable under the feet of the actors. The earlier explanation that the cothurnos was added to give the actors the appearance of demigods and heroes is not sufficient. There were not only Prometheus, Agamemnon, Theseus and Oidipos, but also heralds, nurses, slaves and ordinary mortals like Xerxes to be represented. There is no aesthetical reason why these latter should be made to appear unusually large. In the fact that the actors were brought down from the *θυμέλη* and placed on the same level with the choreutae is found the reason why they were made taller and given a more splendid costume. By these means they were at all times readily distinguishable from the members of the chorus among whom they were moving. When one has seen 24 men march into the great orchestra at Epidauros, and go through with such manœuvres as we may imagine the chorus performed, the objection that, even with the aid of the cothurnos and the tragic robe, the actors would have been hidden by the chorus ceases to exist. It is as if the performers in a modern opera-house took their position in the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Euanthius, De trag. et com., p. 4; Max., Tyr. dissert. 37.

<sup>2</sup> Pollux, IV 123, calls this a 'meat-table,' *ἐλεός*.

parquette—on the floor of the house—while the audience sits in the boxes and galleries around three sides of them. The chorus of 24 even was very small in proportion to the great area of the orchestra, and even if grouped in a body, the choreutae could have concealed the actors only from a very small portion of the audience at one time. It is nowhere in the classic drama distinctly said that the chorus was instructed not to stand between the actors and the audience, but neither does the modern opera contain directions for the crowds which fill the stage to remain in the background, nor does the text of the Passion Play of Oberammergau command the chorus to fall back on either side, that the action may be seen.

As soon as an actor had more than one part to play, a booth, a *σκηνή*, was necessary for the change of costume. When the second actor was added, and the action was given a fixed place, it was most natural that the actors should occupy the ground immediately before this temple or palace. So, while the entire orchestra might be necessary for the dances of the 'stasima,' that half of the orchestra next to the *proskenion* became naturally the 'scene' of the play. For the lively movement of the comedy the cothurnos was unsuited, and so was discarded; but it is from the comedy that we obtain some of the strongest proof that actors and chorus were together in the orchestra.

A *λογεῖον* for the actors we find mentioned for the first time after the chorus has practically disappeared from the drama. When the chorus was no longer present, then the entire orchestra circle was no longer necessary. The actors remained as always, in the part in front of the *proskenion*; the other half could be used for other purposes. To separate the spectators in the front row of seats from the combats of gladiators and of wild beasts, in Athens the balustrade of marble slabs was erected. In Pergamon and Assos the lower rows of seats were removed till the lowest row remaining was on a level with the *λογεῖον* which had been constructed. In the theatres of Aizani, Telmessos, Patara and Aspendos the lower rows of seats are also on a level with the stage. If in these theatres the space between the *λογεῖον* and the front rows of seats were filled up to the level of the *λογεῖον*, there would then exist the orchestra circle of the V-century theatre.<sup>1</sup> For in the Greek theatres like those of Epidauros, Athens,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Durm, *Baukunst der Griechen*, S. 213.

Peiraieus, Oropos, Delos, Myra, Patara, Telmessos, Side, Eretria, Megalopolis, the circle of the orchestra does not quite reach the front of the proskenion.

In the Roman theatre, according to Vitruvius, the senators sat in this portion of the old Greek orchestra that was no longer needed for the proper presentation of the plays. If the senators had been seated on the same level with the actors, those in the back rows could not have seen over the heads of those in front. Here arose another reason for lowering that half of the elder orchestra in which the senators were sitting, or of elevating the stage on which the actors performed.

When, for any reason, this difference in level existed, the public could no longer enter through the old parodoi and pass from thence to their seats. So in the Roman theatres we find two passages into the theatre, the old parodoi now leading to the stage alone, and new vaulted passages under the wings of the rows of seats into the new lower level of the orchestra. Since in the Roman theatre the old parodoi were used only by the actors, it required but one step more in the development to roof these passages over and thus bring the walls of the stage-buildings into connection with the walls of the 'theatron,' thus rendering a roof over the cavea a possibility.

No author of the V or IV century mentions a 'stage' in the theatre. For the word *ἀκριβαντα* in Plato's *Conviv.*, p. 194 B, refers only to an elevation in the circular odeion where the rehearsals were held.<sup>1</sup> When a portion of the orchestra was lowered to form an arena, this was called *κόνιστρα*. The portion remaining for the actors also received a new name, *λογεῖον*, because it was now distinctively the 'speaking place' of the actors. Since in the Roman theatre the boundary line between the *κόνιστρα* and the *λογεῖον* passed through the centre of the old orchestra, the *thymele*, the altar could be placed at will in either.

This late Greek, the so-called Roman theatre, is described correctly by Suidas and Et. Mag. v. *σκηνή*. *Σκηνή ἐστὶν ἡ μέση θύρα τοῦ θεάτρου, παρασκήνια δὲ τὰ ἔνθεν καὶ ἔνθεν τῆς μέσης θύρας (χαλκᾷ καγκέλλα). καὶ ἵνα σαφέστερον εἶπω [σκηνή ἢ] μετὰ τὴν σκηνὴν εὐθὺς καὶ τὰ παρασκήνια ἢ ὀρχήστρα. αὕτη δὲ ἐστὶν ὁ τόπος ὁ ἐκ σανίδων ἔχων τὸ ἴδαφος ἐφ' οὗ θεατρίζουσιν οἱ μῖμοι. εἴτα μετὰ τὴν ὀρχήστραν βωμὸς ἦν τοῦ Διονύσου, τετράγωνον οἰκοδόμημα κενὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ μέσου, ὃ καλεῖται θυμέλη παρὰ τὸ θύειν, μετὰ δὲ τὴν θυμέλην ἢ κόνιστρα τοῦτ' ἐστὶ τὸ κάτω ἴδαφος τοῦ θεάτρου.*

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Rohde, *Rhein. Mus.* 38, p. 255 f.; Dörp., *Wochensch.* 1890, S. 470.

First is the *σκηνή* described as the middle door, which was the most prominent object in the wall facing the spectators. On either side of this were the *παρασκήνια*. Next is mentioned the *λογεῖον*, rightfully called by its old name, *ὄρχήστρα*. The altar of Dionysos, the *θυμέλη*, is named, as we should naturally expect, between the *λογεῖον* and that latest addition to the theatre, the *κόνιστρα*. In the introduction to the 'Clouds' the scholiast also says: *ἐν τῇ ὄρχήστρᾳ τῷ νῦν λεγομένῳ λογεῖφ*. Isidor, Orig. 18, 43, explains: *pulpitus, qui pulpitus orchestra vocabatur*, and 44: *orchestra autem pulpitus erat*.

The references of the scholiasts and the grammarians to the *λογεῖον* are easily explained. Through ignorance of the true arrangement of the classic theatre, they have sometimes ascribed to it the *λογεῖον* which belonged only to later times, a natural mistake when we consider the centuries which separated some of these writers from the theatre which they sought to describe. Again, they may have been misled by the fact that when a classic play was revived it was necessarily adapted to the 'Roman' theatre.

JOHN PICKARD.

## NOTE.

### CHILIAN POPULAR SONGS.

Collected and edited by FREDERICK HANSSEN.

#### I.

1. Si quieren saber, señores, cómo enamoran los guasos<sup>1</sup>:  
se suben á una lomita y empiezan á peñascazos.  
¡ Ay que sí, que sí, mi amor tan penoso !  
¿ Porqué no me quieres, guasito chinchoso ?  
¿ Cómo no te compadece de mi padecer ?—ay sí.
2. Yo aborezco á los futres, no les quisiera ni hablar,  
pero mas quiero á mis guasos, porque saben trabajar.  
¡ Ay que sí, que sí, etc.
3. Cuando los guasos se curan, se van donde están las niñas  
con las espuelas plateadas, con el sombrero en los ojos.  
¡ Ay que sí, que sí, etc.
4. Si quieren saber, señores, qué es lo que ofrecen los guasos :  
caballitos ensillados, botas y cuchillo y lazos.  
¡ Ay que sí, que sí, etc.

#### II.

1. Cuatro caballeros andan alrededor<sup>2</sup> de esta ciudad  
en pretencia<sup>3</sup> de una dama : ¿ cuál de ellos la gozará ?  
Orza, corazón de amor, no olvides á quien te adora.  
Mi triste corazón llora : ¿ porqué lloras corazón ?
2. Vamos á los cuatro mozos : uno no tiene sombrero,  
pero dicen que lo tiene ya á costa de su dinero.  
Orza, corazón de amor, etc.

<sup>1</sup> Guasos: Chilian peasants.

<sup>2</sup> Alredor = alrededor.

<sup>3</sup> Pretencia = pretendencia.

3. Vamos á los tres que quedan : ese no tiene zapatos, pero dicen que los tiene ya á costa de su trabajo.

Orza, corazón de amor, etc.

4. Vamos á los dos que quedan : ese no tiene calzones, pero dicen que los tiene ya á costa de su trabajo.

Orza, corazón de amor, etc.

5. Vamos al uno que queda : ese se lo lleva el viento, porque dicen que ha dado palabras de casamiento.

Orza, corazón de amor, etc.

### III.

1. En tu puerta planté un guindo, en tu ventana un cerezo, al guindo por darle abrazos, y al cerezo por dar besos.

Te comistes<sup>1</sup> las guindas, niña bonita :

¿ cómo te irá mas tarde con tu mamita ?

Si yo llorara,

el corazón de pena se me secara.

2. En la calle la Amargura mataron un picaflor, y de á dentro le sacaron miraflorino de amor.

Desempiedra la calle, echa le aceite, que vereis<sup>2</sup> las pisadas que doy por verte.

Si yo llorara,

¿ cómo se destendiese<sup>3</sup> la verdolaga ?

3. En la calle la Merced mataron un palomito, lo vinieron á hallar debajo de un arbolito.

De un arbolito, sí : ¡ que restituya !

Si la alma me has robado, dame la tuya.

Si yo llorara,

el corazón de pena se me secara.

4. Las hojas de los naranjos se reparten con el viento, y así me tiene tu amor repartido con el viento.

El naranjo en el cerro no da naranjas, pero da los azares<sup>4</sup> de la esperanza.

De la esperanza, sí : ¡ cintas colgando !

¿ Por donde andará mi negro calavereando ?

<sup>1</sup> Comistes = comiste.

<sup>3</sup> Destendiese = extendiese.

<sup>2</sup> Vereis = verás.

<sup>4</sup> Azares = azahares.

## IV.

1. ¿ Para qué, falso, engañoso,  
zambito de la vida,  
me distes á merecer,  
zambito de la vida,  
la dulzura de tu labios,  
zambito de la vida,  
habías de ser tan cruel ?
2. ¿ Para qué me dijistes, mi vida, que me querías,  
tan sólo con la muerte, mi vida, me olvidarías ?  
Cierta lloré la rosa  
que se desoja.
3. En Rancagua murió Ambrosio  
muerto por un Rancaguino,  
ya se le cumplió el destino  
á ese chupa manioso.
4. De Rancagua desafuera<sup>1</sup> al lao<sup>2</sup> del cerro  
ahí murió Ambrosio Rojas como los perros.  
Como los perros, sí, el Rancaguino,  
ramillete de flores parece el niño.  
Cierta lloré la rosa  
que se desoja.

## V.

Si yo tuviera  
á quien querer,  
yo no durmiera  
pensando en él.

## VI.

No te enamores, niña, de los soldados,  
porque la ropa que tienen es del estado.

<sup>1</sup> Desafuera = afuera.

<sup>2</sup> Lao = lado.



## REVIEWS AND BOOK NOTICES.

Firdusi. *Il Libro dei Re. Poema epico recato dal Persiano in versi Italiani da ITALO PIZZI.* Torino, Vincenzo Bona, Tipografo di S. M. 8 voll., in-8. 1886-88.

According to the judgment of those who know Oriental poetry best, Firdausi, who has been called the Homer of Persia, is unparalleled among Oriental poets for the depth and vigor of his sentiments as well as for the truly astonishing universality of his genius; and the masterpiece of Persian epic poetry, the *Shâhnâmeh*, or Book of the Kings, which was composed by Firdausi when he was an old man of nearly eighty years, and which reaches backward to the very origins of Old-Îrânian myths and is continued to the conquest of Persia by the Mohammedans, comprising a period of about 2000 years, may well be considered to rival the *Iliad*, the *Nibelungen* and the *Edda*; for, like these national poems, it gives striking expression to the entire life, thought and feeling of a whole nation in the heroic period. The events recorded are not mere inventions, they are historical facts; not, indeed, as they happened in reality, but as they were changed and modelled by the verbal tradition of centuries and millenniums (cf. H. Ethé, *Die höfische und romantische Poesie der Perser*; Hamburg, 1887). That these are ancient stories, events on which time has exercised its reconciling and moderating influence, and which tradition has rendered venerable, gives, indeed, to the epic poem of Îrân a great deal of its power and charm.

Poetical qualities like these have, in the Orient as well as in the Occident, excited the admiration of all those who have engaged in a detailed study of Firdausi's poem. Witness the enthusiastic expressions of Joseph von Hammer concerning Firdausi in his *History of Persian Literature* (p. 50), the high praises bestowed on the poet by the gifted Joseph Görres in the preface of his *Heldenbuch von Iran*, the fine and just observations of Count A. F. von Schack in his excellent translation of the noblest episodes of the *Shâhnâmeh*.

Besides the great number of opinions given by real connoisseurs of Firdausi, I will only name those of two English scholars, as in Europe, at the end of the XVIIIth and beginning of the XIXth century, the interest of scholars was first turned towards Firdausi by the Englishmen Jones and Champion. In the essay on the language and literature of Persia which is prefixed to his book, *The Flowers of Persian Literature*, containing extracts from the most celebrated authors in prose and verse, with a translation into English (London, 1805), S. Rousseau says: "The work of Firdoosee remains entire a glorious monument of Eastern genius and learning; which, if ever it should be generally understood in its original language, will contest the merit of invention with Homer himself, whatever be thought of its subject or the arrangement of its incidents." Malcolm, who formerly was British ambassador

at the court of Teheran and had a thorough knowledge of Persian literature, gives in his *History of Persia*, vol. II, p. 541, the following opinion of Firdausi: "In the noble epic poem of Ferdosi, which has so often been referred to in the early part of the *History of Persia*, the most fastidious European reader will meet with numerous passages of exquisite beauty. The narrative of this great work is generally very perspicuous, and some of the finest scenes in it are described with simplicity and elegance of diction. In the opinion of Persians this poet excels in his description of the combats and battles of his heroes; but to those whose taste is offended with hyperbole, the tender parts of his work will have most beauty, as they are freest from this characteristic defect of Eastern writers. It is, however, to be observed that the most extravagant flights of Ferdosi do not excite that disgust which we receive on a perusal of his countless imitators; for so many of his characters are endowed with supernatural powers that the mind is almost reconciled to hear their deeds related in a language which appears mere bombast when used to describe the actions of beings of an inferior order." (See E. A. Bayer in his introduction to Friedrich Rückert's translation of the *Shāhnāme*; Berlin, 1890, pp. xxx-xxxiv.)

In view of the general estimation of Firdausi, it is easily comprehensible that the desire has been felt to translate his poem into other languages, in order to make it accessible to those who were not able to read the original. In the Orient, where the language of *Îrân* has an importance for intercourse like that of French in Europe, such a desire, indeed, was not felt at first: the *Shāhnāme* was everywhere read and recited, and even nowadays the Persians proudly rejoice in hearing these songs, which tell of their nation's former greatness and of the glorious deeds of their ancestors. Nevertheless, as early as the XIIth century the *Shāhnāme* was translated into Arabic, in the XVIth century into Turkish, a Hindoustanee version dates from the year 1846, and at this very moment Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, Parsee High-priest at the fire-temple of Colaba, near Bombay, is, as he writes me, about to translate the Persian epopee into Gujarati.

In Europe, Englishmen, and especially Germans, have made a careful study of the *Shāhnāme*, and have tried to make it familiar to a more numerous public by translating smaller or greater parts of the poem. Besides the performances of scholars like Lumsden, Macan, Mohl, Vullers, who endeavored to give a critical text of the *Shāhnāme*, the Englishman Champion (*Poems of Ferdosi*; Calcutta, 1785) first tried a translation of the poet, which, written in the usual English ballad style, cannot be called a very successful one, but deserves, nevertheless, to be mentioned because Schiller was inspired by it to compose the beautiful riddle-poems of *Turandot*. Görres endeavored in the *Heldenbuch von Eran* (Berlin, 1820, 2 vols.), one of the most meritorious performances of that scholar, to make the myths of the Persian epopee familiar to a more numerous public, but as he only gives a summary of the contents, no sufficient idea can be got of the beauties of the original. Friedrich Rückert gave a proof of his poetical mastership in an episode of our poem (*Rostem und Suhrab*; Erlangen, 1838), but this must be called rather a free, although faithful, imitation of the original than a translation. Hence the criticism of Jules Mohl in the preface to the second volume of his edition of the *Shāhnāme*

(Paris, 1842), p. iii, who says: "C'est plutôt un poème sur le même sujet qu'une traduction, car l'auteur suit quelquefois Firdousi mot pour mot, et quelquefois il introduit des chapitres entiers là où le poète persan ne donne qu'une indication." Poetical imitations of this same episode have been tried likewise by two Englishmen: Jam. Atkinson (*Soohrab*, a poem. Freely translated by Atkinson. Calcutta, 1814; *The Shah-Namah of Firdausi*, translated and abridged, in prose and verse, with notes and illustrations. London, 1832) and W. Robertson (*Rostum, Zaloollee and Soohrab*. Text and translation. Calcutta, 1831), which are scarcely calculated to give an idea of the poetical beauty of the original.<sup>1</sup> For the sake of completeness we will not omit to mention the performances of Victor Weiss, von Starkenfels and Theod. Ritter von Schwarzhuber (*Sal und Rudabek*; Wien, 1840. *Kej-kawus in Masenderan*; Wien, 1841). In these works a lyric vagueness is so prevalent that the epic tone, which, after all, is the principal thing, is entirely wanting. In *Heldensagen von Firdusi* (Berlin, 1851) and *Epische Dichtungen von Firdusi* (2 vols., Berlin, 1853), Adolph Friedrich von Schack has confined himself to the prominent heroic tales of the first part, which give a true picture of the spirit and form of the original. Both publications are united in a single work, under the title of '*Heldensagen von Firdusi*' (Berlin, 1865, 3d ed.; Stuttgart, 1877, 3 vols.). Schack's version in iambic pentapodies, with a copious introduction which gives an excellent genesis and characteristic of the poem, is a rare masterpiece of the translator's art. Although entirely faithful in word and form, it is a poetic palingenesis of the original. E. A. Bayer justly says (l. c., *Intro.*, p. xxxvii): "Schack's Uebersetzung ist als eine wahrhafte Bereicherung der deutschen Litteratur zu betrachten, wohl geeignet, allen denen einen hohen Genuss zu verschaffen, welche das Ohr für den Zauber der alten Sagenwelt offen haben und aus Unkenntnis der Sprache doch nicht im Stande sind, sich an den Schönheiten des Originals zu berauschen. Denn was vor von Schack an deutschen Uebersetzungen aus Firdosi's Hauptwerk veröffentlicht worden ist, trägt alles mehr oder weniger den Stempel des Unvollkommenen und teilweise Zerzwungenen, abgesehen davon, dass es sich dabei nur um kleinere Bruchstücke oder Episoden handelt." We now add Friedrich Rückert's posthumous translation of one-half of the *Shâhnâmeh*, published by the above-named E. A. Bayer, under the title '*Firdosi's Königsbuch* (*Schahname*), übersetzt von Friedrich Rückert. Sage I–XIII' (Berlin, 1890), and furnished with an excellent introduction by the publisher which gives a good survey of Firdausi's biography and bibliography. Rückert's work, in some measure a bequest of the poet and scholar of Neuss to his countrymen, is on the high level of his best productions. Although sometimes inferior to Schack's translation in smoothness and elegance of form, it surpasses Schack in original vigor, in critical acumen and exactness of rendering. In short, all the power and charm of the poet's diction, all his attractive and captivating individuality, mirrors itself in Rückert's version, and the publication of the two volumes not yet printed is eagerly expected.

A translation of the whole *Shâhnâmeh* is given in the work of Jules Mohl, a noble monument of German assiduity. The title is '*Le livre des rois par Abou'l Kasim Firdousi, publiée, traduit et commenté par M. Jules Mohl.*'

<sup>1</sup> Matthew Arnold's *Sohrab and Rustum* is not to be passed over in this survey.—B. L. G.

Paris, 1838-78. 7 voll., in-folio. The translation was separately published after the death of Mohl, by his widow, under the title 'Le livre des rois par Abou'l Kasim Firdousi, traduit et commenté par Jules Mohl, Membre de l'Institut, Professeur au Collège de France, publié par Mme. Mohl.' I-VII. Paris, 1876-88. In-12.

A recent Italian translation of the whole Shāhnāme is due to the indefatigable zeal of Professor Italo Pizzi, of Turin. It is the first translation of Firdausi undertaken in Italy, and the only versified one published in Europe, for Mohl's translation is in prose, and Rückert and Count Schack have translated only parts of the Shāhnāme into German verse. Prof. Pizzi, who, by a series of writings which for the most part refer to Irānian studies, has made himself a name among the Orientalists of Italy,<sup>1</sup> has translated the Shāhnāme from the first to the last verse and gives also the celebrated satirical verses upon Mahmood of Ghizni, which Firdausi wrote, as Sir John Malcolm says in his History of Persia, etc., vol. II, p. 541, under the impulse of rage and disappointment, and which are only remarkable as they show the keenness with which he felt neglect, and the bitterness of his resentment.

The translation is based upon the text edition of Firdausi by Turner Macan (Calcutta, 1829), but besides Macan the translator has consulted and compared the editions of Jules Mohl, Vullers, and an edition published at Teheran, as well as a manuscript in the Laurentiana at Florence (Catal. Assem. CII 5), and has carefully taken advantage of Rückert's remarks on Mohl's edition of Firdausi in the VIIIth and Xth vols. of the Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft. The preface, which takes up 10 pages, is followed by a short biography of the poet Firdausi and a survey of the poem, treating especially of the heroes mentioned in it (pp. 18-85). The metre *Mutakarib*, employed by Firdausi, has the following scheme:

— — — | — — — | — — — | — —

But Platen, the master of form among German poets, is the only translator who has given an accurate imitation of it, and he only in the opening lines. Rückert and Schack have substituted the iambic pentapody, and Pizzi has followed them. Only he has dropped the rhyme. In Pizzi's translation, then, we have the so-called blank verse, which, after the model of English epic and dramatic poets, especially Shakespeare, was in Germany first employed by Joh. Elias Schlegel, Cronegk and Browe, and which entirely supplanted the monotonous Alexandrine. For epic poetry, blank verse, which, indeed, may be called somewhat dry and barren for this kind of poetry, has not become usual in Germany, and the rhymed pentapody only for certain strophes. At any rate, the iambic pentapody is the basis of the complicated Italian strophes, as the sonnet, stanza (ottave rime), terzina, etc., which have enriched the German language with poetical forms as euphonious as they are well adapted for a graceful connection of thought.

<sup>1</sup> Prof. Pizzi has published, among other writings, the following: *Manuale della Lingua Persiana*; Lipsia, 1883. *Dell' Epopea Persiana*; Torino, 1886. *Manuale di Letteratura Persiana*; Milano, 1887. *L' Epopea Persiana e la Vita e i Costumi dei Tempi Erolci di Persia*; Firenze, 1888. *Chrestomathie Persane avec un Abrégé de la Grammaire et un Dictionnaire*; Turin, 1889.

As to the translation of Professor Pizzi, it is perhaps not so concise as those of Rückert and Schack, which follow the original more scrupulously in form and substance. We often meet with a more detailed elaboration of Firdaus's ideas, because Prof. Pizzi always strives to give the sense of each verse with the utmost fidelity. But it has all the advantages that can reasonably be expected from a good version. It is faithful, adequate and elegant. Prof. Pizzi has honestly endeavored to be adequate to the ideal task of every translator: to produce upon a cultivated reader the same impression that the foreign author produces upon those who are able to read him in his native tongue. A perfect likeness of the original, it is true, even the best translation will give only in single passages but not in its totality. The individuality of the reader and the individuality of the translator are necessarily disturbing factors; and even after the most careful study of the conditions of successful translation, it is extremely difficult to be true to them throughout, especially in a poem so copious and so various as Firdaus's *Shāhnāme*. We ought the more to yield due praise to Prof. Pizzi's assiduity and talent, who in his translation has always kept this ideal aim in view. To substantiate this opinion, a few passages from several volumes of the translation may be adduced, which at the same time will show the great skill and dexterity of Prof. Pizzi in managing versification.

In the second volume, pp. 350-51, it is told how Siyavish, in order to prove the falsehood of an accusation, submits to the trial by fire and happily stands the ordeal:

Siyavish, come venne là dal fuoco,  
 A Dio signore l' intimo pensiero  
 Volse del cor. Tu mi concedi, ei disse,  
 Almo Signor, per questo monte ardente  
 Libero il varco. Sciogli tu dal laccio  
 Del padre mio questa persona attrita!  
 Poi che in tal guisa egli ebbe pianto assai  
 Come nembo di fumo il suo destriero  
 Ratto incitò di color fosco. Un grido  
 Dalla città, dalla pianura intorno  
 Levossi in alto e a la raccolta gente  
 Per tant' opra crudel venne rancura.  
 Ma Sudàbeh che udia voci dolenti  
 Venir dal campo, ad un terrazzo ascese  
 Dalle sue stanze. Vide il fuoco, male  
 Cercò al prode venisse e fu sdegnosa,  
 Atto imprecando. E la gente gli sguardi  
 Su re Kāvus tenea fermi e diritti,  
 Piena la lingua di parole acerbe,  
 Pieno d' un' ira il cor. Di cotal guisa  
 Il suo bruno destrier sospinse innanzi  
 Principe Siyavish, che dir potevi  
 Ch' ei fe' di fuoco il suo destrier. S' avventano  
 Da tutte parti l' ignee vampe, e niuno  
 Siyavish vide allor, niuno quel suo

Veloce palafren. Tutte nel campo  
 Stavan con occhi lagrimosi intorno  
 Meste le turbe e si dicean: Deh! come,  
 Come uscirà da le voraci fiamme?  
 Alfin, l' uom generoso e di gran core  
 Da le fiamme balzò, le labbra adorne  
 D' un bel sorriso, ambe le gote sue  
 Qual porporina rosa. Oh! allor che il videro,  
 Atto un grido levossi: Ecco! mirate!  
 Usci dal fuoco il giovinetto sire!  
 Deh! s' erano acque a superar, balzato  
 Illeso ei ne saria, nè alcuna piega  
 Avrian le vesti sulla sua persona!

Vol. IV, pp. 546-53, we read how Shâh Khosrav, who has renounced the world and his throne, is going to the mountains, accompanied by several of his faithful dignitaries, where a snow-storm buries him, according to the behest of the divinity. Before this catastrophe his afflicted subjects, who sadly follow him on the way, try to keep back their beloved sovereign by touching words, pp. 547-48:

Della montagna su l' aerea cima  
 Come il sole apparì, da tutte parti  
 Venne del mondo una gran gente. Donne  
 Ed uomini d' Irania a centomila  
 Giunser piangendo per il loco alpestre  
 Col gran monarca, e la montagna tutta  
 Risuonava di gemiti e di lai,  
 Commoversi parean le dure pietre  
 Della rupe scoscesa. O prence, o sire,  
 Ciascun dicea, che avvenne mai, se pieno  
 È d' affanno e di duol questo tuo core  
 Sereno in pria? Se hai tu molesta cura  
 Per lo stuol de' tuoi prodi e spregi questa  
 Corona imperfal, dillo, signore,  
 Ma non partirti dall' iranio seggio,  
 Al regno antico non donar sovrano  
 Che sia novello. Qui noi tutti siamo  
 Qual è la polve al piè del tuo destriero,  
 Fedeli al Fuoco, qual per te riluce,  
 D' Azergashaspe. Ov' è la tua dottrina  
 E il tuo consiglio e la tua mente? Un tempo  
 Nemmeno a re Fredûn scese dal cielo  
 Seròsh beato! Oh! noi dinanzi a Dio  
 Adorerem, venerabondi noi  
 Starem nel tempio ove risplende vivo  
 Il sacro Fuoco, per veder se Iddio  
 Santo ha di noi pietà, se ancora al tuo  
 Core sacerdotal per noi dà luce!

One of the finest passages in the *Shāhnāme* is the narrative of Rustam's death (Pizzi's translation, vol. V, pp. 430-37). The celebrated hero becomes the victim of the perfidious and treacherous designs of the Shāh of Kabul and of his own brother Sheghad. While out hunting he falls, with his war-horse, into a pit filled with swords and spears, and, wounded in his breast and shoulder, painfully extricates himself. His first look falls on his brother Sheghad, whom he reproaches with his treachery. When, after this, the Shāh of Kabul likewise maliciously approaches and addresses compassionate questions to the mortally wounded Rustam, the latter angrily exclaims (p. 434):

Oh! tu malnato  
 E ingannator! gli rispondea quel grande,  
 Stagion per me passò ch' io d' uopo avessi  
 Di medic' arti! Non versar di pianto  
 Quell' atre stille! Chè, se a lungo resti  
 Alla vita quaggiù, tocca al suo termine  
 Il tempo nostro, e vivo un uom la volta  
 Mai del ciel non varcò. Non io mi vanto  
 Gloria maggiore di Gemshld; gli aperse  
 Il bianco petto con stridente sega  
 Il suo nemico; nè son io più illustre  
 Di Fredùn, di Kobàd, non de' regnanti  
 D' inclita stirpe e gloriosi. Ancora  
 Prence Khusrèw trafisse del malvagio  
 Afrasyàb la persona, e allor che venne  
 Il tempo suo, Gurvi-zirfī squarciava  
 Con crudo ferro a Siyavish la gola.  
 Erano tutti principi d' Irania,  
 Erano tutti a le battaglie in mezzo  
 Come leoni, e si partìr! Ma noi  
 Troppo a lungo restammo, ad un crocicchio  
 D' alpestre via come leoni indomiti  
 Noi ci tenemmo. Feramürz, quel mio  
 Figlio, diletto a me come degli occhi  
 La viva luce, qui verrà per compiere  
 La mia vendetta su di te!—

Rustam then asks of his brother to bring him a bow and arrows, that no mischief might happen to him while he was lying defenceless. Sheghad brings the bow, bends it, and is glad in his heart on account of his brother's death. Then the hero, faint and bleeding, seizes the bow and lays an arrow on it. Sheghad, fearing the weapon of his brother and his vengeance, retires hastily behind a tree, but the tree was hollow from age, the hero shoots, and pierces at the same time the tree and the traitor. Once again, in his mortal hour, Rustam's heart is glad and he speaks (pp. 436-37):

Grazia è questa di Dio, che in ogni tempo  
 Dio riconobbi, che al fatal momento  
 Che l' anima giugnea fino a le labbra  
 Per rivolarne a Lui, non venne a sera  
 Il dì fatal della vendetta mia!

Forza donasti a me, Signor possente,  
 Per ch' io prendessi, de la morte innanzi,  
 Su l' infedel la mia vendetta! Intanto  
 Perdona a me le colpe mie, tu accogli  
 La mia preghiera, chè tu se' di grazia  
 Dator sovrano e aiutator. La fede  
 Del tuo profeta e la sacrata legge,  
 Le tue norme, o Signor, la tua dottrina  
 Accolgo in cor. Che se cotesta legge  
 Spiritùal, se la santa dottrina  
 Guardomi in cor gelosamente, allora  
 Che partirà l' anima mia, qual tema,  
 Quale sgomento avrò? L' eterna luce  
 Dona all' anima mia nel paradiso,  
 Chè a te, Signor, l' arcano mio pensiero  
 È manifesto e aperto.—Ei così disse,  
 •E da quel corpo l' anima preclara  
 Via si partì.—

What an excellent huntsman the hero Behrām was and how heartily he enjoyed the chase, we see from the lively descriptions of hunting scenes, vol. VI, pp. 220–25, which may without hesitation be paralleled with similar scenes in Homer and Vergil. P. 223, e. g., it is related how Behrām, by one happy arrow-shot, kills a lion and a wild ass which are engaged in mortal combat:—

Con una scorta di guerrieri eletti  
 Da l' erta fronte, a un' altra settimana,  
 Di caccia al loco andò Behrām con falchi  
 E con segugi. Là, vicino a un monte,  
 Leone egli vedea che d' un onàgro  
 Dilacerava il dorso, e ratto il prode  
 All' estremo dell' arco si tendea  
 Il nervo e con ardor balzava in sella  
 Ed incoccava di tre penne all' arco  
 Un dardo acuto. Ei trapassò con quello  
 Il core dell' onàgro e del leone  
 Il dorso eretto, e di lor sangue intrise  
 Restâr le belve, sopra il leon fero,  
 L' onàgro sotto a lui, confitti insieme.—

In the concluding verses of the Shāhnāme, where the Sultan Mahmūd also is mentioned, who had first discovered in Firdausi the poetical genius capable of praising the deeds of the ancestors in immortal songs, the glorious poet of Tūs gives expression to the high esteem in which he holds himself. They run as follows:

Di re Mahmūd fiorente la persona  
 In ogni tempo sia, lieto il suo core,  
 Chiara la mente sua! Tanto il lodai,  
 Che il detto mio si rimarrà nel mondo  
 Eternamente, di secrete cose



Sia ch' ei favelli o di palesi. Laudi  
 Ebbi dai prenci un dl, ma più d' assai  
 Furon quelle da me già tributate  
 Lodi a lui sol fra tutti. In sempiterno  
 Viva adunque tal uom saggio e prudente,  
 Sempre beato in suo deslo, col core  
 Atto al bene operar. Questo mio libro  
 Io gli lasciai qual nobile retaggio  
 Quando a sci volte diecimila distici  
 Ei venne a pareggiar. Ma il tempo intanto  
 Il mio lungo parlar, ciò che udir fèi  
 Ad altri già, condusse al termin suo,  
 Che discendea di giovinezza i giorni  
 A vecchia età. Poi che l' inclito libro  
 Così venne al suo fin, del verso mio  
 Tutta è piena la terra. Ognun che alberga  
 Senno e fede e saggezza entro al suo core,  
 Mi loderà dopo la morte mia,  
 Ned io morirò più mai, ch' io son pur vivo  
 Da che il seme gittai di mia parola.

We part from this translation of the whole *Shāhnāme* with the expression of our gratitude and delight. While many translations of Oriental poetry are not intelligible when the original is not at hand, or efface the character of the original by arbitrarily suggested traits, Pizzi's translation joins adequateness to poetical beauty, and gives a vivid impression of Firdausi's poem to those also who do not know the original. But the principal reason for the excellence of the translation is simply this: only a man who is himself of a poetical temperament is able to render works of poetry. This seems a matter of course, but has nevertheless often not been heeded in our days.

It is to be hoped that the work of Professor Pizzi will not be confined to the cultivated circles of his own country, but will afford intellectual enjoyment likewise to all those who love the melodious tongue of Italy and who desire to become acquainted with the work of the greatest poet of Persia.

JENA, May 18, 1892.

EUGEN WILHELM.

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Was ergibt sich aus dem Sprachgebrauch Xenophons in der Anabasis für die Behandlung der griechischen Syntax in der Schule? Ein Beitrag zur Methodik des griechischen Unterrichts, von ARTUR JOOST. Berlin, Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1892.

A great practical problem in Germany is the reduction of the amount of grammar to be learned in the elementary study of Latin and Greek, and each new school-grammar that is put forth bases its claims to acceptance on its success in narrowing the range of inflexion and syntax. Rare forms have been discarded and minute syntactical rules have been suppressed. In Latin, Caesar's Gallic War has been analyzed with a view to what is important for the beginner; Caesar, despite the evident drawbacks, being still the beginner's

book. True, the result is not altogether satisfactory to those who take a wider view of the study. True, one asks in wonderment, 'Are *quasi* and *tamquam* of as little importance to a beginner as they are to the student of the *Bellum Gallicum*?' But the new fad must work itself out; and it is not surprising to find the method applied to Greek, not surprising to take in hand a bulky volume on the *Anabasis* in which the occurrences of the various constructions have been counted, from the use of a participle to 'represent a subordinate sentence,' which is found 1630 times, down to the long list of constructions that occur but once, such as *μόνος* in the predicative position, *φοβείσθαι* with the inf., and the unreal wish. Of course, Dr. Joost, the author of this laborious work, is well aware that Xenophon is not a model of Atticism, but the *Anabasis* is the book out of which Greek is first learned, the Germany of William the Second is nothing if not practical, and if counting is not practical, what is practical? All constructions that occur only three times are made to occupy lower rooms in the synagogue, and others are bidden to come up higher. Representation is strictly on a property basis.

At the end of the book the practical inferences are given. Let us take the section that pertains to the verb. Whatever may be thought of the principle, some of the statements may be suggestive.

The causative signification of the active voice—which, needless to say, has nothing to do with the active voice—is to be emphasized, and so are the direct and indirect reflexive significations of the middle, to the repression of the 'technical and dynamic' meanings of which so much is made in some grammars; and the beginner is to learn betimes to combine the passive with *ὑπό*. We are next told that *ἐπεὶ* and *ἐπειδὴ* (temporal)<sup>1</sup> are to be practised with imperf. and aor. ind., and all (plpf. ?) the indicative tenses with *εἰ* of the real or logical condition. This last rule, by the way, stands in curious contrast to the proceeding of a certain editor of the *Anabasis*, who actually omitted the real or logical condition from the list of hypothetical sentences (A. J. P. III 435). The unreal condition makes a poor show. Not so *ὥστε* with ind.; not so the causal *ἐπεὶ* and *ὅτι*. The subjunctive, says Joost, with a touch of German sentimentality, is no longer 'to lead a joyless and lonely life.' In the language of the Psalmist, the subjunctive is 'to keep house and be a joyful mother of children.' Only her children are to be chiefly members of the conditional, temporal, relative and final sentences, and verbs of fear are to be kept in their proper place and not to be too obtrusive. The opt. of wish is comparatively rare, but the opt. of *oratio obliqua* is to be brought to the front,<sup>2</sup> and the opt. with *ἄν* is to be introduced to the knowledge of the boy at an early period; nor is inf. with *ἄν* = opt. with *ἄν* to be kept back. The ideal condition (*εἰ* w. opt.) is common, common is the iterative use of opt., common the final use after historical tenses. The present imper. is more common than the aor., but both may be admitted side by side. The prohibitive is of secondary occurrence and secondary importance. Of the infinitive constructions the verbs of saying take precedence of verbs of thinking, and it may be remarked, in passing, that this seems to be true of grammarians as well. The use of the inf. as a subject is important, especially in combination with certain

<sup>1</sup> *ἐπεὶ* temporal is not normal. See Zycha, Wiener Studien, VII 84.

<sup>2</sup> On the untrustworthiness of Joost under this head see A. J. P. XIII 257 f.

impersonal verbs, such as *δεῖ*, *δοκεῖ*, *ἐξεστί*; so also the use of *ὅστε* w. inf. The inf. with *ικανός* and the like, the inf. with (personal) *λέγεται*, the inf. with *βούλομαι* and *ἐθέλω*, these are important also, but *κελεύω* receives a special note. The fut. inf. with verbs of hoping, promising and swearing is to be learned early. The present participle as the representative of a temporal sentence is to be learned first, later the aor.; the perf. is of less consequence. The causal sense comes next. The participle as the representative of a relative sentence with and without the article is important; less so the gen. abs., which is found chiefly in pres. and aor. Then the boy is to learn the participle after verbs of perception, actual and intellectual, and their equivalence to a verb with *ὅτι*, which latter statement being half a truth, is the worst of lies, as we shall see. *τυγχάνω* with the part. is important, and so is *ἔχων*. *λαβών* is of less moment. The fut. part. with or without *ὥς* to represent a final sentence deserves especial prominence, and the equivalence of the verbal adj. in *-τος* to perf. part. pass. is to be pointed out.

Doubtless many inferences would have to be changed as soon as one passes from the Anabasis to another sphere of literature, but, apart from that, the whole method seems to be a mistake. This is not the way to reach the desired minimum of syntax. The minimum of syntax is to be reached by concentrating attention on the variations from the standard, which is the mother-tongue. Why should a sledge-hammer stress be brought to bear on *κελεύω* with inf., on *βούλομαι* and *ἐθέλω* with inf., which we could hardly use otherwise if we tried? To be sure, the acc. and inf. is a different matter for the Germans, but the chief trouble is not there, but with the acc. and inf. after verbs of saying and thinking, though even these have English analogies, as 'declare him to be,' 'believe him to be.' The analysis of the participle, to which Joost gives so much space, may be necessary for Germans, but English participle and Greek participle coincide to a considerable extent, so much so that English and Greek alike feel the difference, which Joost ignores, between the participle and *ὅτι* with the finite verb. 'I see her walking' (*βαδίζουσαν*) and 'I see that she walks' (*ὅτι βαδίζει*) may be the same thing to a German reader of English. They are not the same thing to one born to English speech.<sup>1</sup> In Greek a verb of actual perception requires the participle, and if used with *ὅτι* becomes a verb of intellectual perception, which often excludes actual perception. It is passing strange that one should recognize the categories of 'sinnliche und geistige Wahrnehmung' and yet fail to draw the most evident inferences from the two spheres of use. Take Joost's treatment of *ὅρᾶν* with the participle. It would require no wizard to predict that present participle (67 times) and perfect participle (12 times) would be the prevalent tenses (see my Pindar, Int. Ess., cxi; A. J. P. X 124). The fut. part. is necessarily used of intellectual perception, and the one aorist is an illustration of the intrusion of an element which is often neglected in the treatment of the participle. In *εἰ τοῦτον ἰδοίμι καταλευσθέντα* (7, 6, 10) the aor. tense is due to the wish in *ἰδοίμι*, as it is so often due to the wish in *ἐφορᾶν* (A. J. P. X 124), as it is so often due to the will

<sup>1</sup> And yet it is a German grammarian who attempts to give the difference between the infinitive and the participle in English, thus: 'I heard her singing' entspricht also mehr dem deutschen "ich hörte, wie sie sang," "I heard her sing" mehr dem Ausdruck "ich hörte, dass sie sang." Koch, Wissenschaftliche Grammatik der Englischen Sprache, §512.

in *περιπαῖν*; but this last, it appears from Joost, Xenophon uses in the *Anabasis* with the present participle only, so that the oratorical usage would be a surprise to him who knows the *Anabasis* only. As to the construction of *ὅρᾱν* with *δοῖ*, all the examples cited (2, 2, 5; 3, 2, 29; 5, 8, 20; 6, 1, 27) have to do with intellectual perception. *ὥς* (6, 4, 23) is 'how.' In 3, 2, 23 the construction is determined by *ἐπιστάμεθα*. As to *ὥστε*, Joost echoes one of the latest words on the subject, and repeats (p. 335) after Wehmann (de *ὥστε* particulae usu), "the undeniable fact that *ὥστε* with the infinitive can represent an actual consequence," and so illustrates once more the other undeniable fact that people who call themselves grammarians will force language to say what language suffers circumstance to say. With *ὥστε* and the inf. 'die wirkliche eingetretene Folge' may be an inevitable inference, but it is an inference from extra-linguistic sources (A. J. P. VII 164).

As I have already intimated, I have no faith in Joost's method, but that does not mean that I can find no use for his laborious collection of facts. To the student of Greek syntax, of Greek style, the array of figures will give many welcome illustrations, and will occasionally suggest new points of view, and for all such contributions to his resources every scholar will be thankful, even if the statements are not so exhaustive as they undertake to be, and the framework on which the facts are strung is rickety and defective.

So much for Joost. But before dismissing this matter it may be as well to notice briefly an article by Koch on the same general subject. Koch is a professed grammarian and a successful grammarian, so far as editions go, and the plaint which he makes in the *Jahrbücher* for 1892 (Paed. Abt. 408-48) is touching. In this article, 'Die Notwendigkeit einer Systemänderung im griechischen Anfangsunterricht,' he records Schliemann's experience in the acquisition of Greek, and laments the long and ineffectual dawdling of schoolboys over the elements. Of course, Koch recognizes that Schliemann's method requires Schliemann to begin with and a long unbroken stretch of time, but Koch thinks that Schliemann's experience is instructive, and that the process may be shortened by treating Xenophon's *Anabasis* as Schliemann treated the Modern Greek rendering of Paul and Virginia. So he attacks vocabulary, forms and syntax after a fashion with which we in America have been familiar for a number of years. To an old teacher, whether in sympathy with the method or not, it is rather amusing to find that Koch emphasizes the frequency of the irregular verbs, and calls attention to the fact that the second aorist occurs almost as often as the first. This will hardly be news to any conscientious drillmaster, though I cannot recall at this moment any published statement of the fact. But leaving all pedagogical inferences aside, one point is a matter of general interest to the student of Greek, and that is the relative frequency of imperf. and aor. ind., about which something will be said in this Journal when Hultsch's elaborate study of the narrative tenses in Polybius is finished. Meantime even K.'s playing with the subject may receive a word or two of notice. A statistical study, published some years ago in this Journal (IV 163), showed that in the Pindaric narrative the aor. preponderates over the imperf. "The aor.," it was said, "preponderates in both classes [of odes, the logaedic and the dactylo-epitrite]." "This is the rule everywhere, must be the rule in lyric poetry." But according to Koch's count it is not the rule in Xenophon's

Anabasis, and on the basis of Xenophon's Anabasis he bids us revise our definitions of the imperfect, which, indeed, sorely need revision, if duration means length of action. For "the imperfect has nothing to do with the absolute length of the action, it has only to do with the vision of the narrator" (A. J. P. IV 160), or, in the words of a great scholar, 'imperfectorum usus oculatis testibus proprius est' (Cobet, NL 409). "So rooted is the tendency in beginners to consider imperfect 'prolonged' and aorist 'momentary' that a course of *εἰθίς* with the imperfect and of high numbers with the aorist is necessary to get them into right habits of thought" (A. J. P. I. c.).

Especially rebellious is Koch against the statement that Greek and Latin use the imperfect alike, and to show that the Greek imperfect and the Latin imperfect are different, he gives the result of his count of the historical tenses in twenty-nine chapters of Caesar's Gallic War and in the first book of the Anabasis:

	Caesar.	Xenophon.
Hist. praes.	31.60	11.70
Imperf. ind.	22.10	51.70
Perf. ind.	31.30	1.15
Pluperf. ind.	15.	1.15
Aor. ind.		34.30
	100.	100.

The figures are interesting—though he counts perf. ind. as an hist. tense in Xenophon—but what do they prove? Are we to judge Latin and Greek by two such representatives as Caesar and Xenophon just because they are school-books? The simplicity of the one is not the simplicity of the other. They are both soldiers, but Caesar is the statesman turned soldier, Xenophon is the Socratic turned soldier. We can speak of Xenophon's *bonhomie*. 'I fail to recognize the *bonhomie* of Caesar in the Commentarii. Still, as the imperf. is the tense of sympathy, Caesar may be the true representative of the genius of the Latin language. *ἀστοργότεροι πῶς εἰσι*, as Marcus Aurelius said of the patricians (I, 11), and that was the reason why his heart turned to the good old African, Fronto. 'Nihil,' says our African friend, Ep. II 7 (p. 135, Naber), 'minus in tota mea vita Romae repperi quam hominem sincere *φιλόστοργον*: ut putem, quia reapse nemo est Romae *φιλόστοργος*, ne nomen quidem huic virtuti esse romanum.' And Soranus, Gynaec., p. 287 (Rose), is almost as hard on the Roman mothers: *οὐ γὰρ ἐγκριταί τσαύτη στοργή ταῖς ἐν τῇ πόλει* (sc. *Ῥώμῃ*) *γυναιξίν ὡς τὸ καθ' ἑκάστον ἐπιβλέπειν, ὃν τρόπον πράττουσιν αἱ καθαρῶς Ἑλληνίδες. μηδενὸς οὖν ἐπιθεωροῦντος τὰ κινήματα, διαστρέφεται τὰ κῶλα τῶν πλείστων*.

But we must wait for the facts, however irksome the delay may be, before we formulate a difference between Greeks and Romans on the basis of their relative use of imperfect and aorist. There are differences within the Greek range which must be settled first—differences of department, of dialect, of individual. Cobet, for instance, says of Herodotus that he uses the imperfect for the aor. *ιαστί* (Mnemos. 1883, p. 90), and the more leisurely imperfect would suit the *Ἰάονες ἔλκεχιτώνες* as admirably as does the leisurely hiatus. Or shall we account for the difference by the epic tone of early history, or by the loitering grace of the delightful author himself? Koch does not like Demosthenes. More's the

pity. "Ich gestehe offen," he says, "dass ich bei der lectüre des Demosthenes, trotz der angewandten mühe, den erwarteten genusz weder erzielt noch selbst gehabt habe." But perhaps he will not deny that Demosthenes knows how to tell a story, and the narrative in LIV 3-12 has always been considered a model. In that narrative the aor. and imperf. nearly balance, as they nearly balance in two other model narratives, Lys. III 5-20 and XIII 5-30; but the aor. preponderates a little. Still, what does all the counting amount to? All these statistics of the finite verb are crossed by the use of the participle, by the use of the *oratio obliqua* infinitive, by the use in Latin of *cum* with the subj. Too many elements enter into the calculation to allow us to formulate. Even the proportion of participles to finite verbs refuses, as I have shown, to give a mechanical result (A. J. P. IX 151). And yet I think it would be much safer to ascribe the different proportions of imperf. and aorist in Latin and Greek to national differences, to artistic differences, than to different conceptions of the tense. I know that grammarians insist on a difference between Greek pluperfect and Latin pluperfect. That is distinctly an article of faith with some theorists. But how is it with the historical present? The historical present is, we are told, Aryan beyond a doubt. It is a common possession of Greek and Roman. Yet Homer and Pindar do not use it, and Vergil does. Vergil uses it as a Roman: "Gladio cominus rem gerit," as Caesar says in the string of historical presents which he uses in telling the story of Pulio and Vorenus (B. G. 5, 44). To Homer and Pindar the historical present "must have been either too vulgar or too hurried" (Pindar, Intr. Ess., cii); but Brugmann, who said in his first ed. (Gr. Gr. §156): "Dass Homer das praes. hist. fremd ist, erklärt sich aus dem Charakter der epischen Diction," says in his second ed.: "Wie es zu deuten sei, dass Homer das praes. hist. fremd war, ist unklar." In both editions, however, he admits that "kunstmässige Handhabung der Sprache bediente sich dieses Praesens als eines rhetorischen Mittels zur Belebung der Rede." Now look at Koch's table again and see how much more freely the Roman uses the hist. present than the Greek. In Dem. LIV 3-12 the histor. presents amount to 5 per cent., in Lys. XIII 5-20 to 14 per cent., in Lys. III 5-20 to as much as 17 per cent. In the 29 chapters of Caesar we have no less than 31.60 per cent. The inference is irresistible that there was no difference in the conception of the relation, only a difference in the artistic presentation. The Roman is apt to overdo, and Caesar's story of Pulio and Vorenus would to a Greek taste overdo the histor. present as badly as our African friend Fronto in his story of Arion (p. 237, Naber). But the whole matter of the tenses is one of extreme difficulty and delicacy. English and German have perfects and preterites that are very much alike, and yet how few Germans use the English perfect with absolute correctness, and *vice versa*!

However, Professor Whitney has discussed this whole matter of perf. and aor. in a recent number of the Journal (XIII 289), and I am satisfied to leave Koch in his hands. Only I must add in conclusion that it is a little surprising that Koch should have cited a doctored passage from Aelian V. H. XIII 33 as a specimen of the massing of irregular verbs, without noticing the array of aorists, which, on his own principles, he might fairly have ascribed to Aelian's Latinizing tendencies.

B. L. GILDERSLEEVE.

Einleitung in die Neugriechische Grammatik von G. N. HATZIDAKIS. Leipzig, Druck u. Verlag von Breitkopf u. Härtel.

Η ΙΔΙΑΔΑ ΜΕΤΑΦΡΑΣΜΕΝΗ ΑΠ' ΤΟΝ ΑΛΕΞ. ΠΑΛΛΗ ΜΕΡΟΣ ΠΡΩΤΟ Α-Ζ. ΑΘΗΝΑ, ΤΥΠΟΓΡΑΦΕΙΟ ΤΟΥ Σ. Κ. ΒΛΑΣΤΟΥ, 1892.

This book appears as vol. V of the 'Indogermanische Grammatiken,' and the author's name is already a familiar one.<sup>1</sup>

This 'Introduction' may fairly claim the merit both of placing the study of Modern Greek in its proper relative position and also of carrying out to satisfactory results the investigation of much carefully collected data. It surrounds the subject with a scientific atmosphere. The author indulges in none of the recent extravagant claims, nor does he need to assume an apologetic tone. He has defined his method of investigation in well-chosen terms, and his courteous repudiation of current views is well-timed.

While not laying specific blame on other investigators, he claims (pp. 1-2) that the following three rules must be observed. They are here given nearly in his language:

I. "That the investigation of Modern Greek has to take its beginning with the classic times, and that it may limit itself in a one-sided manner neither to its spoken nor to its written transmission. Such a limitation would on either hand shut out of the investigation one-half of the transmitted material; only as both the spoken and the written language work together and supplement each other do they make possible the scientific knowledge of Modern Greek."

II. "That in Modern Greek we need not see Doric or Aeolic, but simply a perfectly regular continuation, in accordance with the times, of the later κοινή."

III. "That the chief characteristics of Modern Greek took their origin at a pretty early date. This is shown by an examination of the literary monuments of the later Ancient Greek and the Greek of the Byzantine times."

Not till these principles are firmly established can it be claimed that the investigation of Modern Greek has taken the right track.

The investigation is complicated. Not only is the time over which the history of the language extends a long one, but the monuments of the language, after the Alexandrian time, were written no longer in a living and spoken dialect, but in one which had been the living speech of a small part of Greece and which was then elevated to a literary language for the whole nation. Added to this, and worst of all, this literary language failed to develop and change in accord with the times; and falling out of all touch with the spoken language, it strove to struggle up-stream and to identify itself with the old classical form of speech. The result was such as might have been anticipated.

<sup>1</sup> A brief biographical note may be of interest. Dr. Γεώργιος Ν. Χατζιδάκις was born in Crete about 1850. After several years of study in Germany he became a professor in the University of Athens. In 1880 appeared his *Πρώτη συμβολή εις την ιστορίαν της νεωτέρας Ἑλληνικῆς* (in 'Ἀθηναίῳ X'), and since then numerous reviews and contributions on various subjects have appeared from his pen, both in the Greek and other journals, as Kuhn's *Zeitschrift*, Götting. Gelehr. Anzeiger, Hellas (ΕΛΛΑΣ) of Amsterdam, *Zeitschrift für Vergl. Sprachf.*, etc. The substance of a number of these articles is embodied in the present 'Einleitung.' An elaborate investigation on the Modern Greek Accent, entitled *περί τονικῶν μεταβολῶν ἐν τη νεωτέρᾳ Ἑλληνικῇ*, appeared in ΑΘΗΝΑ, vol. I, in 1889. A recent contribution by Prof. Χατζιδάκις to Krumbacher's *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* is entitled 'Bemerkungen zu einigen mittelgriechischen Autoren.'

The form could still be imitated reasonably well, and for a long time the old spirit was lacking and the spirit of the times despised. Not the language, but those who used it, were to blame for the results. In Prof. Hatzidakis's own words: "It (the language) was just as little to be blamed as the marble of Pentelicon could be, because in these times no one could form from it a Venus of Melos nor a Hermes of Praxiteles."

At first Dionysius of Halicarnassus had striven to point out how the old spirit, the pure and simple diction, could be maintained, but soon it came to pass that this Atticising degenerated into cramped and painful copying. This was 'diglossie' in contradistinction to the speech of the day, which may be named 'homochrone.' The difference at first manifested itself in choice of words: soon there arose a difference in form. E. g. at the time of the Christian era we find τὰς γυναῖκες as well as the nominative αἱ γυναῖκες. In Lucian's Soloe-cista this kind of change may be observed at a later stage. This is one reason why for all these centuries we possess no single work of literature which gives a correct reflection of the spoken language of the time.

So enthusiastic a devotee of post-classic Greek as Dr. H. C. Muller makes for this same reason only a barren show in his Chrestomathy (Griechische Texte von Homer bis auf die Gegenwart), published as an appendix to his Historische Gram. der Hellenischen Sprache.

But so much greater is the need of our author's caution. Even the least attractive parts of these post-classic writings have their place in the painstaking historic study of the Greek language.

After this warning the author turns to the spoken language to show how the living dialects of to-day complete and correct the imperfect, wavering and conflicting evidence of the written language. And we gladly follow the author to this investigation, trusting to his sane judgment and quick ear as to a human phonograph. Living Greeks from Crete and Asia Minor to southern Italy contribute each their evidence both of the persistence of the Hellenic speech and of the vicissitudes through which it has passed. That this investigation could have brooked no further delay is self-evident both on general principles and on the explicit testimony of the investigators now in the field. Albert Thumb (Indogermanische Forschungen, 2. Band, S. 68) says: "Ich erhielt überhaupt immer die sicherste Gewähr für meine Aufzeichnungen, wenn ich sie auch in der Sprache von Frauen und Mädchen bestätigt fand. Die jüngere männliche Generation ist überall in Griechenland leicht geneigt ihren Dialekt vor der gemeingriech. Volkssprache zurücktreten zu lassen und sogar Elemente der Schriftsprache aufzunehmen." And on p. 75 he says: 'That which happened once before to the Greek language 2000 years ago may repeat itself now, i. e. the absorption of the dialects in a κοινή.'

Prof. Hatzidakis urges that all elements of language must be taken into account together—Syntax, Vocabulary, Forms and Phonetics. The pronunciation, for example, was not suddenly changed on New-Year's day, 1100 A. D. To distinguish sheep and swine it soon ("schon in der Bibel") became more practical to use πρόβατον and χοίρος instead of οἷς and ὄς, which were rendered indistinguishable by the tendency to itacism and the loss of the aspirate.

Language is an organism, not mere *membra dissecta*, and Hellas from Sicily to Asia Minor is a whole. If we adopt this historic and broad view it is



possible to appreciate four more rules of criticism which our author lays down (pp. 14 and 15). They may be summarized as follows:

I. All that the Atticists, Grammarians, Lexicographers, Scholiasts, etc., take under their protection and find necessary to explain or to recommend must be looked upon as dead or dying. This is further illustrated in Excursus IV, pp. 285-303, where is given a collection of such expressions and of cautions from Phrynichus and the grammarian Moeris, especially such as bear upon the usage of the Greek of to-day. In general it may be affirmed that what the Grammarians recommend is to-day unknown or reversed—the vulgarities of the idiom of their times have become legitimized in the same or in a modified form.

II. On the other hand, all that the Atticists reject must be looked upon as the best guide to the speech of that time. Also that which the Lexicographers or Scholiasts use to translate or explain the old may often, not always, be looked upon as a genuine part of the spoken language of the day. And if, in addition, this rejected material is now in daily use, it must also have been known and used by the people through all the centuries.

III. Everything in these (mediaeval) authors—especially those after the 11th century—which harmonizes neither with Ancient nor with Modern Greek must be rejected as wholly un-Greek.

IV. Everything antiquated in these authors which is violently changed may be safely rejected as not belonging to the times. Only that is falsely used which is merely half-learned, not felt.

For further discussion of these rules for criticism the reader is referred to Excursus III, pp. 234-84, 'Ueber den Sprachcharakter der mittelalterlichen u. neuen Autoren.'

He adds (p. 16) an additional caution, already well accredited, but sometimes neglected, that the grammarians by a specific word often indicated a whole class, and warn, for example, in reality against the use in general of the aor. pass. instead of the middle, when they stigmatize *γενηθῆναι* for *γενέσθαι*. It would be as unfair as it would be out of place, to attempt to condense Prof. Hatzidakis's argument showing how much of the really antique in form and vocabulary has been preserved in the living speech in the more out of the way parts of Hellas, e. g. *λέγουσι*, etc., in certain parts of Crete, Lower Italy, Cyprus, Rhodes and Chios; but it may be asserted that he makes out a good case to prove that the Turk, like Xerxes in Attica, might gain temporary possession of the soil without annihilating the people and the language.

To repeat even the table of contents here would show the wide extent of the investigation which the 'Einleitung' offers to the student of Modern, not to say Ancient, Greek, and would suggest various points of special interest to one and another investigator. It may safely be assumed that the book will be in the hands of all such, and here only the bald outline of the book will be given in conclusion.

The book, written in clear and idiomatic German, is dedicated to Professor Berthold Delbrück. It consists of three chapters and ten special monographs (Excursus I-X) appended.

Chapter I, which naturally has been chiefly discussed in this review, is entitled 'The Aim and Methods of the Investigation of Modern Greek.'

Chapter II discusses the 'Pedigree of the Mediaeval and Modern Greek.' This contains a most careful investigation of the assumed dialectic inheritance in the *κοινή*. A sharp eye keeps watch over any form which may try to pass itself off as a member of the old dialects, like Xenophon's Lydian *βουρωτάζων τῇ φωνῇ*. In general the author concludes (p. 167) that the *κοινή* has suppressed the old dialects, and only small fragments of them have come down to us without being taken up into the body of the *κοινή* itself. What fragments do remain are carefully discussed—see, e. g., pp. 8–10 et passim. The discussion includes such points as the augment and the reduplication in Modern Greek; the digamma under various disguises; the accus. plur. in *-ες*; dialectic method of accentuation (where the temptation to regard *ἄνθρωποι* as a Doric inheritance is successfully resisted); the infinitive, participle, numerals, etc., etc., in Modern Greek; the spiritus asper in Modern Greek; and characteristics of the Pontic dialect. On p. 166, with the candor that comes from honest and wide investigation, the author adds that he is acquainted only with a part of Modern Greek and will not be surprised if future investigations modify his opinions. The chapter concludes with a discussion of the spread of the *κοινή*. This, he says (p. 171), must have antedated the 5th or 6th century A. D. As he adds in the next chapter, the limits of this 'Koenisirung' may be placed at 300 B. C.—600 A. D.

Chapter III treats of the rise and progress of Modern Greek. The origin of this, the author claims, is to be sought primarily in the development of the *κοινή*. He develops the gradual modernizing of the Ancient Greek. Regular futures and aorists, nouns and verbs supplant the irregular and normal forms. The following peculiarities are treated of: Disappearance of different nominal and pronominal inflectional endings; passive aorists instead of middle; confusion of active and middle voice of trans. and intrans. verbs; loss of old perfect forms; confusion in use of the prepositions and particles; use of *iva* and *ὅτι* instead of infinitive; extension of the accusative; subjunctive for imperative, etc.

From all this Prof. Hatzidakis concludes (pp. 228–29) that not only is it wrong to assert that the Greek language died a lingering death, but it is clear that through all the vicissitudes of their history the Greeks retained their life as a people—were able, indeed, to assimilate to themselves, in speech, religion and politics, the foreigners, including even the Turks and the Albanians; that, moreover, words and forms which are limited to certain regions—as Athens, Aegina, Messenia, Epirus, Pontus, Cyprus and Crete—prove sufficiently that these regions were never completely stripped of Greek population, and that a new colonization from Byzantium is an unnecessary assumption.

Among the monographs which occupy the remainder of the book (pp. 230–440, the index carries it on to p. 464), Excursus III and IV have already been referred to. The others will be of interest to special investigators. Excursus V, Zum Vokalismus des Neugriechischen (pp. 304–53), is the longest after No. III. Excursus VI, Zum Genuswechsel im Neugriechischen (pp. 354–73), is both a collection and a discussion of the change in gender. Excursus VIII, Zur neugriechischen Deklination, has just appeared in substance in Kuhn's Zeitschrift, Band XXXII.

Pallis's paraphrase or translation of the Iliad, books I-VI, is in so far of interest to the general public as it gives an ample specimen of genuine Modern Greek taken from a familiar original. A cursory examination will show that it is not the semi-artificial, literary language of the newspapers. The author in the introduction says that "this paraphrase has no other purpose than that it should be wholly written, as to vocabulary, grammar, syntax and phraseology, in the living language of the people." The title will itself illustrate this, but a few lines, taken at random, are given for a more extended comparison. They are vv. 1-7 of Bk. II:

Κί οἱ ἄλλοι ἀνθρώποι καὶ θεοὶ κοιμούντανε ὅλη νύχτα,  
 ὁ Δίας μὲν δὲ χαίρουνταν τοῦ ἵππου τῇ γλυκάδα,  
 μὲν μέσ' σ' τὸ νοῦ του ἀνάδεβε τὸ πῶς σ' τὸν Ἀχιλλέα  
 δόξα νὰ δώσει, καὶ πολλοὺς νὰ σφάζει σ' τὰ καράβια.  
 Κί ἀφτῇ ἡ βουλή τοῦ φαίνονταν σὰν πιδὲ καλὴ σ' τὸ νοῦ του  
 νὰ στείλει τὸν Ψεφτόνειρο σ' τὸν Ἀγαμέμνο κάτω.  
 Καὶ κράζοντάς τον, τοῦ λαλεῖ διὸ φτερωμένα λόγια.

Greek students who, without any special preparation in Modern Greek, claim to understand every word in a Modern Greek newspaper, might be advised to take this up next.

F. G. ALLINSON.

## REPORTS.

BEITRÄGE ZUR ASSYRIOLOGIE UND VERGLEICHENDEN SPRACHWISSENSCHAFTEN, herausgegeben von FRIEDRICH DELITZSCH und PAUL HAUPT. I. Band, I. Heft (pp. 1-368), Leipzig (Hinrichs), 1889; II. Heft (pp. 369-636), Leipzig, 1890. II. Band, I. Heft (pp. 1-273), Leipzig, 1891; II. Heft (pp. 274-556), Leipzig, 1892.

Reviews of the first three parts, either singly or together, may be found in the following periodicals: *Deutsche Literaturzeitung*, 1891, col. 1450, P. Jensen; *Hebraica*, VI 65, R. Harper; *Presb. and Reformed Review*, 1890, April, pp. 349 ff., Davis; *Revue Critique*, 1890 (XXV, p. 481), J. Halevy, and 1892 (pp. 4 ff.), A. Loisy; *Ztschr. der deutschen Morgenl. Gesell.* XLVI 566, F. Hommel.

The *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, of which the last number of the second volume has recently appeared, cannot properly be called a periodical. It was the intention of the editors to issue this journal only at irregular intervals, the publication of the first part of the first volume in the autumn of 1889 having been really an experiment, upon the success of which would depend the continuance of the magazine. The fine array, however, of highly useful articles presented in this number ensured the further success of the undertaking, and the editors have been able thus far to issue a part of the journal every autumn. The *Beiträge* cannot be said to invade the province of any other magazine devoted to *Orientalia*. The *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, for example, whose domain the new journal approaches nearest, prints much shorter articles and presents, in some respects, quite a different class of matter, besides being, as its name denotes, a regular periodical.

In the first volume of the *Beiträge*, one of the most important of the articles devoted to the publication and treatment of Assyro-Babylonian texts is that of Friedrich Delitzsch on the Babylonian-Assyrian letter literature (vol. I, pp. 185-248, 613-31; concluded, II 19-62—altogether 127 pages). While most of the texts discussed here are published by S. A. Smith in his *Keilinschriften Asurbanipals*, vol. II (Leipzig, 1887), and also in the *Proceedings of the Society for Biblical Archaeology*, vols. IX and X, 1887, 1888, there can be no doubt that Delitzsch's thorough and scholarly treatment of the subject must be the basis for all future investigations in this branch of Assyriology. The stem *takd*, mentioned (p. 198) as a synonym of *ṣṣṣ* 'to lift up,' in connection with the reading *u-tāk-ku-ka-ni* of K. 512, rev. 15, is very probably the same as we find in *tukku* 'shield,' which in this case would be an intensive formation. *Takd* may be a secondary stem formed with *t* from an original *√wky*. Similar formations in Assyrian are *takdlu* 'trust,' from *ṣṣṣ* 'be strong,' and *tabdlu* 'take away,' from *ṣṣṣ* 'bring.' On p. 616 Delitzsch has established the meaning of the stem *karḏru*, which he shows conclusively must signify 'to pull down'; for example, the foundation of a house. *Karḏru* must be the same stem which we

find in the Mishn. כָּרַי and Talm. כְּרִיָּא, meaning a 'heap,' i. e. something pulled down, drawn together. The original force of כָּרַר may have been 'to turn, turn over.' The stem occurs in Hebrew only in the Pilpel, meaning 'to dance'; cf. 2 Sam. vi. 14, 16.

The next articles dealing with texts which should be mentioned are those by Prof. Haupt, who has contributed about half of the first Heft of the *Beiträge*. His edition of the 12th tablet of the Nimrod Epic, with nine plates and text-critical remarks (I, pp. 48-79), and his collation of the entire Izdubar legend (I, pp. 94-152), must be regarded as a standard work on the Epic.

The treatise of Dr. Rudolf Zehnpfund on *Babylonische Weberrechnungen* (I, pp. 492-536, with corrections, pp. 632-36) is a valuable contribution to the literature bearing on the so-called contract tablets. Zehnpfund has chosen thirty-four tablets, chiefly lists of woven materials, which he has thoroughly examined, both grammatically and philologically. Twenty-two others he has discussed more briefly toward the close of his article. The author's treatment of *kudinnu* (p. 505, note 3) is also worthy of notice. Of the three distinctions in derivation made by him, viz. *qutinnu* 'small' (קִטִּין), *kudinnu* 'mancipatus,' and *kudunnu* 'mule' (Targ. כּוּדִינְנָא, כּוּדִינְנָא, כּוּדִינְנָא), I would only call attention to the possibility of reading the first not *qutinnu*, but *tardinnu*, *tardēnu*. It may be regarded as a derivative from the stem *radû* 'to copulate,' with much the same meaning as *radû*, *ridû* 'child, young,' hence 'small.' (See II R. 30, n. 3, 30, 31.) Lehmann's idea that this word applied to a brother, *axu kudinnu* (*tardinnu*), may denote the son of a concubine, or of a wife of unequal rank, and may sometimes be *terminus technicus* for *illegitimate*, is objected to by Bruno Meissner in his new work on *Altbabylonisches Privatrecht* (p. 152, n. 1). Meissner holds that the word is synonymous with *qixru* 'young,' and reads it *qutinnu*, from a stem קִתֵּן, bearing the same relation to Hebrew קִטִּין as does קִטָּל to the Arabic *qatala*.

Of the eight grammatical articles in the first volume of the *Beiträge*, Prof. Haupt has contributed four, the most important being those on Assyrian noun-formations, viz. 'Das Nominalpräfix *na* im Assyrischen' (pp. 1-20) and 'Zur Assyrischen Nominallehre' (pp. 158-84). Dr. Haupt accepts the law stated by Barth, Z. A., April, 1887, that the origin of the prefix *n* was due to a dissimilation of an original *m*, influenced by a labial in the stem, but differs from him in many particulars. Haupt has treated the subject exhaustively in both of his articles, and presents a wealth of valuable material in the notes. A list of forms with prefixed *m* and *n* (p. 171) will be found highly useful to the student of Assyrian phonetics.

Martin Jäger, in his article on the Semivowel *ḡ* in Assyrian (I, pp. 443-91), by a comparative treatment of parallel cases in the cognate languages, arrives at the conclusion that the combinations *ia*, *aa*, *ea*, *ua* are found, with few exceptions, only in formations where an original *ḡ* is present. His views, although well set forth, will not be convincing to all.

It is hardly necessary to derive the form *ittāšib*, with Jäger (*Das babylonische Hauchlautzeichen*, p. 591, note), from an original *itūašib* with prefixed *t*. *Ittašib*, *ittabil*, etc., can easily be explained as *Isfual* formations, after the analogy of verbs *Pe Nun*.

Richard Kraetzschmar's two articles on the relative pronoun and relative sentence in Assyrian (I, pp. 379-492), and on the preposition *ša* (I, pp. 583-88), present the results of a careful study of the use of *ša* in the available Assyro-Babylonian literature. Students of this subject should also read Kraetzschmar's short article, *The Origin of the Notae Relationis* (Hebraica, VI, 1889-90, 296-302).

George Steindorff's interesting discussion of the reproduction of Egyptian proper names in the Cuneiform inscriptions is important for the study of Assyrian phonetics (I, pp. 330-61 and 593-612). His treatment of the proper name *Sib'-e* (pp. 339-42) deserves attention. That this is the correct reading of the name, and not *Shab'i* (Schrader, K. A. T.<sup>2</sup> 269 and 587), is shown by Delitzsch, *Paradies*, p. 308. Steindorff discusses chiefly whether it is historically possible to identify *Sib'-e* with the Egyptian king *Sabako*, Σαβακών, and rightly concludes, with Winckler, from the insurmountable chronological and philological difficulties, that there can be no connection between the two persons. It is now recognized that *Sib'e* (Biblical, *Seve*) was only an Egyptian *tartān*, or general, or at most a petty prince. (See Delitzsch in Mürdter's *Geschichte Babyloniens und Assyriens*, 1891, p. 185.)

The *Beiträge* has taken a departure highly useful to the study of Oriental philology from an historical point of view, by publishing such articles as those of Flemming on the literary relics of G. F. Grotefend (I, pp. 80-93), on the life and work of Job Ludolf, the founder of Ethiopic philology (I, pp. 537-82, concluded II, pp. 63-110), and, in the first Heft of the second volume, on the services rendered to Assyriology by Sir Henry Rawlinson (II, pp. 1-18).

The articles in the first volume which are not of an especially Assyriological character are Nestle's brief treatise on Verbs Medial *š* in Syriac (I, pp. 153-57) and the excellent work of Franz Pretorius on Ethiopic Grammar and Etymology (I, pp. 21-47 and 369-78). In the latter I will only call attention to the author's opinion (p. 34) that the common Ethiopic auxiliary verb *hallawa* is cognate with the Arabic *halhala* 'wait, delay.' He adds to Lagarde's two primitive roots הל, the first meaning 'illuminate' and the second 'cry out,' a third הל, which must mean 'to wait, remain.' This latter primitive root is probably the same which appears in the stem אהל 'to dwell,' from which comes the Hebrew derivative אהל 'tent,' the familiar Assyrian *ālu* (*ahalu*) 'city,' and the rarer fem. formation *ālu* 'family,' for which latter see Jäger, *Beitr.* II, p. 303. Instances of trilateral stems primae *š*, probably formed from an original biliteral root, are f. ex. Heb. אָחַד 'one': Aram. חַד, Heb. אָנִי 'be weak,' נִינִי 'tremble, delay,' (נִינִי) 'lead astray': Talm. אָשַׁר and יָשַׁר 'pour out,' etc.

In the first Heft of the second volume of the *Beiträge*, C. W. Belser's interesting study of three Babylonian *Kudurru* or border-stone records (II, pp. 111-203) should be read in connection with Delitzsch's translation of the Merodach-Baladan stone (II, pp. 258-73). Dr. Belser has, unfortunately, not described any of the inscriptions which he translates, contenting himself with merely referring the reader to Pinches' *Guide to the Nimroud Central Saloon* (pp. 40-60).

Dr. O. E. Hagen's article on the Cyrus texts (II, pp. 205-48), with *Nachträge* by Friedrich Delitzsch (pp. 248-57), is the best treatment of these inscriptions ever published. The transliteration is based on a new collation of both the Cyrus Cylinder and the Annals of Nabonidus, and the translation throws light, in more than one passage, on the history of the fall of Babylon. Although Hagen has expressly stated that his interest in the documents is more that of an historian than of a philologist, his commentary will materially aid the grammatical and textual study of these inscriptions. The purely historical commentary he has reserved for an independent work on the ancient history of Western Irân. It would not have been out of place, however, had he mentioned some of the former translations of the Cyrus documents, instead of keeping the discussion of them for his later work.

A list of the chief translations and paraphrases of the Cyrus Cylinder and Nabonidus Annals will be found in the Appendix to my Dissertation on Mene Mene Tekel Upharsin.

Hagen's brief statement of the probable condition of affairs at the time of the fall of Babylon is excellent. He points out that the priests of Marduk in Babylon, had it been possible, would have dethroned Nabonidus and placed another native in power. They were compelled, however, by circumstances to hand over the empire to the alien Cyrus, who, by his rapid and victorious approach, had become master of the situation. Hagen very properly distinguishes between the artificial feeling of the Babylonians toward Cyrus, manifested in the Cylinder, and the joyous hope of the captive Jews in their deliverer. The supposition of a new value *zuz* for the character *be* (*bat, til, zis*), in the word *šū-zuz*(?) *-su-un* 'taken away' (?), in Cyl. 25, seems somewhat forced. The common reading *šubatsun* may be retained and the passage translated as follows: "the yoke which suited them not, their habitation, their disorder (or, with Hagen, their sighing), I quieted," i. e. "I subdued the tyrannical yoke, made peaceful their dwellings once more, and righted their disordered affairs." The passage V. R. 50, 51/52, cited in support of the meaning 'take away' for *našūsu*, is probably to be translated "one the hair of whose body the evil *Rābiçu* has caused to stand up" (*uššūsu*, i. e. 'in fear,' and not 'take away'). The reading of the Annals III 23, *u(?)mār šarri ušma-at* 'and the son of the king he killed,' if correct, establishes definitely the time of the death of Belshazzar, the eldest son of Nabonidus. We may suppose that this prince, while making a last despairing effort against the Persian aggression, was slain by Gobryas' forces shortly after the capture of Nabonidus and the final surrender of Babylon.

Delitzsch, in his additions to Hagen's work, points out a number of easily avoidable errors in the inexact translation of these texts by Eb. Schrader (K. B. III 2, pp. 120-37).

The last part of the *Beiträge* (Bd. II, Hef 2) is quite as interesting as its predecessors.

Edward J. Harper's article on Babylonian legends contains matter highly useful, both from a philological and comparative mythological point of view. The author gives copies of original texts, with ten photographs of tablets and a transliteration, translation, commentary, and discussion of the four legends of Etana, Zu, Adapa and Dibbara (II, pp. 390-521). Harper had already

published a preliminary study of the Etana and Adapa legends in the Academy, Jan. 17 and May 30, 1891.

By far the most attractive legend of the Etana series is the description of the hero's attempt to reach heaven by means of his friend the eagle. Curiously enough, Etana is not represented as riding on the eagle's back during the flight, but as clinging to the bird's breast. The end of the journey is never reached, for, when, after leaving the abode of Anu Bel and Ea, Etana sees the sea like a tiny drop of water beneath him, he orders the eagle to turn back. The bird's strength, however, is exhausted, and, his wings failing him, the bold pair are dashed to earth.

The similes in this account regarding the appearance of the receding earth and sea are very striking.

The tale of Adapa, son of Ea, god of the deep, relates how the young deity broke the wings of the South Wind which had disturbed him in his fishing. The wrathful summons to the youth to appear before Anu and answer for his crime, and the politic advice of Ea to his son, by means of which the anger of Anu was appeased, are the chief features of the story.

This tablet, Dr. Harper informs us, does not belong, like most of the other legends, to the library of Ašurbanipal (669-625 B. C.), but forms part of the El Amarna collection, so that its date would probably be about nine hundred years before Ašurbanipal.

The occurrence in the Etana legend of the plural of *iççáru* 'bird,' *iççárdi*, is a valuable addition to Assyrian forms (p. 400). *Iççáru* must now be added to the list of nouns with masc. sing. ending and fem. pl. formation; cf. *xarránu*, *tuddu*, *náru*, etc.

Harper considers *naglabu* a sort of *patru* 'or dagger' (p. 435). The actual meaning, however, of the stem *gullubu* is not clear. That it does not mean 'shear,' as some have thought, seems evident. Haupt in Beitr. I, p. 15, translated it by 'castrate,' and accordingly explained *naglabu* as an instrument for castration (I, p. 8). Meissner (Altbab. Privatrecht, p. 152) believes that *gullubu* means 'make a mark' and is applicable to the marking of slaves or adopted children. Following this idea, *naglabu* would be an instrument used for this purpose. The idea of 'cutting' seems to underly the stem *gullubu*, but it is probable, in spite of the comparison in II R. 24, n. 2, 60 d, that *naglabu* was not absolutely synonymous with the general term *patru*. This is indicated, too, by the usage in Harper's passage, where the *nāš patru* are mentioned with *nāš naglabi*.

Dr. Martin Jäger again appears as a contributor, presenting a very welcome study of eighteen proverbs in Sumerian and Assyrian, the text of which is published II R. 16 (Beiträge, II, pp. 274-305). Jäger assigns this copy to the Sargonide period, and classes the contents among the grammatical texts which were prepared by Babylonians for the purpose of learning Sumerian. These sentences are, of course, valuable because of the light which they throw on Babylonian thought, but, as Jäger points out, they possess an especial interest in showing us a sort of proverbial poetry hitherto unknown in Babylonian.

Assyriologists will await with interest Jäger's promised work on the Sumero-Akkadian question, as his position in this matter is not very clear. He claims to agree in the main with Halevy, believing that almost all the formative



elements of Sumerian show a Semitic origin, but at the same time retains the expression 'Akkadian and Sumerian language.' This apparent inconsistency he promises to explain in his new work.

The following points in Jäger's article are important: the definite establishment of *mī* or *mē* as interr. pron. 'who' (p. 277) and the comparison of the Assyrian *mannu inamdin*, literally 'who will give?' viz. 'O that!' and the Hebrew *מִי יִתֵּן* (p. 279).

In the extremely difficult proverbial poem (translated No. 3, p. 280) Jäger has found an ingenious solution for the last few lines, by his change of *-ma* (in l. 70) to the negative particle *ul* before *innaši ressu*. He translates: 'lifts not again his head.' It would have been possible, however, retaining *-ma* in accordance with a suggestion of Prof. Haupt, to translate *innaši ressu* 'his poverty increased,' explaining *ressu* 'his poverty' as a cognate of Hebrew *רָעָה* 'poor.'

Jäger's derivation of *bubātu* 'hunger, food,' from the stem *בָּעַה*, instead of, with Haupt (Beiträge, I 18), from *בָּהַב*, deserves attention (p. 288). An excellent point is the distinction (p. 293) between *šattu* 'year' and *šattu* 'hour.'

It may be mentioned in connection with Jäger's discussion of the *Umlaut* of *a* to *i* under the influence of preceding *u* (p. 295) in forms like *šiqqurīt* for *šiqqurat*, that this change was probably due to the pronunciation of the *u* as *ü*, which tended to produce *Umlaut* in a neighboring vowel.

The derivation of *mandu* from *mādu* 'numerous' (p. 300, note) was already mentioned by Hagen (Beiträge, II 231). The translation of *Ummān-manda* by 'great horde' seems undoubtedly the best.

With the exception of J. A. Knudtson's brief remarks on the text of Layard, 17, 18 (pp. 306-11), and Prof. W. Muss-Arnolt's sketch and bibliography of Jules Oppert (pp. 522-56), the other articles of this number are of a general Semitic character.

The work of Fritz Hommel (II, pp. 342-58) on the relationship of Old Egyptian with Semitic is full of interest, and his comparison of the various grammatical forms of Egyptian seems to show clearly the close connection of that language with the Semitic branch. A somewhat fuller article by Adolf Erman on the same subject, embodying both grammatical and lexicographical comparisons between Egyptian and Semitic, has since appeared (ZDMG 46, 93-129). It seems evident, for example, that the Egyptian perfect tense explained by Hommel (p. 343) contains the same conjugational forms as those in Semitic. The imperfect, also, with the prefix *i* seems to be represented, and, what is still more striking, forms are found with prefixed *i* and pronominal suffixes; thus, Egypt. *i-rx-t* would be equivalent to a Semitic form like *ia-kabula-la* (p. 346). This appears to indicate that the Sem. *ia* is really not a pronominal element of the 3d sing., but simply a sign of the imperf., which was originally inflected like the perfect with suffixes. The resemblance between Egypt. and Sem. in the pronouns and possessive suffixes is equally noticeable, and it is interesting to observe that Assyro-Babylonian is the Semitic dialect nearest akin to the Egyptian. Hommel offers, in explanation of this fact, two possible hypotheses. Either Bab. and Egypt. form together a distinct Semitic branch, a daughter of the common primitive language, or Egypt. was

originally a dialect of the old North-Bab. Semitic, and a sister of the later Assyro-Babylonian. If either of these ideas be followed, the theory must be abandoned that Egypt. belongs to a 'Hamitic' branch distinct from but closely allied to Semitic.

This brings us to the discussion of the so-called Hamitic languages of East Africa by F. Pretorius (II 312-41). His opinion regarding the original relationship of Semitic and Hamitic is directly opposed to that of Hommel. According to the latter the Berber idioms of Africa are mixed languages with a basis of Egyptian grammar, while the so-called Ethiopic group (including Bedscha) consists of languages which contain an Elamitic substratum with Semitic grammar and an African vocabulary (II, p. 354, n. 3). The original Semitic character of this latter group, however, which is credited by scholars with six languages, cannot, according to Pretorius, be proved. He is only prepared to admit the possibility that, from the very earliest times, even two thousand years before the immigration of the Semitic Ethiopians, a strong Semitic influence may have been brought to bear on the East African dialects, and it is extremely interesting to note, in connection with this, that these traces of Semitic influence are not exclusively of an Ethiopic character, but present some common Semitic peculiarities (p. 321).

Pretorius believes, on the other hand, that the Ethiopic-Semitic languages were very strongly influenced, in their turn, both in grammar and lexicon, by the native dialects.

The matter seems as yet to be open to discussion, for, as the author points out, scholars are not at present in a position even to compare the linguistic material. The treatise promised by Dr. Hommel on this subject (l. c., p. 355) will therefore certainly be of general philological interest.

The first part of Pretorius' article is devoted to a bibliographical statement of the work already done in this field since 1840. The last sections (pp. 320-41) he has reserved for the philological treatment of the group, comparing the various dialects with the Ethiopic and with each other.

The last article to be mentioned is that of F. Philippi on Semitic verbal and nominal formation (II, pp. 359-89), which is really an answer to Barth's defence of his own work on the same subject against Philippi's earlier criticism. The author is quite right in objecting in many points to Barth's method, and especially to his disregard of the force of analogy in Semitic.

It may certainly be said that the *Beiträge zur Assyriologie* embodies most complete grammatical, text-critical and comparative philological material in the special field of Assyro-Babylonian, and is also a valuable aid to all branches of Semitic learning. The journal has now become a necessity to the ever-growing science of Assyriology, and it is to be hoped will appear with the same regularity in the future as has been the case since its establishment.

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ENGLISCHE STUDIEN. Herausgegeben von Dr. EUGEN KÖLBING, Heilbronn.

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I.—W. Wetz, *The Inner Relations between Shakespeare's Macbeth and his Dramas of Royalty*. This is a comparison of Macbeth with Richard III, Henry IV, and King John, with reference to the retribution which overtakes the usurper. Shakespeare is a 'preacher of repentance,' to use an expression of Goethe's. His method is that outlined by Goethe in many places, as, for example, in *Dichtung und Wahrheit*, Bk. 13: "The true representation has no didactic aim. It neither approves nor censures, but, through unfolding the sentiments and actions in their true sequence, illuminates and instructs them." In these tragedies of usurpation, whatever differences there may be in the elaboration of the problem, it is at bottom the same, and Shakespeare's conception and treatment of it is essentially uniform. The retribution consists partly in the growing strength of the antagonisms aroused, and partly in the growing terrors of the guilty conscience; in other words, is partly external and partly internal. On the one hand, fear and suspicion dog the footsteps of the usurper, and both tend to make him cruel and unjust. By his cruelty and injustice his subjects feel themselves absolved from their loyalty, and by the example of his successful rebellion they are encouraged to rebel in their turn. Hence civil discord while the tyrant rules, and instant adhesion to the avenging rival. On the other hand, conscience begins to trouble the usurper from the moment of the commission of his crime, and his torment constantly increases until the loss of his crown, and even of his life, becomes a welcome relief from anguish. Every step of both processes is illustrated in the tragedy of Macbeth. In Richard III the historic downfall is as complete, while the pangs of conscience are not so fully depicted; but neither in this nor in King John and Henry IV are the latter absent, though the manner in which they disclose themselves differs with the play. It appears from *As You Like It* that Shakespeare's thoughts were much occupied with usurpation and its consequences, since even in this, one of the lightest and airiest of his comedies, it occupies the background. Accordingly we find that he modifies the chronicle histories that he adapts in order to isolate this problem and treat it in its broad, typical features. So far as he has done this his plays become true dramas, instead of remaining mere spectacular or epic presentations of traditional English history. Shakespeare has but one epic hero, ever confident and joyful whatever may oppose, and that is Henry V; if it is the characteristic of the tragic hero to suffer, then those who have been mentioned answer in so far to the definition. Finally, the epic deals with outward events, the drama with psychology; and here again we have a criterion to apply in the case of Shakespeare's adaptations from the chronicle histories.

R. Ackermann, *Studies in Shelley's Prometheus Unbound*. The German commentator on *Alastor*, *Epipsychidion*, *Adonais* and *Hellas* (see *Engl. Stud.* 16. 413) here considers the relation of Shelley's drama to its Aeschylean prototype, and traces some of his more striking expressions to their sources. Thus Shelley's 'Gorgon, Chimaera' (1. 346) goes back to Milton, and his 'cave' and 'cavern' (3. 3) possibly to the nuptial bower of Eve in *Paradise Lost*, though perhaps they are rather the renderings of Shelley's own impres-

sions of the Baths of Caracalla. Hesiod furnished him with some of his elemental conceptions and with the name of Ione (Theog. 255), and Herodotus with Asia as the wife of Prometheus, though she already occurs in Hesiod as the daughter of Oceanus and Thetis. Demogorgon, a word which Littré in his dictionary supposes to be original with Shelley, goes back to *Paradise Lost* (2. 964), to the *Fairy Queen* (1. 5. 22), to Marlowe's *Faust*, Greene's *Friar Bacon and History of Orlando Furioso*, to Leo Hebraeus, the Italian Neoplatonist (1502), to Boccaccio's *Genealogia Deorum*, and eventually to the scholiasts on Lucan's *Pharsalia* (6. 497 and 744). It is to be regretted that Miss Vida D. Scudder did not utilize this article in her suggestive and, in the main, commendable edition of the *Prometheus Unbound*.

W. Sattler, *Zur Englischen Grammatik*, VII.

A. Würzner, A Decree of the Austrian Ministry of Education concerning Written Exercises in Modern Languages in the Scientific Schools (*Realschulen*).

The Book Notices include a review of Hessels' *Eighth-Century Latin-Anglo-Saxon Glossary*, one of Müllenhoff's *Beowulf*, of Anne L. Leonhard's *Two Middle English Stories from Hell*, and of Flügel's and Muret's *English-German Dictionaries*, besides a number of other works of minor importance. The review of Müllenhoff is by Sarrazin, and emphasizes his theory of the Scandinavian origin of the whole *Beowulf* legend, of the derivation of *Bēow*, *Bēow*- from the ON. *Bǫðvarr* = \**Baðu-(h)arir*, and of the period of the appropriation by the English of the Northern story as between 700 and 800 A. D. His illustrations of the similarity between Old Norse and Old English poetry in respect to style, vocabulary, and phraseology are deserving of attention.

The department of Miscellanea is more interesting than usual. F. Lauchert has a long article on the English Hymns to the Virgin in the Thirteenth Century, from which much can be learned. F. Jentsch considers the Sources of the Middle English Romance, Richard Cœur de Lion. There follow a number of smaller papers, and finally an obituary notice of Alexander J. Ellis, the English phonetist. In the latter is contained part of an autobiographical sketch, from which I quote two or three passages illustrative of Ellis's views concerning the educational process to which he was subjected: "From my eighth to my twelfth year I attended a large classical private school. My time was mainly devoted to Latin; there was little Greek and still less English. . . . The next three years and a half of my life were spent at Shrewsbury School. . . . Here again were Latin and Greek, with a weeny bit of English in shape of themes during half a year. . . . I passed on to Eton for three years longer, under Dr. Keate, a mere classicist. Here Latin and Greek alone formed the course. I had some difficulty in being allowed to take lessons in mathematics from a Cambridge man in overtime. They have changed this now, and admit mathematics into the curriculum, I believe. French, Italian and German were 'extras,' not much cultivated. . . . I was now half a year with a private tutor, and resumed English themes, but gave almost my whole time to Latin and Greek, with a flavor of mathematics. Cambridge now loomed, and there a choice was offered—all mathematics, or a mixture of mathematics and classics. I chose the mixture. At present classics

may be swallowed almost pure. The professorial lectures were quite optional, and felt to be nuisances to 'reading men.' Hence it was no wonder that I knew nothing of the chemical, botanical, medical, and even the modern history courses. Law and theology were never thought of, being mere specialties; the physical lectures I attended for mathematical reasons—they were almost entirely confined to physical optics. Now is not this a sad tale? For fifteen or sixteen years my life was given over principally to dead languages, with a little abstract mathematics. I am certain that when I took my degree, in 1837, I was totally ignorant of science proper, though I had some notion of mathematics; and my knowledge of those dead languages, over which I had spent so many years, was very small, poor and inaccurate. Yet I believe I was far above the average run. I had already done my school-work well, and I think got out of it as much as it was likely to give, and I took a fair place in both Triposes. A year after I took my degree I was advised to study in Germany, and was recommended to reside in Dresden. I actually did not know where Dresden was. I make this confession because it will show how utterly the study of language and mathematics had overshadowed everything. In Dresden was fought the greatest battle of the first Napoleon, which decided his fate more than that of Leipzig, yet I knew nothing of it—that is, nothing of modern history, of modern geography, of modern politics. Many years afterwards I availed myself of the privileges given to the amateurs at the University of Edinburgh to learn a little chemistry and practical physics. I was turned out on the world, after a finished classical school, private school, private tutor, and university education, with nothing but a very disjointed examinational knowledge of mathematics, a supreme ignorance of language as language, and a very insufficient of translating, a still less adequate of writing, and a totally non-existent speaking mastery over Latin and Greek. My French, excruciatingly horrible when I left school, had been a little smoothed down by a long vacation in Paris, but that was a direct setting-at-nought of usual custom. As for German, I had not attempted that till after I had taken my degree. Have I not a right to complain that my masters did not know how to lead a willing, industrious boy into better paths—did not even know how to make him understand the country in which they placed him?"

II.—M. Kaluza, Strophic Division in the Purely Alliterative Middle English Poetry. Strophic arrangement is most easily shown in *The Wars of Alexander* (EETS. ES 47). In this the number of lines to the strophe is 24, though to reach this result certain emendations and omissions are necessary. In *Crowned Kinge* the strophes are of 16 lines each; in *De Erkenwalde* of 16; in *Chevelere Assigne* the number is doubtful; in *The Sege of Jerusalem* it is 36; in *Patience* 24; in *Pearl* 60; in *Cleanness* 60; in *Morte Arthure* it is doubtful. Only occasionally do quatrains seem to occur in the remaining purely alliterative poems, such as *William of Palerne*, *Destruction of Troy*, *Piers Plowman*, *Richard the Redeles*, etc. Strophes of four or eight lines are sometimes found in poems which rime only in couplets, being recognized by divisions in the sense; so in the translation of the *Psalms*, *De Muliere Samaritana*, *On God Ureisun of Oure Lefdi*, *Poema Morale*, and *Passion* (OE. Miscellany).

E. H. C. Oliphant, *The Works of Beaumont and Fletcher*, III.

P. Holzhhausen, *Dryden's Heroic Drama*. This is a continuation from vol. 14 of *Englische Studien* (see A. J. P. 13. 108), and in it he treats the following topics: The Action; The Delineation of Morals; Prologues and Epilogues, Prefaces and Dedications; The Dialogue (Style, Diction, Language); Metre. In conclusion he sums up the results to which his inquiries have led him: "Notwithstanding many successful scenes, many brilliant dialogues, unusual ease and elegance of language, and, in one word, many external merits, the poet's heroic drama is a failure in every essential respect—in the plan and construction of the fable, in complication and resolution, in 'motivation' and characterization. It is a failure because of its adherence to the mediaeval romances of chivalry and the French romances, because of the introduction and one-sided treatment of the motives of love and honor, which are fatal to all dramatic life, because of the poet's straining after the applause of the great and the acclamations of an empty-headed and degenerate rabble, and, not least of all, because Dryden was not a genuine, born dramatist.

"Are the heroic dramas less interesting on this account, quite apart from their surpassing interest for the history of culture and manners? The scientist, and particularly the physician, is no less interested in the apparently abnormal, the morbid, than in the normal. Just so in the history of art and culture an extraordinary interest is excited by those minds which, though highly gifted, have been unable to create anything classical, whether because their age was not yet in possession of a complete theory of art, or because they were hindered by the profligate life they led, or by outward and inward misfortune, from exalting themselves and their productions up to the height of the ideal, or, finally, because they allowed themselves to be entrapped by theories, or diverted by their education and models into paths from which their genius should have interdicted them. Hence our interest in persons like Peele, Greene and Marlowe, like Otway and Lee, like Gryphius and Lohenstein, like Lenz and Klinger, like Zacharias Werner, like Grabbe and Hebbel. Hence, too, our interest in Dryden as dramatist. He who would write the pathology of the drama could best study the distempers of the heroic drama in Dryden.

"I have already frequently alluded to the circumstance that Dryden gave himself commendable trouble in his later years to cure his heroic malady (if the expression may be pardoned). In certain respects he fairly reversed his earlier theories in his later dramatic career (after 1676). This is particularly manifest in his relations to other poets and schools. If hitherto he had imitated the variety of action in the Elizabethan plays while adopting French models in his characterization, he now adhered to Shakespeare and Fletcher in the drawing of character, but emulated the French with respect to the unity of action. His drama has incontestably gained by this exchange, but his natural defects as dramatist could of course not be supplied in this way, especially when he had already passed the meridian of life."

W. Swoboda, *Mediators in the Struggle over Reform in the Teaching of Language*.

In the *Book Notices* there is a long review of Kölbing's edition of *Arthur and Merlin*, and shorter ones of Gollancz's *Pearl*, Skeat's *Chaucer's Prologue*, Pollard's *English Miracle Plays*, Crane's *Jacques de Vitry's Exempla*, Rose's

Syntax in Cynewulf's *Crist*. From the review of Crane's book by Lucy Toulmin Smith I quote: "English readers have had no such convenient means of learning the general scope of Jacques de Vitry's life and labors, so far as they are known, as Professor Crane now puts before them. He takes as the basis of his sketch F. L. Mätzner's dissertation of 1863, filling it in from his own wide reading, and accompanies all by bibliographic notes which are valuable for those who desire to pursue the subject further. . . . Proofs of his (de Vitry's) gifts among all kinds of people have come down to us in four collections of his sermons. These have been known to biographers, but it was only in 1861 that K. Goedeke, for the first time in modern days, called attention to the *exempla* of Jacques de Vitry. But even he did not know that they form a special characteristic of the prelate's *Sermones vulgares*, viz. anecdote and tale introduced in great abundance by the preacher for the illumination of his matter; and it is to Lecoy de la Marche, in 1868, that we owe the first clear account of the history of these *exempla*. . . . A valuable feature of Prof. Crane's work is the short analysis of each story; these abstracts, with notes giving numerous references and parallels found in other sources, make up more than a third of the volume."

The Miscellanea is wanting.

III.—O. Lengert, *The Scottish Romance, Roswall and Lillian*. Text and notes.

E. Koepfel, *Contributions to the History of the Elizabethan Drama*. Valuable notes on Gorboduc, Soliman and Perseda, Tamburlaine, Titus Andronicus, and The Merchant of Venice. Koepfel finds the source, or one of the principal sources, of Titus Andronicus in *Bandello*, the 21st novel of the 3d volume. *Bandello* refers to a Latin version by Pontanus; the story also occurs in Belleforest's *Histoires Tragiques*, and an English ballad on the subject is found in the *Roxburghe Ballads* (2. 339-47).

R. Thum, *Notes on Macaulay's History, VIII*. Continued from *Engl. Studien*, vol. 15 (see A. J. P. 13. 253).

The Book Notices review Skeat's *Principles of English Etymology*, Callaway's *Absolute Participle in Anglo-Saxon*, Schipper's *English Prosody*, Part II, Sommer's *Malory's Morte d'Arthur*, vol. III, Bennewitz's *Congreve and Molière*, Ackermann's *Sources, Models, and Materials of Shelley's Poetical Works* (*Alastor*, *Epipsychidion*, *Adonais*, *Hellas*), and a number of less important productions.

The Miscellanea contains *Contributions to the Exegesis and Textual Criticism of Old and Middle English Documents*, IV, by F. Holthausen; this instalment is on *The Story of Genesis and Exodus*. F. Kluge has a note on *Fitela*. Other noticeable papers in this part are: *Unexplained Allusions and Quotations in Macaulay's Essays*, by A. Fels; *On Shakespeare's King Henry IV*, by E. Kölbing; *On the Material of Marlowe's Tamburlaine*, by L. Fränkel; and *Byron as an Imitator of Thomson*, by G. Sarrazin. Some of the parallels between *Childe Harold* and the *Castle of Indolence* are striking, and have not hitherto been noticed, so far as I am aware.

ALBERT S. COOK.

## BRIEF MENTION.

Dr. RICHARD WAGNER has turned his attention from the articular infinitive (see A. J. P. VIII 331, IX 254) to the imperative infinitive, and, as his work is too valuable to disappear among the host of 'programmes,' I will at least indicate the results of his careful investigation, which is contained in the *Wissenschaftliche Beilage zum Programm des Fridericianum zu Schwerin i. M.*, 1890-91. Dr. Wagner shows that the *foruit* of this construction is to be found in Homer, Hesiod and the Homeric Hymns. After this time it begins to decline, and declines rapidly. It is but a shadow of its former self in the age of elegy and melos, but a dream of a shadow in the drama and in prose. In one sphere, however, it has held its own, and Dr. Wagner maintains that the imperative infinitive in legal language does not necessarily depend on the leading verb, and that it abides in Attic decrees with the same right that it abides in the Works and Days of Hesiod. As for its differentiation from the imperative, Dr. Wagner contends that it is a future imperative and a close parallel to the long future in Latin. Of course, all imperatives are in a sense future, and the imperative which is good for all time is good for the future as well. But according to Dr. Wagner the imperative infinitive is rare in the meaning of a universal imperative, except in the second person, in which it has the field to itself.

The great function of the imperative infinitive, it seems, is to be found in prescriptions, commissions, warnings, and the like, which are to take effect after an interval of time or under certain contingencies. Unfortunately, this signification is obscured by a number of occurrences, in which Dr. Wagner himself cannot recognize anything more than a certain intensity, a certain energy; and intensity and energy, like 'vivid,' 'more vivid,' 'most vivid,' cannot be brought to a satisfactory test; and the fullness of the form *μάχεσθε* for *μάχεσθε* or *μάχου* may have more to do with the feeling than anything else.

As to the way in which the infinitive became an imperative, Wagner does not agree with those who consider that the infinitive has been degraded to an indefinite form of the verb, and who compare the imperative infinitive with the syntax of the German nursery. The dative-locative meaning had not died the death when it was informed with imperative sense. *μάχεσθαι* means 'zum Kampfe,' as we should say, 'To arms.' Now, a word has been said elsewhere as to the survival of the dative-locative in Greek (Trans. of the Am. Phil. Ass. 1878, p. 7), if that can be called survival that does not rise even to the dignity of subconsciousness. All the so-called exceptional constructions of the infinitive are more readily explained from the dative-locative than from the accusative origin, although the dative 'for which' and the accusative of the object effected meet. How far a case can be dead and yet live is a hard question. How far a case can be alive and yet die we can see from the behavior of our so-called Engl. inf. with the sign *to*, which is dead as the subject of the



verb and yet lives as the object of the verb, which takes an additional preposition *for* with the placidity of a corpse and yet revives to protest against such experiments as 'could save the son of Thetis from to die' (Spenser) and 'wythout to make any noyse' (Caxton). As an object the English infinitive has considerable imperative vitality and often presents a curious parallel to a Greek construction, which is not treated very generously in Goodwin's *Moods and Tenses*. I mean the construction of the imperative infinitive in the relative sentence. Nothing is more common in English than the insertion of a proviso in the form of an infinitive—'six of which to be ten feet long,' 'the winner to spend five shillings' (Dickens)—and the effect of this proviso is clearly imperative. In his section on this subject (756 of the new ed.) Professor Goodwin defends the *εἶναι* of Dem. 23, 26 by the *εἰσεῖναι* of Cod. Σ in 20, 158. He need not have gone so far afield, and if he had read further in the *Aristocratea* he would have found two more examples of the same inf., §§53, 60, and there are two in 36, 25, and yet another in 38, 5. The imperative force of the inf. survives even in the articular infinitive (Trans. A. P. A., I. c., p. 11; cf. A. J. P. II 473; Justin Martyr, Apol. I 3, 9), and the negative of the inf. is, to begin with, an imperative negative. The object of thought began by being an object of will, and there is no impassable gulf fixed between the *μή* of the will and the conceptional *μή*, as some scholars seem to think (A. J. P. XII 520).

The two great discoveries of recent times—the '*Ἀθηναίων πολιτεία*' and the *Mimes* of Herondas—have not lost a jot of their interest, and these two documents of antique life will continue to occupy the qualified and the unqualified for years to come, to the bewilderment of the slow quarterlies that cannot afford to register combinations and hariolations which the authors themselves will be glad to withdraw before a month is out. Two contributions, however, must be noticed as distinctly valuable. Mr. SANDYS's ed. of the *Athenian Constitution* (Macmillan & Co.) and Professor CRUSIUS's *Untersuchungen zu den Mimiamben des Herondas* (Teubner). Mr. SANDYS's '*Ἀθηναίων πολιτεία*' will be universally welcome not only as a storehouse of the best results of the work thus far done on text and commentary, but as an important contribution to the criticism and elucidation of the *πολιτεία*. Of this work, however, a detailed review is promised for an early number of the *Journal*.

CRUSIUS's book on Herondas is what its name implies—not a commentary, it is merely material for a commentary; but it is full of life and instruction, and gives young philologists an admirable lesson as to the importance of possessing a field before undertaking to dominate it. Crusius's command of the varied range postulated by his studies in the *Paroemiographi* has stood him in good stead, and whatever may be thought of his results here and there, the book is delightful reading and tempts to comment and extract. I have room for just two questions. Why, in writing of Phaselis (p. 39), did Crusius disdain to use the familiar passage about the Phaselites, [Dem.] XXXV 1, which is even more to the point than Cic. Verr. IV 10, 23, and makes the supposed proverb *εἰς Φάσηλιν πλεῖν* more likely? And is it not a mere fancy to see in the potential opt. without *ἀν* 'a special energy' (p. 71)? Apart from dialectic survival,

in most cases the omission of *ἀν* does not denote a special energy on the part of the author, but a special laziness on the part of the scribe, sometimes a special indolence on the part of the interpreter.

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Dr. BARKER NEWHALL sends to *Brief Mention* the following correction of an error in *Allen's translation of Wecklein's Prometheus*:

In Allen's translation of Wecklein's *Prometheus*, the note to l. 1005 reads: 'In entreaty the ancients raised the palms upwards. . . . This attitude is seen in the "praying boy" in the Berlin Museum.' This note stands in Wecklein's second edition, and a similar statement is found in Baumeister's *Denkmäler* (s. v. *Geber*), to which the American edition makes reference. Both Allen and Baumeister have failed to notice that Furtwängler (*Jahrb. des Instit.* I 218) has shown the arms of this statue to be modern, and, from the evidence of a gem and from other monuments, has proved that the ancients in prayer turned the palms of their hands *outward*, and not inward, as in the Berlin statue. Consequently this figure gives a very incorrect idea of the proper attitude, and should not be cited as an example. Stengel states the matter correctly in Müller's *Handbuch* (V 3, 58), and cites a Halle dissertation by Voulliéme ('*Quomodo veteres adoraverint*,' 1887). Daremberg and Saglio and Smith do not specify the attitude, but the latter has an illustration, taken from a British Museum vase, which shows it correctly (cf. Müller, *Pl. IV*, figs. 1, 2)."

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Mr. EVELYN ABBOTT's edition of *Herodotus, Books V and VI* (New York, Macmillan & Co.), is intended for students of Greek history rather than for students of Herodotean style, and it would have been better either frankly to omit grammatical notes altogether or simply to refer the reader to the standard text-books. For instance, when Mr. Abbott reads (VI 133) *ἦν μὲν οὐ δῶσι* instead of *ἦν μὴ οἱ δῶσι* he justifies his adhesion to the older MSS by a reference to c. 9, 20, where we have the far different and far more familiar phenomenon of *οὐ* with ind. in an *εἰ . . . μὲν . . . δὲ* sentence. *οὐ* with subj. not preceded by *μὴ* is exceedingly rare, and is not to be accounted for by the idle note "When the negation is more important than the condition there is a tendency to substitute *οὐ* for *μὴ*." As if *οὐ* were more negative than *μὴ*! Under *μὴ οὐ* with the participle (VI 9) we have another unsatisfactory note and a helpless reference to Goodwin (M. and T. 818), whose conditional resolutions of *μὴ οὐ* with the participle will not be accepted throughout even by those who are satisfied with the conditional formula. And this is all the stranger, as Professor Campbell in his *Sophocles*, which he edited together with Mr. Abbott, clearly does not believe in the equivalence of *μὴ οὐ* and *μὴ*, in spite of the despairing tone of his *Grammar of Sophocles* (p. xli). For on O. R. 220 we read that '*μὴ οὐ* combines supposition and fact. *μὴ* would give the hypothesis merely.' And so far is the conditional formula from satisfying Mr. Whitelaw (miscalled Ridgeway, A. J. P. VII 169, q. v.) that he considered the relation consecutive, a position which seems to be untenable. The well-

known view of Kvičala (ap. Kühner, II 763) seems to be most nearly in accordance with the facts. *μη οὐ* with the participle, like *μη οὐ* with the inf., is an incorporated *μη οὐ* with the subj., and like *μη οὐ* with subj., carries with it the notion of a fear or, at any rate, an apprehension or surmise of the negative. This is discernible in the passage under consideration: *καταρρώδησαν μη οὐ δυνατοὶ γένωνται ὑπερβαλέσθαι καὶ οὕτω οὔτε τὴν Μίλητον οἰοί τε ἔωσι ἐξελεῖν μη οὐκ ἐόντες ναυκράτορες κτέ. οἶκ ἐόντες* would be causal, *μη ἐόντες* hypothetical, while *μη οὐκ ἐόντες* presents a pressing problem in which the feelings are involved. And so in all the other passages cited in my mutilated article in L. and S. and in Goodwin, l. c. The incorporation of the interrogative *quin* in Latin is a close parallel, the *qui-* in *quin* questioning very much as *μή* does. The difference between the theoretical condition propounded by *μή* and the practical problem dealt with by *μη οὐ* comes out very prettily in the passage referred to in this Journal (l. c.), viz. Philemon, fr. 83 (IV 30, Mein.; II 533, Kock):

ὦ Κλέων, παῦσαι φλναρῶν\* ἂν ὁ κνής τὸ μανθάνειν  
ἀνεπικοίρητον σεαυτοῦ τὸν βίον λήσεις ποιῶν.  
οἶτε γὰρ ἱαναγός, ἂν μη γῆς λάβηται φερόμενος,  
οὔποτ' ἂν σώσειεν αὐτὸν οὐτ' ἀνὴρ πένης γεγώς  
μη οὐ τ' ἐχνην μαθὼν δύναιτ' ἂν ἀσφαλῶς ζῆν τὸν βίον.

Compare also the *δεινὸν μη χρᾶσθαι* and the (*δεινὸν*) *μη οὐ λαβεῖν* of Herod. i, 187, in which the former remains a theory and the latter results in practice.

But enough of the downtrodden negatives. Much more interesting and important is what Mr. Abbott has to tell us of the downtrodden Greek tyrants. To one who comes fresh from Mr. Freeman's girdings at these poor creatures, Mr. Abbott's sensible excursus (X) on the same subject (V 92) is especially refreshing. True, the conclusion is not startling, and any one with an historical mind might have said in advance: "Whether tyrants are blamed or whether they are praised, we must be cautious in believing what is said about them." But even this commonplace is better than foaming at the mouth. "Le sens historique," says Perrot, "n'a pas de pire ennemi que le goût de la phrase."

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A word in commendation of JUSTUS PERTHES' pocket *Atlas Antiquus* (New York, B. Westermann), which the editor, VAN KAMPEN, did not live to see published. Clear and convenient, it is a welcome companion to the student of ancient history and ancient literature.

## RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

Thanks are due to Messrs. B. Westermann & Co., New York, for material furnished.

### AMERICAN.

Aristotle. Constitution of Athens; a rev. text with an introd., critical and explanatory notes, testimonia and indices by J. E. Sandys. New York, *Macmillan & Co.*, 1893. 383 pp. 8vo, cl., \$3.75.

Roby (H. J.) and Wilkins (A. S.) An Elementary Latin Grammar. New York, *Macmillan & Co.*, 1893. 175 pp. 16mo, cl., 60 cts.

Sonnenschein (E. A.) Latin Grammar for Schools. New York, *Macmillan & Co.*, 1893. 227 pp. (Parallel Grammar Series.) 12mo, cl., 90 cts.

### ENGLISH.

Aeschylus. Prometheus Bound. Trans. by Lord Carnarvon. Cr. 8vo, 80 pp. *Murray*. 6s.

Anecdota Oxoniensia. Aryan Series. Vol. 1. Part 7: The Buddha Karita of Asvaghosha. 4to, sd. *Clarendon Press*. 12s. 6d.

Aristotle's Ethics, comprising his Practical Philosophy. Trans. from the Greek by John Gillies. (Sir John Lubbock's Hundred Books.) Cr. 8vo, 380 pp. *Routledge*. 3s. 6d.

— Nicomachean Ethics. Trans., with an analysis and critical notes, by J. E. C. Welldon. Cr. 8vo, 400 pp. *Macmillan*. 7s. 6d.

Bezold (C.) Oriental Diplomacy; being the transliterated text of the cuneiform despatches between the Kings of Egypt and Western Asia, discovered at Tell-el-Amarna. 8vo, 169 pp. *Luzac*. 18s.

Buddhaghosuppatti. Ed. and trans. by James Gray. 2 parts in 1. 8vo, 119 pp. *Luzac*. 6s.

Cassell's New Biographical Dictionary. 8vo, 730 pp. *Cassell*. 7s. 6d.

Dante's Purgatory. Ed., with trans. and notes, by A. J. Butler. 2d ed. Cr. 8vo, 466 pp. *Macmillan*. 12s. 6d.

Harper (R. T.) Assyrian and Babylonian Letters, belonging to the K Collection of the British Museum. Part 1. Cr. 8vo, 132 pp. *Luzac*. 25s.

Horace. Satires, 1. With translation by E. R. Wharton. Cr. 8vo. *Parker*. 2s.

Lacouperie (A. T.) The Oldest Book of the Chinese: The Yih-King and its Authors. Vol. 1, History and Method. 8vo, sd. *Nutt*. 10s. 6d.

Michaelis (H.) New Dictionary of the Portuguese and English Languages. Based on a manuscript of Julius Cornet. 2 vols. 8vo, 1460 pp. *Simpkin*. 30s.

Ovid. Selections. With notes and vocabulary. Ed. by J. F. Brackenbury. 12mo. *Percival*. net, 21s.

Quintilian. *Institutiones Oratoriae*. Book 10. Revised text. Edited for the use of colleges and schools, by W. Peterson. 12mo. *Clarendon Press*. 3s.

Rabelais. Trans. into English by Urquhart and Motteux. With an introd. by Anatole de Montglion. 2 vols. Roy. 8vo, 830 pp. *Lawrence & Bullen*. net, 63s.

Tattam (H.) *A Compendious Grammar of the Egyptian Languages*. 8vo. *Williams & Norgate*. 7s. 6d.

Xenophon's Works. Trans. by H. G. Dakyns. 4 vols. Vol. 2. Cr. 8vo, 476 pp. *Macmillan*. 10s. 6d.

## FRENCH.

Angeli (A.) *Morceaux choisis des classiques italiens*. In-12. *Garnier*. 3 fr. 50.

Chansonnier (Le) français de Saint-Germain-des-Prés (Bibl. Nat. Fr. 20050). Reproduction phototypique par P. Meyer et G. Raynaud. Tome I. In-8. *F. Didot*. Cart., 40 fr. Publication de la Société des anciens textes français.

Demosthenis Codex Σ. Fac-similé du manuscrit grec 2934 de la Bibliothèque nationale, publié par Henri Omont. 2 vol. in-folio avec 1100 planches. *Leroux*. 600 fr.

Lods (A.) *Le Livre d'Hénoch*. Fragments grecs découverts à Akhmîm (Haute-Egypte), publiés avec les variantes du texte éthiopien, traduits et annotés par Adolphe Lods. Gr. in-8. *Leroux*. 15 fr.

Maspero (G.) *Études de mythologie et d'archéologie égyptiennes*. Tome I. Gr. in-8. *Leroux*. 12 fr. Forme le Tome I de la Bibliothèque égyptologique.

Psichari (J.) *Études de philologie néo-grecque*. Gr. in-8. *Bouillon*. 22 fr. 50. Forme le 92e fascicule de la Bibliothèque de l'École des hautes études.

Reinach (Salomon). *Antiquités du bosphore cimmérien (1854), rééditées*. In-4 avec 86 planches. *F. Didot*. 30 fr.

Reveillout. *Papyrus grecs du Louvre*, publiés par Eugène Revillout. Tome III, 1er fasc. *Le Plaidoyer d'Hypéride contre Athénogène*. In-4 avec 14 planches. *Leroux*. 40 fr.

Thibault (Adrien). *Glossaire du pays blaisois*. Gr. in-8. (Orléans) *E. Lechevalier*. 10 fr.

## GERMAN.

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## CORRECTIONS.

YALE UNIVERSITY, February, 1893.

*Dear Professor Gildersleeve*:—In a note on p. 420 of your vol. XIII, I am quoted as holding that the aorist and perfect tenses are "older" than the imperfect. But the word *older* in the passage referred to is an error of the press for *other*, as it stood correctly in the first edition of the work quoted from (Skt. Gr. §779a).

Yours truly,

W. D. WHITNEY.

In the note on the first page of this number I overlooked SV. *adadiṣṭa*. Epic *bībharas* and the still later *ajījahat* should have been mentioned also; although these two forms, on account of their lateness, are without significance as regards the mutual relation of present and aoristic reduplication.

E. W. HOPKINS.

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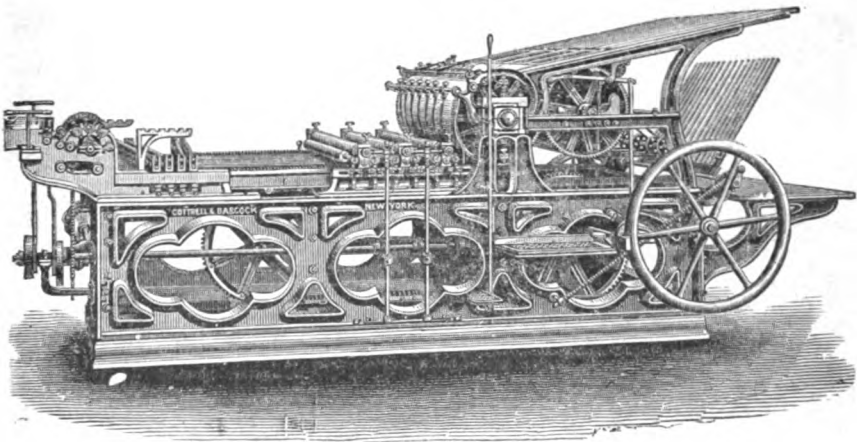
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# AMERICAN JOURNAL OF PHILOLOGY

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## I.—THE SATURNIAN METRE.

### FIRST PAPER.

The appearance in this year (1892) of two treatises on the Saturnian Metre—one by Reichardt, in the *Jahrbücher für klassische Philologie* (Suppl.), XIX, declaring it to be quantitative; the other by Westphal, in his *Allgemeine Metrik*, taking for granted its accentual nature—seems to indicate that this much-debated question is as far from settlement as ever. Nor can this surprise any one who has examined the arguments used by the rival theorists, so little agreement is there about the most elementary facts. The Quantitative party, on the one hand, scan the Saturnian lines with some quantities, e. g. *Luctum, itaque*, which the others refuse to admit; the Accentual party, on the other, operate with accentuations like *primarium* (with secondary accent on first, main accent on second syllable), *plériqu(e) omnes*, which equally fail to command universal acceptance. And yet, if we reflect that the writers of these Saturnian lines, Livius Andronicus, Naevius, and the rest, have left behind as many lines in other metres (iambic, trochaic, etc.), the laws of which we do know, and the quantity, perhaps even the accentuation, of whose words we can easily determine, it seems strange that there should be room for disagreement on these simple facts of early prosody. We can hardly suppose a writer to have given the same words, when used in Saturnian lines, an entirely different quantity and accent from their quantity and accent in his other metrical compositions, or in the poems of contemporary writers. No doubt there is such a thing in the poetry of all nations as the use, occasional or constant, of artificial pronunciations, of which our pro-

nunciation of the noun 'wind' in poetry, so as to rhyme with 'find,' is a good example; but a still better, the recognition in contemporary French poetry of the 'e muet' which ceased to be pronounced in ordinary conversation as far back as the 16th or 17th century. Similarly Irish poets of the Middle Irish period allow an aspirated letter (say *th*) to alliterate with the unaspirated form (*t*), herein imitating, as we may judge, the practice of the older writers of a period when the aspiration of the letter *t* had not come into vogue; and in later Greek epics the digamma seems to be recalled to life. But though this practice may have prevailed to a limited extent in Saturnian versification, this cannot disprove the self-evident proposition that the prosody of words in Saturnians must be, in the main, the same as that of the same words in contemporary iambic, trochaic and hexameter lines, even though we make the additional reservation that the dialogue verses of the drama (both comedy and tragedy) must have more closely reflected the ordinary usage of everyday speech than verses of more elevated species of composition, by which I mean as well Saturnian as Dactylic verses, when either metre was used for epic poetry, epitaphs, or dedicatory inscriptions. One example of this difference will suffice. A short vowel in the prosody of the dramatists is not lengthened by 'position' before a mute and liquid, e. g. *lūcro*, *pātri*, never *lūcro*, *pātri*, though we can see that the syllable was treated as something more than a mere short syllable, from the fact that, in such words, the final long vowel was never shortened by the 'brevis brevians' law, e. g. never *lucrō*, *pātri*, like *pulō*, *pātri* (Journ. Phil. XXI). In other than dramatic poetry, however, the lengthening is allowed, e. g. *sācrificare*, Ennius, Ann. 233 M., a lengthening which the shifting of the accent to the second syllable in Vulgar Latin forms of words like *tenebrae* (Span. *tinieblas*, etc., point to Vulg. Lat. *tenēbrae*) shows to have been a feature of Latin phonetics, and not a mere imitation of the Greek usage. If allowed in the dactylic epic of Ennius, it would probably be allowed in Saturnian poetry also. (See below on v. 100 *integram*.)

The quantity of the words which occur in the extant Saturnian lines can easily be fixed by reference to the dramas of Plautus and Terence, not to speak of the fragments of Early Latin poetry preserved for us by Nonius Marcellus and other grammarians. Can we say as much for the accentuation of these words? I think we can. Recent investigation has not merely confirmed Ritschl's

famous thesis that the quantitative metre of Plautus and Terence showed a great regard for the accentuation of words (*cum quantitatē severitate summa accentus observationem, quoad ejus fieri posset, conciliatam esse*), but has gone far to prove that the metrical ictus, or 'beats,' of dramatic lines coincide more closely with the ordinary accentuation of the Latin sentence than even Ritschl himself contemplated. Plautus and Terence never allow a metrical ictus like *genēra*, Terence never one like *pectōra* (Plautus allows this only seldom, and under definite conditions); both writers, when they let a spondee take the place of an iambus or a trochee in those feet of iambic or trochaic lines from which spondees are excluded by the Greek comedians,<sup>1</sup> never permit the metrical ictus of such a spondee to clash with the natural accent of the word, allowing, for example, a line like

uin cōmmutēmus? túam ego ducam et tú meam?

but not a line like

uin cōmmutēm? uin túam ego ducam et tú meam?

Their regard for what is called the sentence-accent, the subordination of unimportant, or enclitic, to the accented words of the sentence, is shown partly by the fact, to which Ritschl called attention, that the minor words of the sentence, the words we omit nowadays in writing telegrams, lack, as a rule, the metrical ictus. I indicate them by italics in this example:

rogat  
ut líceat possidére *hanc* nomen fábulam,

where the omission of *ut*, *hanc* from the line would cause no injury to the sense. It is shown also by the persistent use of certain common phrases of everyday life with the same metrical ictus, e. g. *voluptás mea* (here the shortening also of the second syllable indicates that the ordinary accent of this word-group fell on the last syllable of *voluptas*), *volō scire* (never *volō scire*) *vae misero mihi* (not *vae misero míhi*), where the metrical ictus follows what one would naturally imagine the accentuation to be with subordination, or enclisis, of possessive pronoun, auxiliary verb and personal pronoun. The subordination of the personal pronoun to the preposition, seen in so many languages, e. g. Greek *πρὸς με*, English 'with him, for him,' and especially in Old Irish, where it has reduced the pronouns to mere suffixes, e. g. *for-m* 'on me,'

<sup>1</sup> And probably in other feet too. (See Skutsch, *Forschungen zur Lateinischen Grammatik und Metrik*, I, p. 156.)

*for-t* 'on thee,' is also reflected in Latin dramatic metre, where the preposition invariably has the ictus when preceding a monosyllabic unemphatic personal pronoun (invariably, unless the pronoun is elided), e. g. *in me, in te, apud me, apud vos, inter se*. And in general we find the rules of accentuation and enclisis which are laid down by the grammarians of the Empire, as well as those rules which the analogy of other languages, and the phonetic changes of Latin words in the Romance tongues, entitle us to infer for Latin, reflected in a singularly faithful manner in the metrical cadence of Plautus' lines. The accentuation, for example, of interrogative *unde* as contrasted with the unstressed relative *unde*, a distinction frequently mentioned by the grammarians, and found in all languages, gives evidence of itself in Plautine versification, where *unde* interrog. normally receives the verse-ictus, while *unde* relative is relegated to the thesis (see instances in Skutsch, Forsch. I, pp. 64 sqq.); and facts like these may fairly be taken as evidence, if evidence be required, that the words which occupied a subordinate position in the Latin sentence of the Imperial Age were subordinate also in the time of the Early Literature.

If this regard for the natural accentuation of the word be admitted to exist in the versification of Plautus and Terence<sup>1</sup> (and I fancy its existence is pretty generally accepted, the only divergence of opinion being on the extent to which it was allowed to prevail), it ought to be possible to determine by reference to these dramatists, not only the quantity of the second syllable of a word like *itāque*, which many supporters of the quantitative theory of Saturnians wrongly scan *itāque* in the line

itaque postquam est Orcho traditus thesauro,

but also the accentuation of, let us say, the word-group *apud-vos*, which Thurneysen, in his excellent treatise, 'Der Saturnier' (Halle, 1885), the best exposition, in my opinion, of the accentual theory, incorrectly accents *apud vos* in the line

consol censor aidilis quei fuit apud uos.

But even if Plautine versification be rigidly excluded from giving

<sup>1</sup> For more detailed arguments, as well as for a detailed account of the rules of Latin accentuation, so far as we can gather them from the evidence of the Latin grammarians, the phonetic changes of words in Romance, and the versification of Plautus and Terence, I may be permitted to refer to two articles of mine in the Classical Review of 1891, vol. V, pp. 373-7, 402-8, to another in the Journ. Phil. XX, pp. 135-58, and to Dr. Skutsch, Forschungen, etc.



evidence on questions of accent, we have still the testimony of the grammarians (collected by Schoell in the *Acta Societatis Philologae Lipsiensis*, vol. VI, 1876) to fall back upon, as well as the analogy of the Teutonic and other languages (see for Teutonic sentence-accentuation Kluge in Paul's *Grundriss*, I, pp. 344 sqq.), and the recent discoveries made by Romance philologists on the accentuation of Vulgar Latin (see Meyer-Lübke, *Grammatik der Romanischen Sprachen*, vol. I, chaps. III-IV, Leipz. 1890).

I propose, then, in this paper to determine, by reference to Plautus, Terence and the fragments of Early Latin poetry, the quantity and, so far as can be done by the means just mentioned, the accentuation of all doubtful words in the extant Saturnian lines. Having thus provided as large a number as may be feasible of established facts, I shall attempt to deduce from them the actual nature of Saturnian verse.

It may be as well to begin with a frank confession that I believe it to be impossible, with the means at present at our disposal, to determine with certainty all the laws and by-laws which governed this primitive metre. If we consider that it is only the other day that Early Teutonic poetry, of which we have thousands of lines preserved, has yielded up the secrets of its metre, and that even yet there is a good deal of disagreement about several of its essential points, we can hardly expect to attain to as much, or half as much, certainty about the rules of a poetry like the Saturnian, of which we have hardly more than 150 complete lines rescued for us from oblivion, generally by the chance quotation of some Latin grammarian, and these, with their archaic forms and constructions, especially liable to corrupt transmission at the hands of mediaeval scribes. For all that, the recent exposition of the laws of Early Teutonic metre by Sievers in his *Altgermanische Metrik*, and of Vedic metre by Oldenberg in *Hymnen der Rigveda*, vol. I, chap. I (Berlin, 1888), as well as the enormous additions made of late to our knowledge of the metre and prosody of the Early Latin epic and dramatic poetry, ought to make it now possible to fix, with some amount of assurance, the leading laws of this native metre of the ancient Romans, even if the scarcity of material prevents us from determining each and every permissible variation from the normal type.

## §1. THE SATURNIAN FRAGMENTS.

First let us put in evidence this material itself. Havet, in his invaluable work, *De Saturnio Latinorum Versu* (Paris, 1880), has collected everything that can possibly be claimed as a vestige of Saturnian poetry, including in his collection a large number of prose passages, especially of Livy, which give the contents of some early prophecy or inscription and are clearly based on Saturnian lines. These last are obviously unsuitable for our present purpose. After the laws of the metre have once been deduced from actual Saturnian lines, it may be possible to extract from these prose passages the original verses which they paraphrase; but, for the meantime, so uncertain evidence must be put aside. The same applies to those quotations in the grammarians which give us only halves of lines; and these fragmentary lines are accordingly left alone for the present. The full lines preserved to us in poetical form I give in detail, following the order of Havet and mentioning in each case the authority for the line and any important discrepancies in the MSS. Where Reichardt, the latest champion of the quantitative theory, adopts a different reading from mine, his reading is recorded, in order that the reader may judge for himself how far the text of the MSS requires to be altered to suit a quantitative or an accentual scheme. Lines whose reading or Saturnian character is more than usually doubtful I enclose in brackets.

I. *On Inscriptions.*—A. *The Epitaphs of the Scipios.*

1. Honc oino plourume cosentiont R<omai>

Inscr. R—. Reichardt *Romane*.

2. Duonoro optumo fuise uiro,

3. Luciom Scipione, filios Barbati

Reichardt *filiom*.

4. Consol, censor, aidilis hic fuet apud uos.

Inscr. *fuet a—*; cf. v. 10.

5. Hec cepit Corsica Aleriaque urbe;

6. Dedet Tempestatibus aide meretod

Inscr. *mereto—*.

vv. 1–6 are the epitaph of L. Corn. Scipio Barbati f., the consul of 259 B. C., CIL I 32, c. 200 B. C. (?); see Wölfflin in *Rev. de Philologie*, XIV. With regard to v. 2, which some would unnecessarily expand by the addition of the word *uiroro* (gen.

pl.), it is worth remarking that the phrase *vir bonorum optimus* is confirmed by the statement in Livy (29, 14, 8) that this identical title was conferred by the senate, in 204 B. C., on P. Scipio Nasica-

7. Cornelius Lucius Scipio Barbatus,
8. Gnaiuod patre prognatus, fortis uir sapiensque,
9. Quoius forma uirtutei parisuma fuit,
10. Consol, censor, aidilis quei fuit apud uos,
11. Taurasia, Cisauna, Samniō cepit ;

12. Subigit omne Loucanam, opsidesque abdoucsit

*abdoucsit*, not *abdoucit* (so Reichardt), is on the stone. See Wölfflin, Rev. de Philologie, XIV.

vv. 7-12 are the epitaph of L. Corn. Scipio Barbatus, the consul of 298 B. C., I 30, c. 200 B. C. (?).

13. Quei apice insigne Dialis flaminis gesistei,
14. Mors perfecit tua ut essent omnia breuia,
15. Honos, fama, uirtusque, gloria, atque ingenium.
16. Quibus sei in longa licuisset tibe utier uita,
17. Facile facteis superases gloriam maiorum.
18. Qua re lubens te in gremiu, Scipio, recipit
19. Terra, Publi, prognatum Publio, Corneli.

vv. 13-19 are probably the epitaph of P. Corn. Scipio Africanus, the elder son of the great Africanus, I 33, c. 180 B. C.

20. Magna sapientia, multasque uirtutes,
21. Aetate quom parua posidet hoc saxsum.
22. Quoiei uita defecit, non honos, honore,
23. Is hic situs, quei nunquam uictus est uirtutei,
24. Annos gnatus uiginti is l<oc>eis mandatus.

Inscr. *gnatus XX is l. . eis*. Reichardt *is diuici*.

25. Ne quairatis honore, quei minus sit mandatus.

vv. 20-25 are the latest metrical epitaph of a Scipio, I 34, c. 130 B. C., with the exception of I 38, also c. 130 B. C., which is in elegiac verse.

[NOTE.—These epitaphs of the Scipios may be taken to be free from irregularities due to want of education and ignorance of metre, and from errors of the sculptor, though the use of contemporary spellings of words which are scanned according to their archaic and poetical form need excite no surprise. (For *aetate* v. 21 and *honc* v. 1 see the next paper.) At the same time it must be allowed that in I 38, the elegiac inscription just mentioned, the second line: *progenie mi genui, facta patris petici*,

must, unless we scan *prōgēnē*, be regarded as a sculptor's error for *progeniem genui*. Those who have seen the stone will be unwilling to allow that the *i* of *mi* is a mere mark on the stone and not an actual letter. This makes it possible that in the first inscription, I 32, *filios* of v. 3 is an error for *filiom*, whether through simple substitution of *-s* for *-m* or by a wrong expansion of a form *filio*, presumably on the model, as Havet suggests. In the first line of I 38 monosyllabic *mieis* (later *meis*) has parallels in Plautus, e. g. *Men.* 202, and the older writers. It may be as well to quote the whole of this elegiac inscription, to enable the reader to gauge the amount of technical skill to be expected in the Saturnian epitaphs of the family:

Uirtutes generis mieis moribus accumulau;  
 Progenie mi genui; facta patris petiei;  
 Maiorum optenui laudem, ut sibi me esse creatum  
 Laetentur; stirpem nobilitauit honor.]

#### B. Other Inscriptions.

26. Quod re sua difeident, aspere afflecta,
27. Parens timens heic uouit, uoto hoc soluto,
28. Decuma facta, poloucta, leibereis lubentes
29. Donu danunt Hercolei maxsume mereto.
30. Semol te orant se uoti crebro condemnes.

vv. 26–30 are a votive inscription of the Vertuleii, apparently negotiatores, CIL I 1175, c. 150–135 B. C., according to Ritschl. The inscription was found at Sora.

31. Ductu, auspicio, imperioque eius .
32. Achaia capta, Corinto deleta,
33. Romam redieit triumphans. ob hasce res bene gestas,
34. Quod in bello uouerat, hanc aedem et signu .
35. Herculis Uictoris imperator dedicat.

vv. 31–5 are a dedicatory inscription of L. Mummius Achaicus, the conqueror of Achaia, CIL I 541, VI 331, 146 B. C.

36. Hoc est factum monumentum Maarco Caicilio.
37. Hospes, gratum est quom apud meas restitistei seedes.
38. Bene rem geras et ualeas; dormias sine qura.

vv. 36–8 = CIL I 1006, c. 130–100 B. C., found by the Via Appia.

39. Onlegium quod est aciptum aetatei agedai,  
 Inscr. aged—.

40. *Opiparum ad ueitam quolundam festosque dies,*
41. *Quei soueis astutieiis opidque Uolgani*
42. *Gondecorant saipisume comuiuia loidosque,*
43. *Ququei huc dederunt inperatoribus summeis,*
44. *Utei sesed lubentes beneiouent optantis.*

vv. 39-44 are part of an inscription found at Falerii, the inscription of a 'collegium cocorum' in some settlement of Faliscans in Sardinia. See Zvetaieff, *Inscr. Ital. Inf.*, No. 72 a.

[NOTE.—These four inscriptions are not to be supposed to be more regular in their metre than other inscriptions of the kind in elegiac or iambic metre. The last inscription especially, which occasionally, by the length of its lines, seems to set all laws of the Saturnian metre, whether we call it quantitative or accentual, at defiance, is presumably not much more metrical than, let us say, I 1027 in 'iambics,' where the metre is destroyed by certain additions, which I bracket, in each line :

*Hospes, resiste, et hoc ad grumum [ad laeuam] aspice,  
Ubei continentur ossa hominis boni, [misericordis, amantis, pauperis].  
Rogo te, uiator, monumento huic nil [male feceris].*

The Saturnians of the dedicatory inscription of Mummius are not likely to be better than the hexameters of his other inscription, I 542 :

*De decuma uictor tibi Lucius Mummius donum,  
Moribus antiquis, pro usura hoc dare sese  
Uisum animo suo perfecit, tua pace rogans te  
Cogendei dissoluendei tu ut facilia faxseis,  
Perficias decumam ut faciat uerae rationis,  
Proque hoc atque alieis doneis des digna merenti.]*

## II. Quoted by Grammarians, etc.—A. From Inscriptions.

45. *Uno complurimae consentiunt gentes*

MSS *uno cum* (de Fin.), *unicum* (de Sen.). The latter is clearly an attempt at correcting the former, the *uno* of which seems to preserve a trace of the original *oimo* (classical *unum*), acc. sg. Reichardt reads: *Hunc unum plurimae*.

46. *Populi primarium fuisse uirum.*

vv. 45-6 are from the epitaph of Atilius Calatinus, consul 258 B. C., quoted by Cicero twice, de Fin. 2. 35. 116, and de Sen. 17. 61.

47. *Fundit, fugat, prosternit maxumas legiones.*

From the inscription of Acilius Glabrio, probably 181 B. C., quoted by Caesius Bassus, de Metris, VI 265 K.

48. *Magnum numerum triumphat hostibus deuictis*

Quoted, apparently from an inscription, by Censorinus, VI 615 K.

49. *Duello magno dirimendo, regibus subigendis*

From the inscription of M. Aemilius Lepidus, in honor of his father, L. Aemilius Regillus, 179 B. C., quoted by Caesius Bassus, VI 265 K. Livy, who gives a prose paraphrase of the whole inscription (40. 52. 4), begins: *duello magno regibus dirimendo caput subigendis patranda pacis*, etc. The word *caput* may have been transposed from the second line, if we suppose this to have begun: *Caput patranda pacis* or *Caput pacis patranda*. See the next paper, where the whole passage of Livy is discussed.<sup>1</sup>

B. *From Livius Andronicus, c. 285–205 B. C.*50. *Uirum mihi, Camena, insece uersutum.*

Ap. Gell. 18. 9. 5, quoted for *insece*.

51. *Mea puera, quid uerbi ex tuo ore supra*

*Fugit?*

V. l. *puer* (so Reichardt) *ex tuo ore audio*. Reichardt's proposal is very probable, *ex tuo ore aufugit*.

Quoted by Priscian, I, p. 231 H., as an instance of *puera* for *puella*; by Charisius, 84 K., as an instance of *puer* for *puella*. Charisius, who makes the last part *ex tuo ore audio*, and so may be quoting a different line, says that Varro read *puera*, but Aelius Stilo and Asinius *puer*.

52. *Neque tam te oblitus sum, Laertie noster*

Ap. Prisc. I, p. 301, quoted for voc. sg. in *-ie*. MSS *neque enim*, and *neque tamen*, and *neque tam*; *Laertiae* and *Lertie*. I suppose *tam* (which suits the alliteration), Old Latin for *tamen* (Festus, p. 548, 3 Th.), to have been corrected in the archetype to *tamen*, by superposition of the syllable *en*. This *en* was mistaken by some scribes for *enim*. Reichardt *ted*. Trisyllabic *Lartie* is probable enough; cf. Plaut. Bacch. 946, Tragg. Inc. 90 R.

<sup>1</sup> It may also be a wrong expansion of some marginal or interlinear mark indicating the error caused by the transposition of *regibus* and *dirimendo*, like the mark (*C* with a dot) which Löwe (Wien. Stud. 1887, p. 327) mentions as used to indicate a corruption in the Escorial MS of Vitruvius. Similarly in Nonius Marcellus, p. 67, 17 M., a line (iamb. sen. ?) quoted from Varro, de Compositione Saturarum, is given in the MSS as: *parentactoe adsunt mulierque mulier Venus caput*. The last word may point to the same mark having been used in the archetype by some scribe who did not understand the expression (used also by Petronius, chap. 42) *mulier quae mulier*, unless, indeed, the intrusive *caput*, both in this and in another passage of Nonius (p. 48, 26 M.), is nothing but the indication of a new paragraph. (But see Nettleship, Journ. Phil. XXI.)

## 53. Argenteo polubro, aureo eclatro

Ap. Non. 544 M., s. v. *polybrum*. MSS *et glutro*. Cf. ἐκλουτρον.

## 54. Tu quae mihi narrato omnia disertim

Ap. Non. 509 M., s. v. *disertim*. One MS has *tug*; that is, *tuque*. So Reichardt.

## 55. Matrem &lt;proci&gt; procitum plurimi uenerunt.

Ap. Paul. Fest., p. 282, 3 Thewr. Reichardt *matrem meam*. Zander *matrem proci*.

The spelling and prosody of the third word is uncertain. One would expect *prôcatum*, first supine of *proco*; cf. *procax* and *procus* (Paul. Fest. 281. 15 and 29 Th.; Non. 23. 19; Don. ad Ter. Hec. 1. 2. 84).<sup>\*</sup> Paulus would then be contrasting *prôcâtum*, for *provocatum*, with *prôcâtum*. (His words are: Procitum testamentum dicebatur velut procatum, provocatum, id est irritum ac ruptum. Procitum, cum prima syllaba corripitur, significat petitum. Livius: Matrem procitum plurimi venerunt.) But there is also the possibility of a derivative verb *prôcio* from *procus*, which is contrasted with *prôcio* or *prôcieo*, the compound of *pro* and *cio*, *cio*. Cf. Paul. 281. 27: Procitant provocitant. Citare enim vocitare est, unde 'procet' et 'prociet'; Gl. Vat. 3321: Procibimus (Procivimus): provocabimus (provocavimus); Gl. Philoxen.: procitat: προεκκαλείται; Gl. Vat. 3321: Promitat (*leg.* Procitat): provocat vel irritat.

## 56. Quando dies adueniet quem profata Morta est.

Ap. Gell. 3. 16. 11.

## [57. in Pylum deuenies aut ibi ommentans.]

Ap. Fest. 218 Thewr. Reichardt *deueniens*.

There is a good deal of uncertainty about this line, a translation of Hom. Od. 2. 317 ἡὲ Πύλονδ' ἔλθων, ἡ αὐτοῦ τῷδ' ἐνὶ δῆμῳ. Reichardt prefixes *Aut*, which may easily have dropt out after the preceding *ait* (Ommentans, Livius in Odysea quom ait: In Pylum, etc.), and seems to be required by the words of Homer. *Deuenies* may be the old spelling of *deueniens* (Hom. ἔλθων) (cf. Kühner, Lat. Gram. I, p. 451, §170, 1 Anm.); but there is no authority for *adueniens* or *aduenies*. The words of Festus might also be taken as: Quom in Pylum deuenies, etc. *Ibi* seems, strangely enough, to bear here the sense of *hic* 'in this place.'

## [58. Tuncque remos iussit religare struppis.]

Ap. Isid. Orig. 19. 4. 9. Some MSS have *Tumque*, some *deligare*.<sup>1</sup>

Uncertain whether from a tragedy or from the Odysea.

<sup>1</sup> The 8th-9th cent. MS of Isidore in the Escorial Library (I & 14), which I had lately the opportunity of consulting, reads *Tuncque* and *deligare*.

59. Ibidemque uir summus adprimus Patroclus.

Quoted by Gell. 6. 7. 11, in a chapter where he discusses the proper accentuation of words compounded with *ad*. After supporting *áffatim* by a line from Plaut. Cist.:

pótime tu homo fácinus facere strénuum? Aliorum áffatim est,

and *exáduersum* by Ter. Phorm. 1. 2. 38:

in quo haéc discebat lúdo, exáduersúm loco  
tostrína erat quaedam,

he goes on to quote this line of Livius in such a way as to leave us in doubt whether he means that the word was here accented *adprimus* or not.

60. Partim errant, nequínont Graeciam redire

Ap. Fest. 162 Th., quoted as instance of *nequínont*.

61. Apud nympham, Atlantis filiam, Calypsōnem

Quoted by Caesellius Vindex ap. Prisc. I, p. 210 H., for *Calypsonem*, acc. sg.

62. Igitur demum Ulixi cor fríxit prae pauore

Ap. Serv. ad Virg. A. 1. 92. Some read *demus*; cf. Paul. Fest. 49, 27

Th.: Demum, quod significat post, apud Livium 'demus' legitur.

[63. Celsosque ocris aruaque putria et mare magnum.]

Ap. Fest. 196 Th. Possibly from a tragedy, like the other three lines quoted from Livius in this paragraph of Festus. Reichardt thinks the metre dactylic.

64. Utrum genua amploctens uirginem oraret.

Ap. Diom. 384 K., quoted as instance of *amploctor*.

65. Ibi manens sedeto, donicum uidebis

66. Me carpento uehente *meam* domum uenisse. }

Ap. Charis. 197 K., quoted for *donicum*. The (single) MS has *uehementem*. Havet reads *uehente in*. Others *uehente(mi) en*.

67. Simul ac dacrumas de ore noegëo deterisit

Ap. Fest. 186, 32 Th., s. v. *noegeum*. MS *lacrimas*; but cf. Paul. Fest.

48 Th.: Dacrimas pro lacrimas Livius saepe posuit.

68. Namque nullum peius macerat humanum,

69. Quamde mare saeuom, uis et cui sunt magnae. }

[70. Topper confringent inportunae undae.] }

Ap. Fest. 532 Th., s. v. *topper*. MS *uiret cui*, for which I propose (in

Arch. Lat. Lexik. VIII 3) *uis* (nom. pl.) *et cui*. Cf. Hom. Od. 8.

138 *εἰ καὶ πάντα καρτεροῖς εἴη*. Reichardt reads *uires cui*, also *Nam-*

*que nec ullum* . . . <Genus> *quamde*, and in the last line, which is generally agreed to be defective, <Eum> *topper*.

71. Mercurius cumque eo filius Latonas

Ap. Prisc. I, p. 198, quoted for *Latonas*, gen. sg.



## [72. Nexerant multa inter se nexu nodorum

Dubio.]

Quoted by Prisc. I, p. 469, I, p. 538; Diom., p. 369 K., as example of *nexo*, perf. *nexi* (cf. Kühner, Lat. Gram. I, p. 569, §207). MSS *nexabant* (so Reichardt) and *nexebant* (but the context suggests *nexerant*); also *flexu nodorum*.

## 73. Nam diuina Monetas filia me docuit

Ap. Prisc. I, p. 198, for *Monetas*, gen. sg. The Irish MSS give *diuina*, the others *diua*. All MSS have *filiam*.

## [74. Inferus an superus tibi fert deus funera, Ulixes.]

Ap. Prisc. I, p. 96, for *superus*. The line is clearly a dactylic hexameter.

## 75. Topper facit homines ut prius fuerunt

Ap. Fest. 532 Th., s. v. *topper*. MS *utrius* and *fuerint*. Reichardt *homines*.

## 76. Topper citi ad aedis uenimus Circae

Ap. Fest., *ibid*.

## [77. Cum socios nostros mandissēt impius Cyclops.]

Ap. Prisc. I, p. 419, for perf. of *mando*. Clearly a dactylic hexameter.

## [78. At celer hasta uolans perrumpit pectora ferro.]

Ap. Prisc. I, p. 335, for *celer*, fem. sg. Clearly a dactylic hexameter.

## [79. Carnis autem uinumque quod libant anclabatur.]

Ap. Prisc. I, p. 208, for *carnis*, nom. sg. Most MSS have *Carnis*, *ait* (but the insertion of *ait* in a quotation is contrary to Priscian's usual manner) and *libabant*. The Dresden MS (D 163) has: *Carnis autem unumquemque quod libabant anclamabant*. One of the Irish MSS and the Upsala MS (see Zander) have *libant*. The line translates: Od. 24. 364 Ταμνομένους κρέα πολλά κερώντας τ' αἶθρα οἶνον. The 3-syllabled form *anculo* 'to serve or minister,' from *anculus* (whence *ancilla*; cf. Nettleship, Contrib. Lat. Lexic., p. 191), seems to be required by the metre in the other line of Livius where the word occurs, Trag. 28 R.: *florem anculabant Liberi ex carchésiis*.

## 80. Sancta puer, Saturni filia, regina

Ap. Prisc. I, p. 232, quoted as instance of *puer* for *puella*. Reichardt substitutes *maxima* for *filia*, on the ground that *sancta puer* is an unlikely expression to be applied to Juno.

## C. From Naevius, c. 215 B. C.

## 81. Eorum sectam sequuntur multi mortales }

## 82. . . . Ubi foras cum auro illic exibant }

## 83. . . . Multi alii e Troia strenui iuri }

Quoted by Serv. ad Aen. 2. 797. Havet proposes *Ibi, illinc*. Others *ilico*. The lines may be continuous. *Illic* must be the adverb; for the nom. pl. masc. would be *illisce* (see Schmidt, de Demonstr. Pron. Form., p. 27).

84. Iamque eius mentem fortuna fecerat quietem  
Ap. Prisc. I, p. 242, for *quietem*, acc. sg. fem.
85. Inerant signa expressa quomodo Titani, }  
86. Bicipites Gigantes, magnique Atlantes, }  
87. Runcus atque Porpureus, filii Terras. }  
Ap. Prisc. I, p. 198, quoted for *Terras*, gen. sg., and p. 217 (vv. 85-6 only), for *Titani*, nom. pl.
- [88. Marcus Ualerius consul partem exerciti }  
In expeditionem ducit.] }  
Quoted by Charis., p. 128 K., for *exerciti*, gen. sg. Reichardt regards the lines as iambic senarii, though the ictus *Valerius* is unusual (see next paper).
89. Siluicolae homines bellicue inertes  
Ap. Macrob. 6. 5. 9. Reichardt *homines*.
90. Blande et docte percontat Aeneam, quo pacto }  
Troiam urbem liquisset. }
- Ap. Non. 474, 6 M., s. v. *percontō*. Three MSS give *Aeneam*; the others *Aen.*, *Aeneidos*, *Aennius*, etc., indicating an archetype with *Aen.* Reichardt reads *Aenea*, the old form of nom. sg., according to Quint. 1. 5. 61. MSS *reliquisset*.
91. Prima incedit Cereris Proserpina puer; }  
92. Deinde pollens sagittis, inclutus Arquitenens, }  
93. Sanctus Delphis prognatus Pythius Apollo. }
- Quoted by Macrob. 6. 5. 8 for *arquitenens*. MSS *Sanctusque*. Reichardt *Sanctus Ioue prognatus*.
94. Isque susum ad caelum sustulit suas res }  
[95. Amulius gratulabatur diuis.] }
- Ap. Non. 116, 31 M., s. v. *gratulari*. MSS *Amullus*, *Ammullus*. Reichardt *ac multis* (sc. *verbis*) *gratulatur diuis*. Others *gratulabat*. Havet *Irque . . . suum rex*, with *ir* 'the hand' (or *hir*, cf. Greek *χείρ*), a word which the grammarians usually declare to be indeclinable and of neuter gender (see Nettleship, Contrib. Lat. Lexic., p. 496). But the Greek cognate word suggests that *ir* may have been fem. Cf. Plaut. Cas. 628: *Nē quid in tē mali fāxit ir pērcita* (MSS *ira*).
96. Postquam auem aspexit in templo Anchisa, }  
97. Sacra in mensa Penatium ordine ponuntur. }  
98. Immolabat auream uictimam pulcrā. }
- Ap. Prob. ad Virg. Ecl. 6. 31. Reichardt gives up the last line as hopelessly corrupt. Some read *Penatum*; cf. Neue, II<sup>3</sup>, p. 136.
99. Simul atrocia porricerent exta }  
Ministratores. }
- Ap. Non. 76, 3 M., s. v. *atrox*. MSS *proicerent* (so Reichardt). Havet *porricerent*, the usual term. In Fenestella ap. Non. 154, 17 M., *porrecissem* is again corrupted by the MSS of Nonius into *proicissem*.

100. Transit Melitam Romanus; insulam integram }  
 101. Urit, populatur, uastat, rem hostium concinnat. }  
 Ap. Non. 90 M., s. v. *concinnare*. MSS *Romanus exercitus*, the latter word being probably a gloss. The first of these two lines makes an iambic senarius!
102. Uirum praetor aduenit, auspicat auspicium }  
 Prosperum }  
 Ap. Non. 468 M., s. v. *auspico*. MSS *adueniet*. Reichardt *adueniens* and *Uerum*. (The MSS of Nonius give *virum* for *verum* in Lucil. 3. 64; 29. 81 M.)
103. Censent eo uenturum obuiam Poenum  
 Ap. Non. 267, s. v. *censere*. MSS *censent* and *censet* (so Reichardt).
- [104. Conuenit regnum simul atque locos ut haberent.]  
 Ap. Non. 211, quoted for masc. plur. of *locus*. A dactylic hexam.
105. Superbiter contemtim conterit legiones.  
 Ap. Non. 515, s. v. *superbiter*. The alliterative *contemtim conterere* recurs in Plaut. Poen. 537.
106. Septimum decimum annum ilico sedent.  
 Ap. Non. 325, s. v. *ilico*. Reichardt *I septimum*. Havet *sederent*. L. Müller *sedentes*.
- [107. Id quoque paciscuntur, moenia siquae]  
 [108. Lutatium conciliant, captiuos plurimos.] }  
 109. . . . Siciliensis paciscit obsides ut reddant. }  
 Ap. Non. 474, s. v. *paciscunt*. MSS *singue* and *reconciliant captiuos plurimos idem Sicilienses*, etc., the *idem* apparently indicating a second quotation from the same author. (In Plaut. Bacch. 865-6 *paciscor* and *pacisco* occur in adjacent lines, so that v. 109 need not necessarily belong to a different passage than vv. 107-8.)
110. Ei uenit in mentem hominum fortunas  
 Quoted by Prisc. I, p. 199, for *fortunas*, gen. sg. Most MSS give *mente*, but though *in mentem esse* occurs in Old Latin, e. g. Plautus, *in mentem venire* is the construction in use.
111. Onerariae onustae stabant in flustris  
 Ap. Isid. Nat. Rer. 44, for *flustrum*.
- [112. Magnamque domum decoremque ditem duxerat.]  
 Quoted by Prisc. I, p. 235, for *decorem*, and in Vat. Gloss. ap. Mai-Auct. Class. VIII, p. 165. The Upsala MS of Priscian has, according to Zander, *duxerant*; the other MSS of Priscian, *uxerant* and *uxerant*. Some Priscian MSS have *Magnam*. The words seem to form the end of one dactylic hexameter and the beginning of another. Reichardt, reading *magnam*, makes them an iambic senarius.
- [113. Plerique omnes subiguntur sub tuum iudicium]  
 Quoted by Don. ad Ter. Andr. 1. 1. 28 for *plerique omnes*. The MSS give *subiguntur* and *subigunt, sub unum* (so Reichardt) and *sub suum*.

## [114. Pulcramque ex auro uestemque citrosam.]

Quoted by Isid. Orig. 19. 22. 20 for *citrosa*. Many MSS have *pulchraque*. Also in Gloss. Vat. (Mai, Auct. Class. VIII, p. 116): *puram ex auro vestemque citrosam*. Macrobian 3. 19. 5 quotes *citrosa uestis* from Naevius; cf. Paul. Fest. 30, 10 Th., *citrosa uestis*, which suggests that the right order of the last two words may be *citrosamque uestem*. Reichardt reads *Pulcra uasa ex auro*.

## 115. Res diuinas edicit, praedicat castus

Ap. Non. 197, s. v. *castitas*. MSS *dinas*, but see note on v. 73 above. Reichardt reads *castus praedicat* for the sake of the rhyme.

## 116. Senex, fretus pietati, adlocutus summi

## 117. Regis fratrem Neptunum, regnatorem marum. }

Quoted by Prisc. I, p. 352, for *marum*, gen. pl. MSS *deum adlocutus summi deum*. I omit *deum* in both lines as being a repetition of the same marginal gloss. Reichardt, who also reads *marium*, omits only the second *deum*.

## 118. Summe deum regnator, quianam genuisti?

Ap. Fest. 340 Th., s. v. *quianam*. The MS gives *genus isti*. Reichardt reads *quianam me genuisti?*

## 119. Seseque ii perire mauolunt ibidem, }

## 120. Quam cum stupro redire ad suos popularis, }

Ap. Fest. 460 Th., s. v. *stuprum*. MS *i*, and so Reichardt, for *ii*. But cf. Havet in Rev. Phil. 1892, p. 75.

## 121. Sin illos deserant, fortissimos uiros, }

## 122. Magnum stuprum populo fieri per gentis }

Ap. Fest., *ibid.*

## 123. amborum uxores }

Noctu Troiad exhibant, capitibus opertis, }

## 124. Flentes ambae, abeuntes lacrumis cum multis. }

Ap. Serv. ad Aen. 3. 10. MSS *Troiade*.

## [125. Atque prius pariet lucusta lucam bouem.]

Ap. Varr. L. L. 7. 39 for *Luca bos*. The MS gives *lucustam*. Vahlen makes the line a dactylic hexameter: *Atque prius pariet lucam lūcusta bouem <quam>*.

## [126. Conferre queant ratem aeratam qui per liquidum mare sudantes eunt atque sedentes.]

Quoted by Varro, L. L. 7. 23 for *ratis*. The words suggest anapaestic, or dactylic, rather than Saturnian metre, and may come from a tragedy. The MS has *conferreque aut, qui perit quidum, atque sedantes*. Some read *sulcantes* for *sudantes*; and *fodantes* (Paul. Fest. 49, 25 Th.; cf. Enn. Ann. 259 M.) is not unlikely for *sedantes*.

[127. Cum tu arquiteuens sagittis pollens }  
Dea.] }

Ap. Macrobian 6. 5. 8. Uncertain whether from the *Bellum Pœnicum* or from a tragedy. Fleckeisen proposes *Deana* (*Diana*) for *dea*.

128. *Ferunt pulcras creterras aureas lepistas*  
 Ap. Caes. Bass. 266 K.; Mar. Vict. 139 K.; Mar. Plot. 531 K. Some MSS *crateras*, and so Reichardt; but *creterra* seems to be the old form. (See Georges, *Lex. Wortf.* s. v.)
129. *Magnae metus tumultus pectora possidet.*  
 Ap. Non. 214, s. v. *metus*, quoted for *metus*, fem. L<sup>1</sup> has *possidit*, which is likely to be right. I scan, with Reichardt, *possidet*, from 3d conj. *possido*; cf. Lucr. 1. 386, *possidat inane*.
130. *Nouem Iouis concordēs filiae sorores*  
 Ap. Caes. Bass. 266 K.; Mar. Vict. 139 K.
131. *Patrem suum supremum optimum appellat.*  
 Quoted by Varro, L. L. 7. 51 for *supremus*.
132. *Scopas atque uerbenas sagmina sumpserunt*  
 Ap. Paul. Fest. 469 Th., s. v. *sagmina*.
133. *Simul alius aliunde rumitant inter se(se).*  
 Ap. Paul. Fest. 369 Th., s. v. *rumitant*. Some MSS *inter se*; so Reichardt.
- [134. *Apud emporium in campo hostium pro moene.*]  
 Ap. Fest. 124 Th., s. v. *moene*, who ascribes the line to Ennius.
135. *Simul duona eorum portant ad nauis; }*  
 136. *Millia alia in isdem inseruntur.* }
- Ap. Fest. 532 Th., s. v. *topper*, who apparently ascribes the lines to Livius. Reichardt, on the ground that *milīa alia* is not good Latin, reads *multa alia*.
- [137. *Redeunt, referunt petita rumore secundo.*]  
 Ap. Macrob. 6. 1. 37, who ascribes the line to Suetius. L. Müller transposes *rumore* and *petita*, and makes the line a dactylic hexameter, apparently rightly.
138. *Dabunt malum Metelli Naeuio poetae*  
 Ap. Caes. Bass. 266 K.; Mar. Vict. 139 K.; Mar. Plot. 531 K.; Atil. Fort. 294 K.; Ter. Maur. 2517; Pseud.-Ascon. in Cic. Verr. 1. 10. 29. *Malum dabunt* is given by the first three.

This is the famous epigram of the Metelli on Naevius. The line of Naevius which provoked their resentment—

*Fato Metelli Romae fiunt consules,*

is an iambic senarius from one of his dramas. Nothing can better illustrate the uncertain transmission of these Saturnian fragments than the fact that this famous epigram on Naevius, quoted by no less than six authors, is quoted by three with a transposition of the first two words.<sup>1</sup> *Dabunt malum Metelli* agrees with the usual practice of alliteration, on which see the next paper.

<sup>1</sup> So that Reichardt is unnecessarily severe when he declares that, though the form of single words may be emended in these Saturnian fragments, transposition of their order should, if possible, never be resorted to.

139. Immortales mortales si foret fas flere,  
 140. Flerent diuæ Camenæ Næuium poetam.  
 141. Itaque, postquam est Orcho traditus thesauro,  
 142. Obliti sunt Romæ loquier Latina lingua

Ap. Gell. I. 24. 2. Some MSS have *Orchio*, apparently a fusion of the two readings *Orcho* and its correction *Orchi*. Reichardt reads *Orchino*.

vv. 139-42 are the so-called epitaph of Næuius, quoted by Gellius along with the similar epitaphs of Plautus and Pacuvius. From the words of Gellius about the epitaph of Plautus: quod dubitasset an Plauti foret, nisi a M. Varrone positum esset in libro 'De Poetis' primo, it seems that these epitaphs are of earlier date than Varro. Cf. Luc. Müller in Berl. Phil. Woch. 1892, p. 689.

143. Summas opes qui regum regias refregit.

Ap. Diom. I, p. 512 K.; Atil. VI, p. 293 K. May not be by Næuius.

To these we may add a line quoted by Festus from some poet whose name he does not mention, a Saturnian line to all appearance:

144. Occursatrix artificum perdita spinturnix.

Ap. Fest. 492 Th.

[NOTE.—A few of these lines quoted from the *Odyssea* and the *Bellum Poenicum* have unmistakably the form of dactylic hexameters. These books, at any rate the former, were used as school-books for the Roman boys, and were very likely simplified for this purpose by being paraphrased in a more familiar metre than the Saturnian. Whether any of the lines are quoted by grammarians in an iambic form is not so certain. See note on vv. 88, 112. For all that, it often seems quite within the bounds of possibility by a slight change<sup>1</sup> to restore the original Saturnian line, which has been adapted to the new metre, so that some of these lines will be considered later along with Livy's prose paraphrases of Saturnian inscriptions and prophecies.]

<sup>1</sup> If this is a reproach to the Saturnian metre, it is equally a reproach to the Iambic, that the first half of an iambic senarius of Pacuvius (Tragg. 224 R.):

Diuórsi circumspícimus; horror pécipit,

is nearly identical with a Virgilian hexameter:

Diversi circumspiciunt. hoc acrior idem.

It is interesting here to notice how the old dramatic writer is careful to keep ictus and accent in agreement, while Virgil lets them clash without scruple. (Cf. the remarks of Bassus ap. Rufin., p. 556 K., on Ter. Eun. 49.)

## §2. QUANTITY AND ACCENTUATION IN EARLY LATIN POETRY.

These lines must, as we have seen, be scanned, in the main, with the same quantities and the same accents as contemporary lines in other metres exhibit. What, then, is the information to be gained from contemporary poetry about the doubtful quantities in them? First in regard to final syllables:

Final *-a* of the first declension, though it was no doubt originally long in Latin (cf. Attic *-ῃ*), never seems to be found with any but the short quantity even in the earliest literature—neither in Plautus (Klotz, *Altröm. Metrik*, p. 44), nor in Ennius (Reichardt in *Fleck. Jahrb.* 1889, p. 780). *Agōeā* in Enn. Ann. 567 M. is the Greek word ἀγυιά. *Aquilā*, Ann. 149:

et densis aquila pinnis obnixa uolabat,

is merely a case of a short final syllable lengthened in penthemimeral caesura, as *populūs* in hephthemimeral, Ann. 85:

sic expectabat populus atque ora tenebat,

both in imitation of the Greek epic practice (see Reichardt, l. c.). So in these Saturnian lines we should probably scan *formā* v. 9 (c. 200 B. C.), *famā* v. 15 (c. 180 B. C.), and certainly *uitā* v. 22 (c. 130 B. C.), etc. Similarly final *-a* of neuter plurals, originally long in the second declension at least (where it seems to have been the same as fem. sing. *ā*), always shows the short quantity in early poetry (Klotz, *ibid.*; Reichardt, *ibid.*); and this renders improbable any other scansion than *omniā* v. 14, v. 54, *pectorā* v. 129, *sagminā* v. 132, etc. *Ila* too, and certainly *itaque*, seem always to have short *-a* (in spite of the remarks of 4th-century grammarians, ap. Schoell, de Accentu, p. 139) (vid. C. F. Müller, *Plaut. Pros.*, p. 13); so scan *itāque* v. 141: itaque postquam est Orcho traditus thesauro. The 'abl.' sg. of the third declension apparently had originally a long vowel in *i*-stems, a short vowel in consonant stems; but we find these latter occasionally following the analogy of the former in Plautus (not in Terence; Skutsch, *Forsch.* I, p. 12 n.). *Ordinē* is thus possible in v. 97 (cf. *Plaut. Pseud.* 761, 1312). Whether or to what extent the old final *-ā* of the ablative sing. may have been used in Saturnian poetry by Livius and Naevius is an open question. (*Troia str-* v. 83 and *Troiad e-* v. 123 may be doublets.) *Ibī* is found as well as *ibī*, and probably *ibidem* (but cf. Langen in *Berl. Phil. Woch.*

1891, p. 398) beside *ibidem* in Plautus (cf. *ibidem*, Ter. Andr. 777); so we may scan *ibidem* in v. 119, *Ibidemque* in v. 59. Before final *-r* an originally long vowel is always long in Plautus, probably also in Ennius (Reichardt, l. c.), while it is shortened in Lucilius; and the same applies to final *-t* (Müller, Plaut. Pros.; Reichardt, l. c.), though the shortening here seems to have come in rather earlier than before *-r* (e. g. in Ennius, *mandebāt* beside *ponebāt*, *splendēt* beside *iubēt*). With regard to all these long syllables, the Law of Breves Breviantes may at any time occasion their shortening in dissyllabic words which begin with a short syllable (e. g. *uidēt*, *amōr*, etc., frequent in Plautus). Beginning with such words, the shortening gradually spread to others; first *vidēt*, then *pervidēt*, then *splendēt*, etc. This law also shortens in polysyllables vowels long by 'position' when preceded by a short syllable and followed by the accent, e. g. *ministerium* (*minsterium*, Plaut. Pseud. 772). So we may scan *Calypsonem* in v. 61 (as in Pacuv. 403 R.). But a naturally long syllable is probably not shortened in this way; so not, e. g., *reliquisset* (see my article in Journ. Phil. XXI).

As regards other than final vowels, we have *fūi* beside *fūi*, *fūisse* beside *fūisse*, or even *fūsse*, in Plautus (Brix ad Capt. 259); *adnūit* (pft.), Enn. Ann. 135 M., and so with other perfects of verbs in *-uo* in Old Latin (Priscian, I, p. 504 H.); *fieri* and *fierem* beside *fieri* and *fierem* (never *-i-* after the time of Terence) (Reichardt, l. c., p. 782). In Plautus we see a tendency of the time to shorten in hiatus vowels which are long in classical Latin poets, e. g. *Chīus*, *Pellāeus* (?) (Bücheler in Rhein. Mus. 41, 311), which would entitle us to scan *Aenēam* in v. 90. But *Luciōm* in v. 3, an almost necessary scansion for the quantitative theorists (though they usually allow *Lucius* in v. 7), is not only contradicted by every example of the word in Early Latin poetry, but by the evidence of Oscan *Lūvkis* (nom. sg. of stem *Loucio-*). The name *Marius*, in Oscan with stem *Maraiō-*, had indeed probably *-i-* originally (*Maraios* becoming *Marius* as *concaido* became *concido*), but the same tendency that produced *Chius*, *Pellāeus*, *balnēum*, *platēa*, etc., shows us *Marius* at the earliest period for which we can get evidence. Equally untenable is the scansion *uīro-* in v. 2, etc.; for we have no evidence of any stem but *uīro-* in Latin, whatever be the case with other dialects of Italy. Synizesis seems to be established for *mēōs*, *sūās*, etc., in Plautus, rather than *mēōs*, *sūās*, by the Breves Breviantes Law (Leppermann, de Correptione,



etc.; Journ. Phil. XXI, l. c.); for Ennius it is certain in *corundem* Ann. 202, *s(u)os* 233, *s(u)as* 102, etc. The vowel -i- becomes consonantal *y* in *aiiūm* Enn. Ann. 91, *insidiāntes* 443 (?), etc. *Eius, cuius, huius* are monosyllables when unemphatic and when in certain combinations (Luchs in Studem. Stud. I, pp. 319 sqq.; Class. Rev. V, p. 405). It would thus not be illegitimate to scan in v. 14 *tua* as one syllable, v. 84 *eius* as one, v. 66 *meam* as one, v. 97 *Penatium* as three, and so on. Final -s seems to have been weakly pronounced in the period of the early literature. It is the exception, and not the rule, for -s to constitute 'position' before an initial consonant in the dramatists, e. g. *subig'is maledictis*, Plaut. Trin. 140 (see Havet in Études . . . G. Paris, p. 304, who shows that Ennius never allows a scansion like the *primus se* of Virgil, Aen. 2. 370). Thus in v. 9 *quoiūs* is far more likely than *quoiūs*. Final -ē is often suppressed before an initial consonant in the dramatists in words like *nempe*, *unde*, *inde*, *proinde* (becoming *proin*), *deinde* (becoming *dein*), perhaps *ill(e)*, *mitt(e) me sis*, etc. (Skutsch, Forsch. I), like *neque* and *nec*, *atque* and *ac*. So possibly in v. 33 *ob hasc(e) res*. (Cf. the remarks of Langen in Philologus, XLVI, p. 419, on the unwillingness of the dramatists to allow a thesis like 'expectāre vīs,' the final short vowel being evidently considered hardly strong enough to sustain alone the character of a thesis.)

As regards accentuation, in particular the subordination of unimportant to leading words in the sentence, we find most of the statements on this topic which are scattered through the works of the grammarians of the Empire to be very faithfully exemplified in Plautine versification (Class. Rev. V 373-7, 402-8). Where the grammarians fail us, the words which we should infer from the analogy of other languages, and from the evidence of Romance, to have been unaccentuated in the Latin sentence, are found, as a rule, to lack the metrical ictus in the dramatists' dialogue metres (Class. Rev., *ibid.*). These words are not properly called 'enclitics,' for, as Quintilian (1. 5. 25) points out with regard to the preposition and noun, there is not so much an attraction of the accent of the one word by the other as a fusion of the two words into a word-group, which then takes the ordinary accent of a single word: *circum litōra*, he says, was pronounced *circum-litōra*: *tanquam unum enuntio dissimulata distinctione*; itaque *tanquam in una voce una est acuta*. So too Priscian, I, p. 183, objects to the description of *quis* in *siquis*, etc., as an 'enclitic,'

like Greek  $\tau\iota\varsigma$ . *Siquis* is, he says, more truly called a word-group, and takes the natural accent of a compound word, like *respublica*, *jusjurandum*, etc. These subordinate words are: (1) the various parts of the substantive verb, e. g. *confessa-est* (or *confessast*), *confessus-est* (or *confessust*), *confessa-sit*, *confessus-sit* (for *-s*, as a rule, does not constitute 'position' in Early Latin), *confessi-sunt*, etc. So in v. 142 *Obliti-sunt* will have the accent on the last syllable of *obliti*; in v. 23 accentuate *uictus-est* (or *uictust*); in v. 25 *sit* will be unaccented, etc. (Class. Rev., p. 404). (2) The possessive pronouns when unemphatic, e. g. *uoluptas-meae* always in Plaut. The Romance forms point to Vulg. Lat. *\*mus*, *\*mum*, *\*ma* beside emphatic *meus*, *meum*, *mea*, like *sis*, etc., for *suis*, etc., in Ennius' *sis oculis* (attested by Festus, 428 Th.); while in lines like Trin. 990:

uapulabis meo arbitratu et nouorum aedilium,

monosyllabic *meo* is absorbed by the metre so as hardly to count for a syllable at all. Thus in v. 14 *tua* may be similarly absorbed, *tū(ā)-ut-essent*; in v. 26 *rē-sua* (dissyllabic or trisyllabic); in v. 51 *tuo*, in v. 120 *suos*, etc., need not be accented (Class. Rev., p. 404). (3) The personal pronouns when unemphatic, e. g. *uā miserō mihi* always in Plaut. The preposition always receives the verse-ictus in the dramatists in phrases like *in-me*, *apud-me*, etc., unless the pronoun is emphatic (or elided), which indicates that in this collocation it had in Latin pronunciation the accent, just as it has in the pronunciation of most languages (see above, p. 141; Class. Rev., p. 403). So accentuate vv. 4, 10 *apud-uos*; in v. 18 *te*, v. 30 *te* and *se* will lack the accent, etc. (4) Demonstrative pronouns when unemphatic. So in Plautus *intēr-eos*, *praetēr-eos*, etc. (Ritschl, Prolegg., p. ccxxvii), but emphatic *is-ego-sum* or *ego-is-sum* (Class. Rev., p. 405). Unemphatic *ille* has dwindled into the definite article in Romance. Hence v. 21 *hoc-sāxsum*, v. 23 *Īs hic sttus*, v. 27 *heic-uōuit* and *uōto-hoc*, v. 34 *hanc-aēdem*, v. 84 *eīus-mēntem*, etc. (5) Auxiliary verbs, such as *coctūm-dabo*, *factūm-volo* (cf. *quantūmvis*). So in Plaut. *uolō-scire* is a word-group (Journ. Phil. XX, pp. 140, 147), just as 'will, shall' form with the verb a compound tense in English. (6) Nouns of subordinate meaning, like *res*, *modus*, as in English 'something, nothing,' e. g. *miris-modis* (cf. *quomodo*), *bonaē-rēi*, etc., in Plaut., who also scans invariably *ēi-r(cī) operām-dabam* (Class. Rev., p. 405). So accentuate in v. 18 *Quē-re* (cf. *quare*,

*quamobrem*), v. 94 *suās-res*, v. 101 *rem-hóstrium*, etc. (7) Prepositions, e. g. *in-aëdem*, *ob-viam*, *ab-re* (cf. *obviam*, *invicem*, *sedulo*, *admodum*) (Journ. Phil. XX 151; Skutsch, Forsch. I 159). So v. 16 *in-lónga*, v. 13 *in-grémium*, v. 76 *ad-aédis*, v. 97 *in-ménsa*, v. 113 *súb-tuum iudícium*. (8) Relatives, while interrogatives were stressed, as the grammarians frequently tell us; e. g. Quint. 1. 5. 26 says that *qualis* rel. was fused with the following word. The postposed relative, to judge from the dramatists' versification, was fused with the preceding word, e. g. Ter. Hec. prol. 12 *nouús qui exactas feci* (Journ. Phil. XX, p. 150). So perhaps v. 54 *Tú-quae*, v. 23 *Ís híc sítus quei-núñquam*, etc.; in v. 14 *ut* 'so that,' v. 75 *ut* 'as' will be unaccented (Class. Rev., p. 403).

With regard to accented words the exceptions to the ordinary law of accentuation (viz. of the antepenultimate syllable if the penultima is short, of the penultima itself if long, e. g. *decòrem*, *decòrem*) include, according to the grammarians, words whose final syllable has been lost by syncope, e. g. *illíc* (older *illíce*) (cf. Ital. *lì*, Span. *allí*) (Class. Rev., p. 375). So accentuate *illíc* in v. 82. On the other hand, *uidén* of Plaut. Virg., etc. (see Servius ad Aen. 6. 779), *licètn(e)* of Plaut. seem to show that when an enclitic *-ne*, *-que* was elided the word might be treated as if it had been originally a dissyllable, etc. (Class. Rev., p. 376). *Plerique* was the accentuation of the full form, but the invariable incidence of the metrical ictus on the first syllable of the word in *plèriqu(e) omnes* in Plautus and Terence (Journ. Phil. XX, p. 158) points to the accentuation *plèriq(ue)*, at least in this word-group. So perhaps v. 119 *Séseq(ue)*, v. 86 *mágnig(ue)*, and certainly v. 113 *Plèriqu(e)-omnes*. The Vulgar Latin accentuation *víginti* (cf. the Romance forms) is disproved for literary Latin of the time of Plautus by the normal ictus of the word in his plays, *uiginti* (Class. Rev., p. 408); so accentuate v. 24 *Ánnos gnátus uiginti*.

That the great law of Latin accentuation, the penultima law, was in force in the period of the early literature we see, not only from some phonetic changes of words which can be traced to the influence of the accent, but also from such usages of Plautus as the avoidance of a metrical ictus like *genéra*, *pectóra*, *consília*, *ingentibus*, and in general his disposition of the ictus on the antepenultima of words with short penult and on long penultimate syllables. At some early time there was, we know, a different law in force, by which every Latin word (as every Teutonic, and

probably every Celtic word) was accented on the first syllable (Stolz in Wien. Stud. VIII, pp. 149 sqq., 1886). But at what precise period this change, no doubt a gradual one, began and completed itself it is next to impossible to ascertain with certainty. There is, indeed, a piece of evidence to show that it was still incomplete in one particular in the time of Plautus, for the metrical treatment of words like *facilius* (vvv~) in his plays indicates that the pronunciation of such words in his time laid the accent on the first, not on the second syllable. A line in which the metrical ictus falls on their second syllable occurs so rarely in Plautus, and Terence too, as to suggest the probability of corrupt reading or later interpolation (see my article in *Philologus*, 1892). There are, however, no indications to determine the time when a word like *tempestatibus* changed its accentuation from *tēmpestatibus* to *tempestátibus*, though we can guess, partly from the analogy of other languages, partly from the inherent probabilities of the case, what the nature of that change was. A long word like *tempestatibus* must have had at all periods two accents—a main and a secondary. In the period of the older accentuation the main accent would fall on the first, the secondary accent on the third syllable; so that the change from the old accentuation to the new would be, in reality, nothing but a usurpation, by the secondary accent, of the prominence of the main accent; *tēmpestatibus* became *tēmpēstátibus*. This double accentuation, a notice of which some profess to find in Varro's words about the *media prosodia* in Latin (Schoell, l. c., p. 44), must have existed in all of the longer words, just as it does in Italian to-day, where the secondary accent on the first syllable of a word like *pellegrino*, Lat. *peregrinus*, has left visible evidence of itself in the doubling of the *l*. So *tollerare*, *seppelire*, *scellerato*, etc. (Meyer-Lübke, Ital. Gram., p. 154, §267) point to *tòlerare*, *sèpelire*, *scèlerátus*. A long initial syllable, as in words like *temperare*, *insilire*, *temperatus*, would naturally be still more assertive of its secondary accent in pronunciation (cf. Ital. Fiorentino from *Flòrentinus* beside Firenze from *Floréntia*), although the language of the grammarians of the Empire about the penultima law leaves us no room for doubt that the main accent of all these words fell clearly on the penultima, and not on the initial syllable. These considerations will justify us in scanning in v. 6 *Tēmpēstátebus*, v. 111 *Ōnerárie*, v. 98 *Immolábat*, etc. The versification of Plautus is unfortunately, from its very nature, hardly capable of supplying evidence about the pronunciation in his time of most of these polysyllables.

The exigencies of trochaic and iambic rhythm require of themselves the incidence of the verse-ictus on the first and third syllables of *témpestátibus*, *ímmolábat*, etc.; so that the fact that this is the invariable metrical treatment of these words in his dialogue metres cannot be used as a proof that this was also their natural accentuation in the pronunciation of his time. An arrangement of ictus like *tempéstalibus* would involve that conflict between ictus and accent in the penultima which, as we saw, was avoided by Terence and Plautus in dactylic words and terminations. The same conflict would result, if regard were taken of the secondary accent, which we have postulated for the first syllable of *onerariae*; for the incidence of the ictus on that syllable would, in trochaic and iambic metres, involve its incidence also on the short unaccented penultima, *ónerariae*. It is only in words like *Mércurius* (— ∪ ∪ —), *ibidemque* (∪ ∪ —) that Plautine versification has a freedom of choice, and so is capable of being used as evidence. Of these, the first type of word has, according to Ritschl (Opusc. V, p. 448), the ictus on the second syllable far more frequently than on the first—*Mércurius*, *iudícium*, *consílium*, *offícium*, etc., more often than *Mércurius*, etc. The metrical accentuation of the first syllable is, of course, regular in word-groups like *consílium-dabo* Stich. 73, *offícium-suum* Stich. 58, but it is not at all uncommon, even when the words stand by themselves, a fact which harmonizes with the assumption that the old accent, on the first syllable of these choriambic words, was not entirely obliterated in the pronunciation of Plautus' time, and justifies the accentuation *Mércúrius* in v. 71 :

Mércúrius cumque eo filius Latonas.

For a word of the Ionic a Majore form (— — ∪ ∪), such as *primárium* v. 46, we can infer nothing from the invariable metrical accentuation *primárium* in Plautus, for an incidence of ictus like *primarium* would involve the same clash between accent and ictus in the penultima, which the dramatists avoided. But a secondary and main accent would more easily remain side by side in two long syllables like *primā*<sup>1</sup> than in a long and short syllable

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Reichardt takes exception to the proximity of secondary and main accent in *primárium*. But is there not the same thing in German words like 'Éntságu'g'? There certainly is in English words like 'fórt'nfghtly.' And why should the proximity of two accents be less tolerable than the proximity of two metrical ictus, such as, by his theory of suppression of the thesis, he postulates for *fórtúnas* v. 110, etc.? In Teutonic early poetry the proximity of main and secondary accent, both of which are reckoned in the scansion, is the commonest thing possible, e. g. *Héalfdēnes, mēarecstāpa* (see Kluge in Paul's Grundriss, I, p. 343; Sievers, Altgerm. Metr., pp. 34-5, etc.).

like *Mercū-*, and if we allow *Mercūrius* we must *à fortiori* admit *primārium*. Words of the Ionic a Minore form, e. g. *ibidemquē*, *peregrinus*, *meministi*, etc., have not infrequently the ictus on their first syllable in Plautus' lines (see Klotz, *Altröm. Metrik*, p. 333), so that his evidence supports, so far as it goes, an accentuation like *Dūōnōro* v. 2.

### §3. THE TWO RIVAL THEORIES TESTED.

The Roman metricians of the Empire declared the Saturnian verse to be a compound of an iambic dimeter catalectic with a trochaic tripod :

Dābūnt | mālūm | Mētēl | lī | Naēul | ō pō | ētač,

though they acknowledged their inability to suit any but a few lines to this Procrustean scheme (see the passages quoted by Havet, pp. 310 sqq.). That they should have taken for granted that the metre was quantitative, and not accentual, was only to be expected from the fact that all their statements about metre are borrowed from Greek sources, just as the statements of Roman grammarians on Latin accentuation (*Class. Rev.* V, p. 373, 1891), on Latin phonetics (*Nettleship in Oxf. Phil. Soc. Trans.* 1887-88), and on Latin grammar in general (*Froehde, Anfangsgründe Römischer Grammatik*, 1892), all bear the trace of a Greek origin, and must have their value discounted accordingly. Modern upholders of the quantitative theory cannot claim in support of it any more weight from the statements of the metricians of the Empire than the accentual school can claim from the isolation of Greece among the nations of antiquity in its use of an entirely quantitative metre. The rival theories must stand or fall by their own merits, according as they do, or do not, suit the quantities and accents which can be demonstrated for the extant Saturnian lines.

How far does the quantitative theory, as stated by the Latin metricians and their modern followers, answer this test? It suits admirably a few lines, like the epigram of the Metelli, just quoted, but will never do, unless in a modified form, for lines like vv. 87, 94 :

Runcūs | atquē | Porpureus | filii Terras.

Isquē | susūm | ad caelum | sustulit suas res

The earlier adherents to this theory in modern times went boldly on the assumption that, since Saturnian metre was a metre of the

Early Latin period, no irregularity of quantity in a word need excite surprise. The final vowel of *-que* (*atque, isque*) was, they alleged, 'in all probability originally long.' But unfortunately for this easy-going method, the science of Comparative Philology has come into existence since their time, and has proved beyond a doubt that the enclitic *-que* was at all periods of Latin a short syllable, so short indeed that, in ordinary rapid utterance, the vowel was lost altogether even before a word beginning with a consonant, *neque* thus becoming *nec, atque ac* (for *\*atc*) (cf. Skutsch, Forsch. I, p. 151). Even in cases where a vowel can be made out to have been originally long, as the final *-a* of *vita*, etc., if it can be shown to be invariably short in contemporary poetry, it is very questionable whether a traditional prosody can be allowed to it in a Saturnian line, e. g. v. 22 :

Quoiei uita defecit non honos honore,

in the latest Saturnian epitaph of a Scipio, c. 130 B. C. Another rock on which the older form of the quantitative theory is shattered is the treatment of a word like *facile* in v. 17, *subigit* in v. 12 :

Facile facteis superases gloriam maiorum.

Subigit omne Loucanam opsidesque abdouscit,

for the scansion of the tribrachs *fácilē, subigit* as iambi, i. e. with the metrical ictus on the second syllable, violates one of the elementary laws of Early Latin metre. Neither Plautus, nor Terence, nor, as we have seen, any of the early poets, allow so violent a conflict of verse-ictus with the natural accent of the word as *gētra, facile, subigit*. The last champion of the quantitative theory, Dr. Reichardt, follows one of the two possible ways of avoiding these scansions. He supports the theory that in Saturnian metre every final syllable might be treated as an arsis. This, I must confess, seems to me something very like a yielding of the point at issue. If the quantity of a syllable matters so very little in Saturnian verse that any short final syllable may assume the part of a long syllable, the natural inference is that the quantity of syllables, at any rate of final (i. e. unaccented) syllables, is not the main factor in the Saturnian metre. A feature of this kind would mark it off clearly and decidedly from the quantitative metre of all contemporary poetry. Ennius may, no doubt, allow a short final syllable now and then in penthemimeral and hephthemimeral caesura to play the part of a long syllable, as in the line (Ann. 85)

Sic expectabat populus atque ora tenebat,

but in this licence he is most probably imitating his Greek models (see Klotz, *Altröm. Metrik*, p. 100 sqq.), an imitation which cannot be supposed possible for the original framers of Saturnian verse; and in any case, the instances in his poems are so few and far between that they cannot for a moment be seriously quoted in support of Dr. Reichardt, whose own reckoning acknowledges no less than 63 cases of a short final used as an arsis in 127 lines, as against 66 cases of a naturally long final (Reichardt, l. c., p. 234). The only escape from the difficulty, so far as I can see, is the method adopted by Dr. Zander in his book *Versus Italici Antiqui* (Lund, 1890). Following indications of a tendency to alternation of metre in such proverbial maxims as

hibérno puluere lútō uerno      grándia farra Camflle metes,

with anapaestic followed immediately by dactylic rhythm, he uses this support for the theory that trochaic might be substituted at will for iambic rhythm in Saturnian poetry, and *vice versa*. The lines in question might accordingly be scanned *Rúncus átque Porpureus*, etc., *Fácilē fácteis superases*, etc. This, I take it, is the quantitative treatment of these hemistichs which is most worth discussing, so violently do the other scansions jar against all those usages of Plautine versification which we can claim to be native Latin usages and not derived from the Greek. How can we tolerate *atquē, isquē* when we see Plautus so chary of giving any weight at all to final -ē that he prefers to elide it, or even to suppress it by syncope before an initial consonant, than to allow it of itself to constitute a thesis? What parallel can we find for *susūm ad caelum*, unless it be that unique scansion of Ennius, Ann. 275 *inimicitiam agitantes*, a scansion which is admittedly one of that poet's eccentric experiments in versification, to be ranked with his *cere comminuit brum*, and the like?<sup>1</sup> And, most important of all, while Plautus shows a marked repugnance to the incidence of the metrical ictus on the final syllable of spondaic words and endings, the quantitative theory in its usual form requires this discordant clash of ictus and accent in an overwhelming majority of Saturnian lines. I cannot believe that any one who reads through a play of Plautus, paying attention to the incidence of the metrical ictus and, in general, to the rhythmical cadence of the lines, will ever bring himself to accept first hemistichs like *Subigit omnē Loucānam, Runcus atque Porpureus, Ne quairatis honóre*, etc.

<sup>1</sup> Havet (Rev. Phil. 1892) reads *inimicitiam carinantes*.



But even the modified quantitative theory, which scans these hemistichs in their natural manner, will be found to break down in the second half of lines like vv. 92, 93 :

Deinde pollens sagittis | inclutus Arquite-nens,  
Sanctus Delphis prognatus || Pythius Apollo.

For if, to avoid the scansion *inclū|tūs Ar|quitenens*, we substitute iambic for trochaic rhythm, this will involve the metrical accentuation *inclūtūs, Pythiūs*, an incidence of ictus which, as we have just seen, is avoided by the dramatists. And yet it would have to occur very frequently in the Saturnian lines, e. g. 50 *insēcē uersutum*, 64 *uirginēm oraret*, 123 *capitibūs opertis*, etc. On the other hand, it must be admitted that in the anapaestic metres of Plautus (Terence never uses these, I fancy, because he considered them unsuitable to the Latin language) this harsh ictus, *inclūtus, pectōra*, etc., is in use, so that the quantitative scheme might possibly obtain an acquittal on this score. A more serious charge remains, namely, that, even if we allow *inclūtus*, etc., we have still a syllable too few in the half-line: *inclūtus | Arquite|nens, Pythiūs | Apól|lo, insēce | uersú|tum*, etc. The quantitative school generally gets over a difficulty of this sort by their theory of occasional 'suppression of a thesis'; but it is hard to see how this could with any likelihood be posited for a word like *Apollo*. Zander himself prefers the violent remedy of declaring vv. 92-3 to be corrupt, and reads

Déin polléns sagittis | inclútusque Arquitenens  
Sanctús Ioué Déli | Pýthiús prognátus  
Apóllo,

while in v. 50 he scans *insece* as a (trochaic) dactyl, and supposes a thesis to be suppressed after the first syllable of the last word: *insece | uér|sutum*, hereby violating another law of dramatic metre, which does not allow a dactylic word to represent a single (trochaic) foot in trochaic verse.

One of the latest, and in my opinion the best, statements of the accentual theory is by Prof. Thurneysen, in his book entitled *Der Saturnier* (Halle, 1885). After showing the *a priori* improbability that the native metre of the Romans could have been, unlike that of other Indo-European peoples and like that of the Greeks (whose pitch-accent differed entirely from the stress-accent of the Romans), a quantitative metre, he points out the traces of the continuous existence of accentual poetry at Rome, as in the rude

songs of soldiers at triumphs, etc., from the earliest times till the period of Christianity, when the accentual metre of the poor man became the metre of the Church and the nation. Then he expands in detail his scheme of Saturnian versification, viz. that the lines are scanned according to accent, without regard to quantity, the first half-line having 3 accents, the first of which falls always on the first syllable of the line, the second having 2 accents, e. g.

Dábunt | málum | Metélli | Naéuio | poétae.

Secondary accents were, he supposes, necessarily reckoned in words of 5 syllables and more, in all parts of the line; in 4-syllabled words of the form  $- \cup - \cup$  or  $\cup - \cup \cup$ , only at the beginning of the line, or at the end of the first hemistich; in 4-syllabled words of the form  $\cup \cup - \cup$  or  $\cup \cup \cup -$ , only at the beginning of the line. Trisyllables never show a secondary accent, nor, of course, dissyllables. This theory of the existence of a secondary accent is, we have seen, confirmed by the evidence of Plautine versification, so far as that goes, and by other considerations. With regard to Thurneysen's distinctions of words whose secondary accent was, and was not, regarded in Saturnian verse, it is natural enough that 5-syllabled words should have had so strongly marked a by-accent that it asserted itself on all occasions in the versification. It is natural too that of quadrisyllabic words a word like *immolābat* should have the by-accent more distinct than a word like *sūbigūntur*, possibly too, as we have seen, a word like *primārium* than a word like *Mērcūrius*. But there does not seem to be any essential reason why *immolabat*, *primarium* should display their two accents at the end of the first hemistich any more than at the beginning or end of the second;<sup>1</sup> and if this really was the rule of Saturnian writers, it must be regarded as an arbitrary rule, not based on the actual facts of pronunciation. On the other hand, the rule which makes all these 4-syllabled words exhibit their secondary as well as their main accent at the beginning of the line may have such a basis, for a word at the beginning of a line or sentence would ordinarily have more prominence given to it than in the middle of the sentence. If we apply these rules to the extant lines we shall find that the

<sup>1</sup> Neither of these types of quadrisyllables occurs at the end of a line (see note on v. 88), where the other two types are common, always with one accent only. Notice the order in vv. 3 and 7: *Luciom Scipione*, but *Cornelius Lucius*.

rule about 5-syllabled words is probably never broken (see notes on vv. 5, 31, 43, 95), and so with the rule about 4-syllabled words when they come first in the line. But for the double accentuation of words of the form  $\bar{\text{—}}\text{—}\bar{\text{—}}$  in other parts of the line than the beginning, the only strong instances are v. 45 *còmplúrìmae*, v. 46 *prìmàrium*, whose first syllables alliterate with neighboring words, and would receive extra stress on that account (see notes on vv. 41, 42, 97, 99), and of words of the type  $\text{—}\bar{\text{—}}\text{—}$ , only v. 3 *Scìpi-òne* (a proper name, and so more or less 'supra leges'); while a double accentuation might possibly be claimed for choriambic words ( $\text{—}\bar{\text{—}}\bar{\text{—}}$ ) in vv. 31 *àuspicio*, 127 *àrquitenens*. There is only one certain instance of a choriambic word at the beginning of a line, v. 71 *Mèrcúrius* (cf. v. 89 *Silvicolae*), and only one (doubtful) instance of an Ionic a Minore word, v. 59 *Ìdèdème*. After what was said above about Plautus' accentuation of *fàcilius*, etc., it is clear that Thurneysen is wrong in extending the possibility of a secondary accent to words of the type  $\bar{\text{—}}\bar{\text{—}}\bar{\text{—}}$ . But on reference to the extant lines it will be found that the only instance of a word of this form at the beginning of a line is v. 40, a line of the very unmetrical inscription of the Faliscan *collegium cocorum* in Sardinia:

*Opiparum ad ueitam quolundam festosque dies,*

and here the metre, such as it is, requires *ópìparum* rather than *òpìparum*.

His rule that the first syllable of each line has the natural accent may appear at first sight to be broken by v. 113 *Plerique omnes subiguntur*, etc., but, as before remarked, the metrical treatment of the phrase in Plautus and Terence signally vindicates him, pointing as it does to the pronunciation *plèriqu(e)-ómnes*. In perhaps every other case the first syllable of the line is admitted by all to be a syllable accented in ordinary pronunciation (see notes on vv. 1, 119), either with the main accent or, according to the rules just laid down, with a secondary accent. A Saturnian line never begins with a trisyllable of a form that would naturally take the accent on the second syllable, e. g. *Metèlli, poète* (see notes on vv. 2, 21, 119); and this is surely a fact that conflicts most markedly with the quantitative treatment of the first hemistich as an iambic dimeter. The iambic lines of the dramatists begin, as is naturally to be expected, with such trisyllables again and again; in the first scene of the *Miles*, for example, v. 1 *Curáte*, v. 4 *Praestrìngat*, v. 29 *Conísus*, v. 39 *Facète*, v. 40 *Nouisse*, v. 41

*Curámque*, v. 44 *Triginta*, v. 57 *Uirtute*, v. 72 *Uidétur*, v. 74 *Latrónes*. Why, then, should we not have this beginning in these so-called iambic dimeters? Why have we not, for example, the perf. *subegit* in v. 12 *Subigit omne Loucanam*, to suit the other perfects *cepit* and *abdoucsit* (this, and not *abdoucít*, is on the stone)? Evidently because not the second but the first syllable of the line had to be the accented syllable. The same consideration may well have led in v. 4 to the departure from the natural order 'aedile, consul, censor,' the order observed in the prose Scipio epitaph (C. I. L. I 31): *aidiles cosol cesor*. Thurneysen's other rule, that the first half of the line has exactly three, the second half exactly two accents, depends for its verification on the laws for the accentuation of the sentence and for the fusion of subordinate words into word-groups, which prevailed in the pronunciation of the time. These I have attempted to discover from the laws stated by the grammarians of the Empire, from the evidence of Romance and other languages, and from the versification of the early dramatists. It will be seen, when we examine the lines in detail, an examination which I reserve for the next section, that every line obeys this rule except v. 142, the last line of the so-called Epitaph of Naevius, and this line will be discussed later.

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## II.—ON RECENT STUDIES IN HINDU GRAMMAR.

Nine years ago (in October, 1884) I published in this Journal a paper entitled "The study of Hindu grammar and the study of Sanskrit." It was intended to emphasize the difference between Sanskrit on the one side and Pāṇini with his successors on the other, and to point out the true place of the native grammar as an important division of Sanskrit science, requiring to be studied as such, and not as the foundation of our knowledge of the Sanskrit language. Since that time there have appeared a number of contributions to our knowledge of the Hindu grammar, from the pens of two younger scholars of decided ability, then unknown; and these contributions I propose to examine briefly, especially in order to see how they stand related to the question above set forth.

The first of them appeared in 1885, and was entitled "The case-system of the Hindu grammarians, compared with the use of the cases in the Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa"; it was a doctorate-dissertation by Bruno Liebich; the author is at present a *privat-docent* in the Breslau University. Its first part, printed in vol. X of Bezzenberger's *Beiträge zur Kunde der indogermanischen Sprachen*, was a digest of the system of rules laid down by Pāṇini for the use of the cases, and was very welcome, as must be every contribution to an easier understanding of the peculiarities and difficulties of the Hindu science. A few words as to the system may not be out of place here. Pāṇini does not take up the cases as forms of nouns, setting forth the various uses of each, after our manner; he adopts the vastly more difficult and dangerous method of establishing a theoretical list of modes of verb-modification by case, or of ideal case-relations (he calls them *kāraka*, 'factor' or 'adjunct'), to which he then distributes the cases. Almost as a matter of course, however, his case-relations or *kāraka* are not an independent product of his logical faculty, but simply a reflection of the case-forms; they are of the same number as the latter, and each corresponds to the general sphere of a case: they are *kartar* ('actor' = nominative), *karman* ('act' = accusative), *sampradāna* ('delivery' = dative), *karaṇa* ('instru-

ment' = instrumental), *adhikaraṇa* ('sphere' = locative), and *apādāna* ('removal' = ablative). The genitive has no defined character, but is provided for by stating, when all the other case-uses have been rehearsed, that the remainder are those of the genitive. As for the definitions of the case-relations, it may suffice to say that the *karman* is described as belonging, first, to that which the actor in his action especially desires to obtain or attain (as in "he makes a *mat*," "he goes to the *village*"); or, second, to that which, though itself undesired or indifferent, is connected with the action in a similar manner. Anything more crude or unphilosophical than this could not well be imagined. There is not an identity between the use of a given case and the presence of its generally corresponding case-relation, because, for example, in a passive sentence, as "the mat is made by him," *mat* is still called *karman* or 'act,' though nominative, and *him* still *kartar* or 'actor,' though instrumental. Thus there is no recognition of the grammatical category of subject of a verb; and this leads, as could not be helped, to numerous obscurities and difficulties. Then, in the second part of the paper (*ibid.*, vol. XI, 1887), the author proceeds to classify under this scheme, in all its headings and sub-headings, its general rules and its exceptions, the facts of case-use in the Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa: a careful and creditable piece of work. The results of the comparison are precisely what we should expect to find them, knowing well, as we do, the relation of the language of the Brāhmaṇas to Pāṇini's Sanskrit: there is a good degree of general agreement—as there would have been found to exist even if the Rig-Veda instead of a Brāhmaṇa had been compared; since changes of syntactical construction, perhaps even more than changes of form, are of slow progress in every language, leaving the main body of older usages long untouched. Alongside of this agreement are met with just the differences that could not fail to appear: constructions in the Brāhmaṇa that are unnoticed in Pāṇini, as they are wanting in classical Sanskrit; and especially a host of details in Pāṇini of which the Brāhmaṇa exhibits no examples. There is absolutely nothing to show, or even to give reason to suspect, that any special relation exists between Pāṇini and this Brāhmaṇa any more than any other of the same class of works, specimens alike of the Brāhmaṇa stage of development of ancient Indian language. The conclusion is that, whatever its defects of theory, Pāṇini's case-syntax proves to be a fairly good practical scheme; and the

demonstration of the fact is to be received with thanks; it is a valuable contribution to our appreciation of the great grammarian. Whether, however, the author views it in just this light is a little questionable; for he adds as second title to his essay "a contribution to the syntax of the Sanskrit language"—which it plainly is not. Is it, forsooth, the *Brāhmaṇa* that he has been examining, to see whether its case-constructions are such as they ought to be? or is this part of its grammar now better understood than hitherto, or arranged in a manner which we shall be disposed to accept as preferable to, for example, Delbrück's? Nothing of all this; it is simply that Pāṇini has been tested by a bit of real language, and the test has turned out not to his disadvantage. The misapprehension that something done for Pāṇini is done for the Sanskrit language is precisely what my former paper was especially intended to discourage.

Dr. Liebich adds at the end his own estimate of the results of his work: "1. The *Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa* is older than Pāṇini." This were better stated the other way: namely, that Pāṇini is later than the *Brāhmaṇa*; since it is really the grammarian, and not this member of the literature, that is under examination. As for the relation itself, it is not only true, but a truism; no one having any knowledge of the subject has or could have any question about it; our author's paper is not a demonstration, but merely an illustration, out of one department of grammar, of a fact already incontrovertibly established on many and sufficient grounds. The author adds as follows: "It [the *Brāhmaṇa*] belongs to the Vedic period, but to the close of the latter, and stands fairly near to Pāṇini (undoubtedly much nearer than to the *Rig-Veda* in the other direction)." Here again we have truths, but, since there has been no comparison made between *Brāhmaṇa* and *Veda* in the paper, they are incorrectly put forward as its "results." Further, "2. The doctrine of Pāṇini reposes upon a careful and acute observation of the actual language." Here it is a little doubtful where the stress of the assertion lies, and what counter-proposition is intended to be gainsaid. No one, certainly, would think of denying that Pāṇini observed and described with remarkable acuteness and to the best of his ability. Nor, again, I should think, that he described an actual language—"an" rather than "the," for just what language he was dealing with is one of the disputed points. The author's added remarks indicate that he thinks it a book-language; if anything in the rules is not

capable of being instanced, it is, he suggests, because so much of the literature has been lost. This seems an untenable view, and has doubtless been since abandoned by him. The question will come up again further on.

Four years later (1890), in the same Journal (XVI 1-2), a kindred topic is taken up by another scholar, Dr. R. Otto Franke, now a *privat-docent* in the Berlin University. The title of his paper is "The case-system of Pāṇini compared with the use of the cases in Pāli and in the Aśoka inscriptions." He builds upon the foundation laid by Liebich, adopting the latter's scheme of Paninean case-uses, and looking for correspondences to them in the dialects confessedly later than Pāṇini, as the Brāhmaṇa was confessedly earlier. Here also he finds all the agreement that could reasonably have been expected; and, as the ground has been comparatively little worked over, his work is much more truly a contribution to the syntax of the dialects of India than is that of Liebich. He brings to light one very curious thing: that for a problematic rule of Pāṇini's, declaring the future tense to be usable in describing something recently past, examples are quotable from the Pāli, though they have never been discovered in Sanskrit. But his general views as to Pāṇini and the Sanskrit seem rather strange. He calls Liebich's little work "a beginning toward the accomplishment of the very pressing task of determining by internal evidence Pāṇini's position in the literature, and so, indirectly, that of the Sanskrit"—as if nobody, before the appearance of this doctorate-dissertation, had done anything worthy of mention in that direction; or as if the position of Pāṇini's Sanskrit in the history of development of Indian language had not long been clear enough. And he points out that, in spite of the partial agreement between the case-uses in the Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa and Pāṇini's rules, we ought not to conclude that the Brāhmaṇa was the exclusive, or even the principal, foundation of the rules—as if it could ever enter into the mind of any reasonable person to draw such a conclusion. He then gives us the same warning in regard to the Pāli, which is even, if possible, more superfluous. He further admits it as possible, though on the whole less probable, that Pāṇini may have "collected the phenomena of very diverse dialects, and fused them together into an integral whole"—than which nothing could well find less to be said in its favor.

But to the question as to what the Sanskrit of Pāṇini really is the same author returns in a special paper entitled "What is



Sanskrit?”, dated in November, 1889 (though first published in vol. XVII, 1891, of Bezzenberger’s *Beiträge*). Rather more than half the paper is occupied with the more specific inquiry as to what Pāṇini means by *bhāṣā*, a word that he uses only seven times, or too seldom to set forth its significance with the desirable clearness. ‘Popular speech’ is its natural sense; but the usages quoted from it by Pāṇini as opposed to his own approved language show that it was no Prakritic dialect (that is the chief result of the author’s investigation); and it is as evidently not one of the older Vedic dialects; there seems to remain, then, only one possibility: it is essentially Sanskrit, only not what Pāṇini accepts as good Sanskrit; it includes those words and phrases which, though more or less current, he does not regard as worthy to be perpetuated. This conclusion appears to be a reasonable and safe one.<sup>1</sup> The second half of the paper then deals more directly with the inquiry as to what Pāṇini’s Sanskrit really is; and the author’s opinion is expressed in these terms (pp. 75-76): “Pāṇini’s Sanskrit is accordingly in the main *bhāṣā*. And yet, on the other hand, it is neither *bhāṣā* nor a living language.” This is not particularly clear; nor is it made very much clearer by the reasonings, and the quotations of the views of others, that follow. It is to me so strange as fairly to be called unaccountable that these authors take no notice whatever of the evidence of the dramas upon the subject. In the latter we see a condition of society in which educated people talk Sanskrit, while the uneducated talk Prakrit, in dialects more or less different from one another. So far as I can perceive, there is not any reason to question that this state of things was real at the time when those dramas were produced which then set the rule for all future time. The speakers all understand one another; the difference between Sanskrit and Prakrit is not yet sufficient to prevent that; the Prakrit-speakers can even, in an emergency, put in a phrase of Sanskrit; and, on the other hand, when King Puruṣas goes mad, he casts off the restraints of education, and talks in part Prakrit, like a woman. That, now, is just the present character of Sanskrit: an educated or learned dialect, kept in existence, nearly unchanged, by instruction, by learned and literary use, among languages now become so diverse from it that its knowledge is confined to a very small circle; such, too, has been its

<sup>1</sup> It is, however, rejected by Liebhich, in his ‘*Kācīkā*’ (p. xxv), to be described further on. Liebhich suggests no substitute.

character for at least two thousand years, while the true vernaculars have been growing further and further away from it; and such must unquestionably have been its character at the outset, when their divergence, and its separate life, first began. That it was itself originally a vernacular seems to me a matter of course; nor do I see that any one has the right to say that Pāṇini's speech was not a living one, unless he then enters into a full explanation of what he means by a living language as distinguished from it. Sanskrit was the natural successor of the dialects of Veda, Brāhmaṇa, and Sūtra, and as much "living" as any of these had been, when the literary and learned class took it in hand, and, with the aid of grammatical science, fortified it against the further effect of the changes that were bringing out of it the various Prakritic dialects (taking that word in its widest sense). There is no absolute line to be drawn between living and dead languages. If the Sanskrit has never failed of being kept up by a constant tradition from teacher to pupil, though in a limited class, there is a real sense in which it has never died, but is still a living tongue. In another and equally correct sense, no language is alive that is not an out-and-out vernacular, spoken by a whole community, and having no inferior dialect below it in the same community; in this sense, to be sure, the Sanskrit of the series of grammarians of whom Pāṇini was the chief and virtually the last was not a fully living tongue; it had Prakritic dialects under it. Moreover, as soon as it took on the character of a learned dialect, it began as a matter of course to be stiffened into something a little unnatural; no dialect ever fell into the hands of grammarians without suffering from their pedantry. But I can find no reason whatever for supposing that it was not their own language, the language which they themselves spoke and which they thought alone worthy to be spoken by others, that they set themselves to describe. Whatever Pāṇini's special original part in the work may have been, we know that he left it still abounding in errors, both of omission and of commission; the important additions and corrections of Kātyāyana and Patanjali, to say nothing of their numerous but more insignificant successors, amply prove this; and it is frankly conceded in many points by these latest students of the system, unlike the scholars of a generation or two ago. The task Pāṇini attempted was beyond the power of mortal man to accomplish, especially in the form adopted by him—which is one that no sensible man should ever have chosen, yet on account of which,

it is very likely, his contemporaries and successors especially admired him, and made him their supreme authority.

Something like this, in my opinion, is what we have a right to say that we know about Pāṇini; and the investigations of Liebich and Franke, while they bring nothing to light that contradicts it, merely illustrate here and there a point in it, and do not add notably to its amount, because they ignore it all, and assume that the most fundamental facts involved have still to be established. What we really need further is added precision on a host of points as to which we have as yet only general knowledge, and particularly a comprehension of how the grammatical system, in all its details, stands related to the language of the Sanskrit classical literature, which professes to be governed by it, and yet has evidently had a traditional life of its own, simply regulated by the grammar, and has by no means been produced under the latter's dictation. To ask and answer, in all seriousness, such questions as whether a certain Brāhmaṇa, or whether the Pāli, is Pāṇini's Sanskrit, or whether that language was a living one, appears to me the wrong way to arrive at any valuable result.

In his conspectus of the views of various scholars as to the character of Sanskrit, given in the second part of his paper, Dr. Franke quotes with approval and acceptance an old expression of opinion by Weber, made at the very outset of his career, to the effect that "the development of Sanskrit and of the Prākṛit dialects out of their common source, the Indo-Aryan mother-tongue, went on with absolute contemporaneousness (*vollständig gleichzeitig*)."

But I do not see why this is not an unscientific and untenable proposition. For example, *ṣakṣhita* and *attā* or *appā* are not contemporaneous with *prakṣipta* and *ātmā* in the historical development of language, any more than Ital. *rotto* and *rotti* with Lat. *ruptus*, *-um* in their various case-forms; and so *hodu* is preceded in point of time by *bhavatu*, being a later "corruption" of the latter, coming to take its place, as Fr. *était* of *stabal*, or *fûtes* of *fuistis*. And this is true of the great mass of Prākṛit words, forms, and constructions; they are developed later than, and come to be substituted for, the corresponding Sanskrit words, forms, and constructions. If there were anything to be found on Indian ground that is earlier than *prakṣipta*, and from which it and *ṣakṣhita* should have equally descended by a parallel process, then we might have a right to speak of their contemporaneity; but that is plainly not the case; it is the

Sanskrit forms themselves, and not something older and more primitive than Sanskrit, that the Prākṛit words presuppose; they have passed through the stage which the Sanskrit represents. That here and there exceptions are met with, altered items for which the original is not found in Sanskrit, or is found in Vedic Sanskrit, is without any force whatever as against the great mass of material of a contrary character; such exceptions to the descent *in toto* of one dialect from another are the rule in all dialectic history, and might with equal justice be relied on to prove that Italian and French are in their development "absolutely contemporaneous" with Latin. As the other half or side of the view already quoted, Dr. Franke adds: "That the Sanskrit had become extinct when the Prākṛit dialects first began to develop themselves is false." What this means is quite unintelligible; it seems to go out of the way to deny a doctrine which no well-informed student of language could by any possibility think of maintaining, and it accordingly has no claim to be criticized, but must be simply set aside as valueless. If, for example, *ātmā* had ever become extinct, whence should *attā* or *appā* have originated? Who would say that the egg had been extinct when the chicken first began to develop itself? But, somehow or other, those whose ancestors had said *ātmā* began to say *attā* instead, the one pronunciation passing into the other, with no extinction intervening. It was, however, only a part of the community who did thus; a part, doubtless much the smaller one, continued to say *ātmā*; and the two forms went on in currency side by side, as educated and as popular speech, in the same way as in many cases elsewhere in the world; and *ātmā* was Sanskrit, and, with some help and some mishandling on the part of grammarians, has maintained itself in being to this day, in the literature which we call Sanskrit, and which, rather than the grammarians' treatment of it, is the true and proper object of the study of the Sanskrit scholar.

Next was produced by Dr. Liebich, in 1891, a valuable collection of studies entitled "Pāṇini: a contribution to the knowledge of Indian literature and grammar"; it makes a small octavo volume of 164 pages. The first study, or chapter, deals with Pāṇini's period; the author reviews briefly the opinions that have been held by different scholars respecting the matter, and, without attempting to bring any new evidence to bear upon it, comes to the moderate and sensible conclusion that only a certain degree

of probability can be arrived at: "after Buddha and before Christ" represents to him the measure of this probability. The second chapter treats of the principal later grammarians who have continued and modified Pāṇini's work; in regard to the earliest and most important of them the same chronological uncertainty prevails. The third is entitled "Pāṇini and the remaining literature," and is an attempt to determine where in the succession of the ancient literature of India, from the earliest Veda down, Pāṇini comes in. It takes as starting-point the wild views of Goldstücker, with their refutation by Weber; it points out further the insufficiency of the evidences relied upon for the prevailing opinion that Yaska is earlier than Pāṇini; and it then proceeds to its principal task, of applying to the general question a new, a numerical-statistical, method of solution. The author counts off, namely, a thousand personal verb-forms occurring in succession in each of four different monuments of the literature—the Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa, the Brhad-Araṇyaka, two Gṛhya-Sūtras (Açvalāyana and Pāraskara), and the Bhagavad-Gītā: representatives respectively of the Brāhmaṇa, Upanishad or later Brāhmaṇa, Sūtra, and epic stages of development of Indian speech—and then applies to them the rules of the grammar, to see how many and what forms unauthorized by Pāṇini appear in the several texts. The examination is creditable to the industry and learning of its author, and its results are interesting; we can hardly go further than that and pronounce them important. For they are essentially illustrative only; they put in a numerical form peculiarities which were already familiarly known to characterize the different classes of works instanced. Not a new item, so far as I can see, is brought to light; nor is any made more certain than before. Thus, six of the seven classes of Brāhmaṇa divergencies drawn out on pages 23-4 have long been recognized as such; and how many examples of each class may chance to occur in a given amount of text is a matter of indifference. As for the seventh, represented by a single case, the lengthened final of the imperative *kṛdhi*, it is an error; such a protraction does not belong to the Brāhmaṇa language, as, indeed, it has no right of occurrence anywhere except in verse; where it appears here (ii 2. 21), it is simply copied from the Rig-Veda verse (i 36. 14) on which the Brāhmaṇa is engaged in commenting, and of which it repeats a whole *pāda* (including *kṛdhi*) with merely the substitution of the more regular *caraṇāya* for *carathāya* in it; and the retention of the *i* is not improbably even

a misreading, such as this Brāhmaṇa has in no very small number (it may be added that the author, doubtless misled by Pāṇini, describes *kṛdhi* falsely as a present instead of an aorist imperative). And so also in each of the remaining cases. That is to say, the matter is not one to which the numerical method of investigation is well suited; this would be much better applied between, for example, different texts of the same class, as different Brāhmaṇas, to see whether it would yield any evidence as to their respective periods; and perhaps the part of the whole investigation which is of most value is the comparison which it makes possible between Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa and Bṛhad-Araṇyaka, the latter being part of a Brāhmaṇa also, but plainly later, as was a matter of course for an Upanishad. Instead, again, of the Bhagavad-Gītā, which no one doubts to be a comparatively recent addition to the Mahābhārata, it were much to be wished that the author had selected something out of those parts of the epic which are most probably to be regarded as its original nucleus, in order to cast more light upon the really difficult and hitherto doubtful question how and how much the epic differs from the classical or Paninean Sanskrit, and why. That Brāhmaṇa and Upanishad and Sūtra antedate Pāṇini we knew just as certainly before this investigation was made as we know it now; the posteriority of the Bhagavad-Gītā, again, could hardly have been questioned, however the case may stand with the earliest epic. The criteria applied to the divergences of the Gītā from grammatical strictness are of a less satisfactory and decisive character. The decided majority (21 against 16) of the irregularities concern the voice of the verb; but, though the looseness of at least the later epic in this regard is certainly excessive, it is likely that Pāṇini's rules limiting the employment of the voices are exceptionally artificial and discordant with genuine usage; our author himself so judges examples of them (e. g., p. 28) in connection with the Brāhmaṇa. As for the causative perfects with *āsa* (3 in number), Pāṇini's failure to authorize them must be either an oversight or a piece of pedantry. And *ḡucas*, since this aorist occurs in Veda and Brāhmaṇa, might be deemed a sign rather of antiquity than of modern date. The harvest of results from the chapter, then, must be confessed a rather scanty one.

In the sixth and seventh chapters the author returns to the Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa and the Bṛhad-Araṇyaka, in order to see whether any difference of period can be established among their

constituent parts. Here again is, as in the particular noted above, a good and suitable application of the statistical method, and it leads to trustworthy and interesting conclusions. In the Aranyaka are discovered no notable indications of diversity of age; but in the Brāhmaṇa the author finds good reason to believe, as had been inferred by others before him, that the concluding chapters are more modern than the rest.

Between the parts of the volume devoted to the first and to the second examination of these two works intervene a couple of chapters, of which the former, the fourth, is headed "Pāṇini's relation to the language of India"—that is to say, the relation of Pāṇini's Sanskrit to the other dialects. The chapter is chiefly composed of a succinct statement of the views of other scholars, to which the author then appends his own view; and this is simply a summary of what he has illustrated in the preceding chapters as the relation between Pāṇini's dialect and the Brāhmaṇa and Sūtra on the one side and the epic on the other. Then (p. 50) he appends as final result a wholly new and original classification of the entire body of dialects of India. They are divided into three categories: pre-classical, classical, and post-classical. To the classical division are referred, besides "the doctrine of Pāṇini," the Brāhmaṇas and Sūtras also, which the author has himself previously recognized as pre-Paninean! this leaves as pre-classical only "the saṃhitās of the four Vedas." But the third division, the post-classical, is still more wonderfully constructed: besides the "independent" epic, it contains the whole literature which we have been accustomed to know as Sanskrit, namely "Kālidāsa, etc., originated under the influence of the grammar"! What is left to constitute the classical subdivision "b. Doctrine of Pāṇini" is very obscure; it can be only Pāṇini's grammar itself (so that such sentences as *idamo rhiḥ, gāṅkūṭa-dibhyo 'ṇinīl* are classical, as contrasted with Kālidāsa's compositions), and in addition all the works that might, could, would, or should have been written in strict accordance with it, and not merely "under its influence," if there only were any such. Now I had myself, in my former paper, laid stress on the difference between the purely hypothetical "grammarians' Sanskrit" and the Sanskrit of the literature; but I never went so far as to maintain, with Dr. Liebich, that the two even belonged to different prime divisions of the whole history of language in India (thus, II. b. grammarians' Sanskrit; III. b. Sanskrit of the literature).

Just half our author's volume (pp. 82-161) is occupied by two studies which are reckoned as Appendix I and Appendix II. The one is a digest of the teachings of the native grammar (Pāṇini, the Mahābhāṣya, and the Kāçikā) respecting the voice-inflection of the verbal roots, as active or middle or both; the other is a similar digest for the formation of feminine declension-stems from the corresponding masculines. These two appendixes constitute, in my opinion, the substantially valuable part of the volume; they exemplify what needs to be done for all the various subjects included in Pāṇini's treatise. The next step, now, should be to compare in detail the statements thus drawn out with the actual facts of the language as exhibited in the whole series of monuments of the literature, from Vedic down to classical and epic, in order to determine what is the relation between the two, and then what the former, the prescriptions of the grammar, are worth; until that is done, no contribution has yet been made to our knowledge of the language, but only to our knowledge of Pāṇini. It casts a shade of unreality over the whole subject of voice-conjugation that the voices of the thousand or twelve hundred false roots are not less carefully defined by the *dhātupāṭha* than those of the eight or nine hundred genuine ones.

There is left for our consideration only the fifth chapter, in which the author takes up and attempts to answer my own objections, given in my paper of nine years ago, to the confusing of the study of Pāṇini with that of Sanskrit, and the thrusting of the grammarians' dialect into the place in our attention which the real language of the recorded literature ought to occupy. I propose to examine here this reply, and see how effective it is.

Dr. Liebich's first point is, as was my own, the *dhātupāṭha*, or list of roots, which is given as part of the material of the grammar, and really even its foundation, since it is upon them that the rules of the grammar profess to go on and build up the structure of the language—and that not only grammatically but lexically, for the grammar includes the system of derivation, with definition of the modifications wrought in each root-sense and stem-sense by the added suffixes. On this point the author offers a criticism which he is obliged himself to withdraw in the next paragraph: he first accuses me of treating Pāṇini rather unfairly, since the *dhātupāṭha* was the part of his work most likely to be deformed by later corruptions; but then allows that I was perhaps (as is indeed plainly the case) criticizing the whole system of the grammarians



as it lies before us, of which the list of roots objected to forms undeniably an inseparable part. Böhtlingk gives it in length and breadth in his recent second edition of Pāṇini, finding nothing else to put in its place; and it must have gone hard with him, who knows what in Sanskrit is real and what is sham better than almost any other living scholar, and who has in the Petersburg lexicons done more than any one else to make plain their distinction, to introduce into his work such a mass of worthless rubbish; I hardly comprehend how he should have prevailed on himself to do this without exercising his critical acumen upon it, and separating in some way the false from the true. Our author talks of probable interpolations, and intimates that he deems them posterior to the great trio of Pāṇini, Kātyāyana, and Patanjali, acknowledging that my criticisms may be "more or less" applicable to their successors. Well, I should think so; and more rather than less. This free and easy way of disposing of the subject is quite characteristic of the whole guild of partizans of the native grammar. It appears impossible to bring any one of them to stand up and face fairly the question of the *dhātupāṭha*. There are not far from nine hundred real authenticable roots in Sanskrit. We could believe that the uncritical interpolations of later grammarians might add to this number a dozen, or a score, or fifty, or (to take the extreme) even a hundred or two; but it is the wildest of nonsense (only strong expressions suit the case) to hold that they could swell the number to over two thousand! Such increase is thus far wholly unexplained, perhaps forever unexplainable, and certainly most unpardonable; and until it is in some way accounted for the admirers of the Hindu science of grammar ought to talk in very humble tones. If these roots are not the ones recognized by the wondrous three, when and under what circumstances and by whose influence were the additional twelve hundred foisted in, to the abandonment and loss of the old genuine list? The difficulty of explaining this seems not less great than that of supposing the whole two thousand as old as Pāṇini himself; both are hard enough; and, in either event, the taint of falsity attaches to the Hindu system as we know it and are expected to use it.

As concerns the three points of the middle periphrastic perfect, the middle precativè, and the secondary passive forms, nothing that the author says tends to change at all the aspect of the case as stated by me: namely, that these are formations which, though

taught by Pāṇini, are wanting in the traditional literary language—as much so as verb-forms from the thousand and more false roots; they belong to the grammarians' Sanskrit alone. Just how much or how little excuse Pāṇini may have had for setting them up, that is a different and a minor question, to be decided finally by the general result of our examination of Pāṇini's way of working, of selecting what he will adopt and what he will reject. To me they seem artificial and pedantic structures, reared on an obsolete and insufficient or misapprehended basis.

The author's well-intended correction of my estimate of *prayoktāse* in TS. ii 6. 2<sup>s</sup> as 1st sing. I do not find myself able to accept. The sentence is not, perhaps, absolutely clear; but the presence in it of a *te* 'for thee' is to me a tolerably certain indication that the verb is not 2d sing. ('I will employ to-morrow for thee at the sacrifice,' or 'at thy sacrifice'); no such possessive would be called for (or admissible, I think) if the person were second. And *-tāse* is obviously the true middle analogue to active *-tāsmi*, as *ṣāse* to *ṣāsmi* and the like; while *-tāhe*, as given by the grammarians, is absolutely anomalous, being unsupported, so far as I know, by a single other phonetic fact of the language. That it occurs once (but only once) in the literature, in that very late Vedic document the Tāitt. Aranyaka, whose text is in many parts extremely faulty, is beyond question; but I would put forward the suggestion, as by no means an impossible one, that the form is corrupt, and that the 1st sing. *-tāhe* of the grammarians is founded solely on it. That the native commentary, it may be added, explains *prayoktāse* in TS. as 2d sing. is not of the smallest particle of importance; an expositor schooled in Pāṇini would of course do that, and is capable of doing it against the most incontrovertible evidence to the contrary.

Another matter which the author undertakes to defend against my objections is Pāṇini's determination of the cases where *dh* and where *ḍh* is to be used in the 2d plur. endings *dhvam* and *dhve*. He is so far successful that he is able to show the grammarians' rules to admit in part a different interpretation from that put upon them by the later Hindu authorities, and reported by the European grammars which follow these rather than the language itself. I was careful to allow for this possibility in so flagrant a case, putting in the caveat "if the Hindu grammarians are reported rightly by their European pupils (which in this instance is hard to believe)"; it now appears that a part of the reproach is capable of being



shifted from the shoulders of Pāṇini to those of his later interpreters. But only a part. Pāṇini uses in the first of his two rules one of his customary algebra-like signs, *iṇ*, which is ambiguous, signifying either simply the *i*- and *u*-vowels, or these together with the *r*- and *l*-vowels, the diphthongs, the semivowels, and *h*. But such an ambiguity is itself a palpable blot upon a system that claims to be so precise, and Pāṇini's successors are little to blame, comparatively, if they have chosen the wrong meaning. Then, further, it is and must be equally a matter of uncertainty whether this same *iṇ* is or is not to be carried over by implication from the first to the second rule; and this, again, is a characteristic and a pervading difficulty, running through Pāṇini's entire work, and, as I said in my former paper, involving "a condemnation of the whole mode of presentation of the system as a failure." What are the boasted terseness and exactness of the rules really worth, when in innumerable cases you cannot tell what they mean without first knowing what they ought to mean?—that is to say, when an acquaintance with the facts of the traditional language is necessary in order to the right interpretation of the grammar's *dictum* respecting them? The present is, at the best, a case where the interpreters have been too careless of the facts and the reasons of the facts.

But, whatever improved explanation we may apply to them, there is plenty left to object to in Pāṇini's rules. The 2d pl. precativè middle is plainly declared to end in *ṣiḍhvam* or in *ṣidhvam* according to what letters precede the *ṣ* (which might also be *s*); and this is senseless. If the ending is *-ṣiḍhvam*, it is so because the form is originally *-ṣi-ṣ-dhvam*, with the special precativè sibilant between mode-sign and personal ending, as in 2d and 3d sing., *-ṣi-ṣ-thās* and *-ṣi-ṣ-ta*; if it is, on the other hand, *-ṣidhvam*, this is because, as in 1st persons and 3d plur., no such sibilant is present, and the ending is originally *-ṣi-dhvam*; and no one can speak with certainty upon the point, because, as I have pointed out, not a single example of the form has been brought to light out of the literature, earlier or later (the probabilities are altogether in favor of *ṣi-ṣ-dhvam*, and so *-ṣiḍhvam*); but it is perfectly obvious that what precedes the *-ṣi-* has nothing to do with determining the matter, any more than with determining the presence or absence of the precativè sibilant in the 2d and 3d singular. It is equally plain that in the indicative of the *iṣ*-aorist we must always have *ḍhvam* (which the known texts also always

give), because *-iḍhvam* necessarily results from the combination *-iḡ-dhvam*, without any reference whatever to what may precede the *-iḡ-*; and the interpreters must regulate themselves accordingly, if they wish to save Pāṇini's credit. The author thinks he catches me in an error in saying, as concerns this point, that "all the quotable examples . . . are opposed to their rule," and brings up against me *astodhvam* etc. out of my grammar. But this only shows how carelessly or how unintelligently he has read my paper; for it is distinctly allowed there that the rule as given applies correctly to the *s*-aorist, and there is quoted the example *aneḍhvam* (from *aneḡ-dhvam*; by the way, this example and its like seem to show that *iṇ* in the rule requires to be taken in its wider sense): one of the striking things about the matter was that a prescription suiting well the one aorist had been wantonly extended to include the other, with which it had nothing to do, its application giving in every instance a different form from the theoretically correct one found occurring in the literature.

But Pāṇini undeniably takes the perfect also into his rule, making its 2d plur. ending to be *dhve* or *ḍhve* under the same conditions as those laid down for the aorists. The impropriety of the combination and identical treatment of the two tenses is clear. The aorist has always at the end of the stem a lingual sibilant—*aneḡ-*, *apaviḡ-*—to exercise its euphonic influence upon the *dh* of the ending, while in the perfect there is none such. That is to say, none unless the endings *dhve* and *dhvam* are really by origin *sdhve* and *sdhvam*; and this is a doctrine which has found, and perhaps still possesses, some adherents. But it has no foundation whatever in the actual phenomena of Sanskrit, but solely in these blundering rules of the native grammar. Examples of the 2d plur. perfect, indeed, are of exceeding rarity; I am able at present to point to only a single one (*dadhidhve*, occurring twice in RV.) in the older language. But, if we are to recognize *sdhve* in the perfect, we plainly ought to recognize *sdhve* and *sdhvam* also in the present (indic., impv., and opt.) and imperfect; and then we should not meet with forms like *studhvam*, *jānidhvam*, *bhavedhvam*, *akṛṇudhvam*, but with *stuḍhvam* and so on. It appears, then, that the only way to save Pāṇini's reputation in the matter is to strike the syllable *liṭ* (meaning 'perfect') out of his rule, as unguine; and I would suggest that it was perhaps intruded by the same cunning hand that thrust into the *dhātupāṭha* more than a thousand false roots without being



detected or deterred; this latter trick was evidently by far the harder to execute.

But Dr. Liebich finds two other defenses to make (both on p. 58). For one thing, we are not justified in asking for a reason why *dhvam* should in certain cases be converted into *qhvam*. "As if," he exclaims, "we were able in any language whatever to trace everywhere the connection of cause and effect!" Begging his pardon, I assert that, on the contrary, in the combinations of stem and ending in Sanskrit euphony, we do not meet with any effect of which we may not look for a cause with good expectation of finding it. If we came anywhere upon a *qhvam* without a discoverable reason, we should question its correctness, and hold it probable that some one had blundered, that the text-tradition was corrupt, or the like. On the other hand, if, as is actually the case, we have no *qhvam* for which we cannot show a perfectly good reason (few as, unfortunately, the instances are), and no *qhve* at all, and can put against this only the assertion of Pāṇini and his successors and interpreters that such forms ought to occur without any reason, I submit that the sole acceptable conclusion must be that these grammarians, like grammarians everywhere else, have blundered, and need to be corrected.

Our author's remaining plea is one that, it must be confessed, gives a tinge of the comic to the whole discussion. The difference, he points out, between *dh* and *qh* is very slight, and it might be unfair to expect Pāṇini in every case to distinguish the one correctly from the other! That is to say, if Pāṇini prescribes a *qh* where there is no ground for one, it may be simply the fault of his ear, which caught the sound wrong. Now I have been accused, by the author and others, of insinuating depreciatory things about Pāṇini, but I certainly never went so far as this. If the great grammarian had too dull an ear to distinguish a lingual mute accurately from a dental (like the typical, or mythical, German, who cannot tell *t* and *d* apart), what are all his teachings worth that involve phonetic distinctions? The staff is broken over Pāṇini, and by one of his own partizans.

To conclude (after passing without notice the other points made by me; the most important was the grammarians' derivation of the reduplicated aorist from the causative stem instead of from the root directly), Dr. Liebich takes up my criticism of the Paninean classification of compounds, defending and extolling this classification; and he returns to the same subject, elaborating

his view still further, in the introduction to another later publication, "Two chapters of the Kāçikā."<sup>1</sup> According to him, the true scientific principle of arrangement of compounds, which must be regarded as underlying Pāṇini's scheme, is furnished by syntactical subordination, after the following fashion: 1. In the copulative compounds, as *devamanuṣyās* 'gods-and-men,' neither element is subordinated to the other, but both are coördinate; 2. in the determinatives, the former element is subordinated to the latter, either as a case dependent on it or as an adjective (or its equivalent) qualifying it: examples are *housetop*, *redbird*; 3. in the possessives, both are subordinated together to a word outside the compound, which they jointly qualify in the manner of an adjective: for example, *redhead*, i. e. redheaded, or possessing a red head; then, 4. there remains only one other possibility, namely that the second element should be subordinated to the first, as in *atimātram* 'beyond measure': we might give as English parallel *aboveboard* or *overboard* (also, for the other Hindu variety, consisting of a participle governing a following noun, the English *spendthrift* or *hategood*; of this variety our author makes no account, because it is Vedic, and unnoticed by Pāṇini). If, then, we are told, the subordinated element be represented by a *minus*-sign, and the other by a *plus*, we get thus the four combinations ++, -+, --, +-; and these evidently exhaust all the possibilities of the case. Now this is in the real Paninean style, and proves Dr. Liebich to possess a double portion of Pāṇini's spirit, if he be not the great grammarian himself in the latter's *n*th metempsychosis. Pāṇini would have been proud to adopt it into one of his chapters, together with its algebraic notation, so akin with his own. But our author has to confess that it is not Pāṇini's own scheme; it is only brought out fully and distinctly by a much later successor. Moreover, that Pāṇini's fourth class, the so-called *avyayibhāva* compounds, is by no means limited to examples of the formula *plus-minus*, but includes a number of quite heterogeneous formations. Dr. Liebich is nevertheless confident that he recognized the unique value of the scheme, and had it plainly in mind; only he sacrificed it, "perhaps with a heavy heart" (Kāçikā, p. ix), on the altar of—brevity! This brings to our notice, and in a strikingly illustrative manner, another of Pāṇini's leading characteristics and at the same time greatest weaknesses. The prime object aimed at by him (as in

<sup>1</sup> Zwei Kapitel der Kāçikā, Breslau, 1892, 8vo, pp. xl, 80.

no small measure in the *sūtra*-style everywhere) is brevity, brevity at the cost of every other desirable thing—of theoretic truth, of connection, and, most of all, of intelligibility. The quality may be one that recommended his work to those who had to learn it by rote (though in its degree we have the right to question even that), but it is very much the opposite of a recommendation to us, and cannot but detract very seriously from our approval and admiration. And this especially when we see how capriciously the principle is applied—how many rules are squandered on details of the most trifling consequence, far below others that are omitted; on the quotation of other grammarians (the best way to confute whom was to leave them unnoticed); on the excerption (in more than 200 rules) of scattered particulars out of the Vedic language, which are valueless because they are merely specimens, making no pretense to completeness, while the motive of their selection is in many cases beyond the reach even of conjecture—and so on. If the grammar were sharply examined with reference only to this its leading motive, it would unquestionably be found to teem with matter for unfavorable criticism.

But there is another and more fundamental difficulty lying behind Pāṇini's oversight, or possible sacrifice, in not recognizing the fourth, the *plus-minus*, class of compounds in its true character, and thus rounding out a perfect scheme of classification, namely this: there is no such class; Dr. Liebich and his authorities, the later Hindu grammarians, are deceiving themselves with a false determination and notation; the *avyayibhāva* class, however composed, is not *plus-minus*, but *minus-minus*. By this is not meant that the component parts of such compounds do not stand in a *plus-minus* relation to one another; but so also do those of the ordinary possessives stand in a *minus-plus* relation; and if the possessive is nevertheless really a *minus-minus* compound, so is, for the same reason, the *avyayibhāva*. The copulative compound, composed of two (or more) nouns or adjectives, is itself noun or adjective accordingly, and is properly reckoned as *plus-plus*; the determinative is a noun or adjective with preceding limiting word, and it also is noun or adjective accordingly, and rightly *minus-plus*. It is different with the possessive, because, though this is not less a noun with a preceding limiting word, it has passed through a transformation making of it an adjective, which is to qualify something outside: *mahābāhu* when it means 'a great arm' is determinative or *minus-plus*; but when it means

'having a great arm' it is changed to *minus-minus*. If we represent the adjectivizing influence by *a*, we shall get the equation (*minus-plus*)<sup>a</sup> = *minus-minus*, which is good linguistic mathematics; at any rate, it is only in such a way that the possessive comes to be a *minus-minus* compound. But precisely the same is true of the *avyayibhāva*. Taking, for example, the participial compound *ābharad-vasu* 'bringing wealth,' we find it made up of a governing word and its object-noun; but it is not therefore a noun; it has been transformed to an adjective; its accus. sing. and nom. plur. are not *ābharantaṁ-vasu* and *ābharanto-vasu*, but *ābharad-vasum* and *ābharad-vasavas*; it has undergone a similar transformation to that of *mahābāhu*, and it is *minus-minus*; for its formula is again (*plus-minus*)<sup>a</sup> = *minus-minus*. But the proper *avyayibhāva* is not an adjective, but an adverb; the phrase *atī mātrām* 'beyond measure' becomes as a compound *atimātram* 'excessively.' Here is plainly involved a similar fusion and transfer to that already described; and, if we represent the adverb-making force by *b*, the proper formula for *atimātram* is (*plus-minus*)<sup>b</sup> = *minus-minus*. But in real truth *atimātram* is still further from being a *plus-minus* compound; for to any one who considers the class historically it must be obvious that any such adverb is simply the neuter accusative of an adjective used adverbially, as neuter accusatives, among simple words and compounds of every kind, are wont to be used. For example, the first step from *atī mātrām* is the common adjective *atimātra* 'excessive,' of which the formula is (*plus-minus*)<sup>a</sup>; then from this comes by another transfer the adverb, with the formula ((*plus-minus*)<sup>a</sup>)<sup>b</sup>, or, more briefly, (*plus-minus*)<sup>ab</sup>; and, as the adjective was *minus-minus*, the adverb is doubly so. Whether this double transfer be accepted or not (of course the acceptance does not imply that some of the adverbs have not been made directly, by analogy with the others of more regular development), the asserted *plus-minus* class is irretrievably lost, and with it the mathematically exhaustive and regular classification of Sanskrit compounds. It has, indeed, never been found that the facts of language could be reasoned on mathematically; and, whenever the attempt so to treat them is made, we have the right to expect to detect a misapprehension, as in the present case. We may now decline to be touched by the spectacle of Pāṇini's "heavy heart," and hold, on the contrary, that Dr. Liebich has probably done him for a second time signal injustice, in believing him



capable of being deceived by an alluring though false theory. The adjective compounds with governing prior member, whether this be preposition or participle, are sub-classes, with the possessives, of the great class of secondary adjective compounds, as I have located and described them in my grammar; and the *avya-yibhāvas* are no class of compounds at all, but only a group in the long list of adjective neuter accusatives used adverbially.

It may be further mentioned, as a curiously characteristic point, that our author objects (Kāçikā, p. xi, note 2) to the name "possessive" as applied by Bopp and his successors to the "much-rice" (*bahuvrihi*) compounds, because some of them admit of being fairly rendered otherwise than by 'having' or 'possessing,' and because the Sanskrit has no verb 'have,' and therefore Pāṇini would not have cast the sense into this form. Then also, it may be inferred, we are wrong to speak of the "possessive" suffixes *in* and *vant*, and to render *balin* and *bala-vant* by 'having strength,' or to call *madīya* 'my' a "possessive" pronominal adjective or *taśya* 'his' a "possessive" genitive. It may be pleaded in reply that, since we name them in our own language and not in Sanskrit, we have every right to cast their real and undeniable sense into the form of nomenclature that best suits our expression; and that the Hindus themselves put the idea of possession as well as they can into the definitions of these compounds by their familiar formula *yasya . . . sa tathoktaḥ*: they say, for example, "whose arms are great" in place of our "having great arms": and it really seems to amount to the same thing.

At the close of his chapter, Dr. Liebich, conceiving himself to have broken the force of all my objections to setting Pāṇini above the Sanskrit literature, and his grammatical science above ours, regrets that I have not brought forward a happier selection of them. I, on the other hand, think myself justified in maintaining that, as they all still stand in full vigor, they are a sufficient illustration and support of my contrary estimate of the native grammar. But I am willing to add another point, which he indeed almost forces upon my attention. At the very end, namely (p. 61), he lifts up hands of horror at me (as did Speijer, in his Sanskrit Syntax, p. 189. note) for daring to stigmatize as a barbarism something which Pāṇini expressly teaches (his alarm makes him see it as double, or worse than double, and he puts it in the plural, as a thing happening "occasionally"). He ought fairly to have quoted the case, instead of merely referring to the

rule about it. It is this: Pāṇini teaches that a comparative and superlative adverbial ending may be added to a personal verb: thus, *dadāti* 'he gives,' *dadātitarām* 'he gives more,' *dadātītamām* 'he gives most.' This is precisely as if one were directed to say in Greek *διδωσιτερον* (in this case, even the suffix is identical) and *διδωσιτατον*. Now I maintain, and without any fear of successful contradiction, that such formations, no matter who authorizes them, are horrible barbarisms, offenses against the proprieties of universal Indo-European speech. The total absence of anything like them, or of anything suggesting even remotely the possibility of forming them, in the pre-Paninean language (one might just as successfully seek for suggestions of *διδωσιτερον* in Homer or Plato), and their rarity later (no example of *-tamām* is ever met with), among writers to whom a rule of Pāṇini is as the oracle of a god, is enough to show that they never formed any proper part of the language. Probably they were jocose or slangy modes of expression (essentially *bhāṣā*, but far below the level of decent *bhāṣā*), which some strange freak, perhaps of amusement at their oddity (and Pāṇini was entitled to some compensation for the "heavy heart" which his subserviency to brevity often cost him), led him to sanction—if indeed the rule permitting them be not another interpolation by that mischief-maker who spoiled the list of roots.

Dr. Liebich complains of the (presumably disrespectful) references to "the native grammarians" which he finds too frequent in my Sanskrit grammar, and kindly advises me to cast them all out. But this is in the highest degree unreasonable. Considering the place which those grammarians have long occupied in the study of the language, and the influence allowed them by their European successors, and that their ways of viewing and presenting things have determined in large measure the form of universal Sanskrit grammar, it is simply impossible to leave them out of account and unmentioned. I am sure I have been as respectful to them as I possibly could, and probably in the majority of cases quite successfully—at least hypothetically respectful, stating their teaching for what it may be worth, and leaving to the future the final determination of its value. It was hardly respectful for him, on his part, to pronounce (in his closing sentence) all my references to them "extremely superficial and often inaccurate," without quoting a single instance to show that they really bear that character. Perhaps, if he had done so, he would have made as signal a failure of it as he has of the attempt to refute the views and reasonings of my former paper.

An extended review of Liebig's Pāṇini, by Dr. Franke, is found in the Gött. Gelehrte Anzeigen bearing date of Dec. 1, 1891 (pp. 951-83). It is, however, less a detailed examination and criticism of the former's views than an independent discussion of some of the points involved, carried on with much learning and acuteness. Many pages are expended upon Pāṇini's classification of the compounds; and here Dr. Franke is far from supporting Liebig's answer to my criticisms; on the contrary, he takes my side, setting forth the remarkable superficialities and incongruities of Pāṇini's work in this department, especially as regards the asserted class of *avyayibhāvas*; he makes many points of detail which I have passed without notice in the above discussion of the theoretic groundwork of the classification. Though dated in the following year, Liebig's Kāçikā and its introduction were doubtless written before the appearance of this review; he would hardly have ventured to repeat his views, or would have cast them into a very different form, if he had had before his eyes their condemnation by a fellow-partizan of Pāṇini. In other points, Franke's notice of Liebig's work is mainly laudatory. Thus, he "thoroughly approves," as "very successful" (p. 962), the latter's futile pleadings as to the ending *ḍhvam* (including, I suppose, the suggestion of Pāṇini's dullness of ear), adding, as his own contribution to the controversy, that a *ḍh* not seldom takes the place of *dh* in Prakrit, and that Prakritic changes have been known to work their way into Sanskrit. But what has that to do with Pāṇini's definite prescription of *ḍh* in certain conditions which demonstrably have nothing to do with the matter? So in Prakrit, in obedience to the same general lingualizing tendency, *n* in the majority of cases becomes *ṇ*; but that would be far from supporting a Hindu grammarian who should teach that a *r* altered the next following *n* to *ṇ* only provided it were itself preceded by the sounds included in the designation *iṇ*. As for the great question of the 1200 false roots, Dr. Franke slips smoothly over it, merely echoing the other's remark, that it was an "unfortunate proceeding" on my part to commence from that quarter my attack upon the native grammar. Unfortunate, indeed; but evidently unfortunate only for the grammar: who could help starting from that most flagrant, wanton, and inexcusable of all its many weak sides?

It is hardly worth while to say much more than has been already said with regard to Liebig's Kāçikā. It is a laborious and useful contribution to the study of Pāṇini himself and of one

of the most noted comments upon his work, smoothing a little the way to their comprehension for those who shall approach it hereafter. The author's method is a narrowly restricted one; the rule of Pāṇini is given, not translated, and then follows a bald rendering of the Kāçikā's exposition, with here and there brief notes added on one and another point in the latter; from any attempt at an independent explanation, and yet more from any criticism, the author carefully refrains. Thus, of the rule which introduces the whole subject, *samarthaḥ padavidhiḥ*, the Kāçikā gives two entirely discordant interpretations, illustrating, however, only the latter of them—which is a very strong indication that the commentators were themselves uncertain as to what meaning really lay hidden in its obscurity; and the translator passes the matter without a word of remark, nor does it occur to him to state whether in his opinion we ought to understand 'a word-rule is competent,' or to force into the text with extreme violence the sense 'a word in the following rules is to be taken in connection with its sense': it is only an illustration of the ordinary principle that you must first find out what a rule of Pāṇini ought to signify, and must then, at whatever cost, interpret that signification into it. And the continuation is of a piece with the beginning. No one can well avoid being moved to repugnance by the fantastic obscurity with which the subject is presented; and we know already that the underlying theory, the scheme of distinctions and of classification, is a very defective one. To claim, then, that it must be all labored through by the general body of students of Sanskrit, in order that they may duly understand the subject of Sanskrit compounds, is obviously unreasonable, not to say absurd. Pāṇini and his chief commentators must be worked over by a small class of specialists, and not simply translated—that is a mere beginning of the task—but brought into such a form as to be readily understood and assimilated by the mass of scholars. The study is excessively difficult, and on many of the points involved in it certainty seems unattainable. Dr. Liebich confesses (p. i) that he found the rendering of these two little chapters so hard that he could scarcely keep his courage up to complete the task. Speijer has been a faithful student of the native grammar; but of the discussions and criticisms of points in it on which he occasionally ventures in his Sanskrit Syntax, Böhlingk (in a review of the work in Z.D.M.G. XLI 179 ff.) claims to refute nearly every one; and now Liebich (Kāçikā, p. iv) declares

Böhtlingk, in spite of his life-long familiarity with the subject and his immense erudition, to have translated Pāṇini sometimes incorrectly. Rather discouraging that for a student who is ambitious to get his knowledge of Sanskrit directly from native sources!

I would be far from saying anything to discourage the study of Pāṇini; it is highly important and extremely interesting, and might fairly absorb much more of the labor of the present generation than has been given to it. But I would have it followed in a different spirit and for a different purpose and in a different method. It should be thoroughly dissociated from the study of Sanskrit, though never without recognition of what it may finally contribute to our knowledge of Sanskrit in addition to what we derive from the literature. As to what the literature contains, we need no help from the native grammar; it is the residue of peculiar material that we shall value, and that we should strive to separate from the mass. And the study should be made a truly progressive one, part after part of the native system being worked out to the last possible degree and the results recorded, so that each generation be not compelled to begin anew the tedious and unrewarding task.

At the beginning of the introduction to his *Kācīkā*, it is true, Liebig makes the claim that all Sanskrit students need to master Pāṇini, if for no other reason, because the native commentaries cannot be otherwise completely understood, it being known that they abound more or less in references to the grammar and demonstrations founded upon it. There would be more in this consideration if the grammatical discussions were not precisely the most worthless part of the comments, which can be in all cases neglected with least fear of loss. What the words mean, what allusions they contain, what is to be supplied to complete the sense, which of possible constructions is the right one—these are matters in regard to which the aid of the commentator is more or less (in proportion, namely, to the artificiality of the composition) welcome, sometimes even indispensable; but for the grammatical forms, the derivations, and everything else that Pāṇini can be quoted for, the case is different. As for Sāyaṇa and his kind, even those who make the strongest claims in his favor will hardly venture to deny that the whole grammatical part of his exposition might be expunged from his text without loss of a jot or tittle of its value.

It may be added that Dr. Franke also, in the first paragraphs of his review of Liebig briefly examined above, shows the same

disposition to exaggerate and misrepresent the claims of Pāṇini to attention. He quotes once more, as Liebhich had done before him, Lassen's unworthy insinuation that Bopp's growing independence of Pāṇini was owing to his ignorance of him! As if Bopp did not know Pāṇini, both at first hand and in his European representatives, sufficiently to judge with full competence what his system was worth, and how far it required to be followed! There is quite too much of Pāṇini left still in Bopp's grammar; yet to Bopp belongs the high credit of making the recorded facts of the language for the first time the basis of their orderly presentation, and of bringing the principles of European grammatical science, and those of a new and developing comparative grammar, to bear upon Sanskrit. It is owing to this that he became the real Sanskrit teacher to Europe, in a manner and degree far beyond the reach of Lassen. Dr. Franke then goes on to vindicate for Pāṇini various things to which he has not the shadow of a just title: as, 1. that not only for Sanskrit, but also for other Aryan dialects and writings, Pāṇini is of indispensable importance—which apparently means nothing more than that some of the phenomena of dialects later than Sanskrit are to be found noted in his grammar; 2. that the study of his rules has a formally educating influence—which is, I think, just the opposite of the truth, since their method is purely mechanical, sacrificing everything else to brevity, ignoring connection and proportion, lacking all recognition of the historical element, and therefore necessarily destitute of philosophy (we have seen above that too much Pāṇini has led Dr. Liebhich to doubt the relation of cause and effect in Sanskrit euphony); 3. that it is Pāṇini who has taught us to regard every word, every ending, even every letter as important—which is an accusation laid without any reason whatever against western grammatical science; and 4. that Pāṇini is going to aid literary chronology in a way that is hitherto for the most part only a matter of conjecture and of future hope—and which therefore, we may answer, it is as yet too early to say anything about; but, if there are such treasures hid in Pāṇini, why do not his partizans devote themselves to bringing them forth, instead of dwelling upon subjects which are far better understood out of the literature itself?

Just forty years ago, a German student of more than ordinary ability, in company with whom I had worked for a season under a professor of the highest eminence in Germany, took the degree

of doctor of philosophy creditably with a dissertation on one of Kalidāsa's plays, and went to England for further study and for employment. He was fortified, among other things, with a letter of introduction to a Sanskrit scholar of German birth, then long resident in London. This scholar, on being consulted in regard to plans and pursuits, told him that all his hitherto acquired knowledge had no real foundation, and was essentially worthless; that, if he wished to accomplish anything, he must drop all besides and devote himself for two or three years exclusively to the study of Pāṇini; when that had been done it would be time to talk of something else. Just how much this rebuff had to do with turning my friend's attention away to other studies I do not know; but, at any rate, until his death some years after he was not heard of further in Sanskrit.

Such was, doubtless in its most intense form, the spirit of the devotees of the native Hindu grammar a generation ago. And, though it has been in some measure subdued since, it is by no means extinct, when a man of real learning and ability like Dr. Franke can still maintain (in his *Casuslehre*, etc., noticed above, p. 68, or p. 6 of the reprint) that our profounder knowledge of Sanskrit is to be especially proportioned to our deeper penetration into Pāṇini's teachings—against which is to be set, as antidote, the same author's exposure of Pāṇini's failure in the article of compounds. It is, of course, much to the credit of Pāṇini that he exercises such a bewildering fascination over the minds of those who involve themselves in the labyrinth of his rules—though the influence admits, I believe, of a natural explanation. I am fully persuaded that any one who should master the Hindu grammatical science without losing his head, who should become thoroughly familiar with Pāṇini and escape being Pāṇini-bitten, would be able to make exposures of the weaknesses and shortcomings and needless obscurities of the grammar on a scale hitherto unknown.

W. D. WHITNEY.

### III.—THE RELATIVE POSITION OF ACTORS AND CHORUS IN THE GREEK THEATRE OF THE V CENTURY B. C.

#### PART II.

##### CONSIDERATION OF THE EXTANT DRAMAS.

An examination of the works of the four great dramatists in strictly chronological order would seem at first glance calculated to show most clearly the steady course of development in the drama, and consequently to illustrate most fully the corresponding changes which were made in 'stage'-buildings and equipments. But Sophokles was ever more akin to Aischylos than to Euripides, and Aristophanes frequently holds the youngest of the tragedians up to ridicule, both in his text and in the setting of his plays. It has seemed best, therefore, to follow an order which, while in a general way chronological, shall place together the poets who are most closely related to each other.<sup>1</sup>

#### I. THE PLAYS OF AISCHYLOS BEFORE THE TIME OF SOPHOKLES.<sup>2</sup>

##### *Supplikes.*

Two points in this play are especially remarkable. The action does not take place before a palace or temple, or in any well-known locality; there is no hint of a 'scenae frons.' We find mention of an altar (222) near the coast of Argos (714 ff., 734, 744, 836) and not far from the city (955 ff.). Again, the dialogue is almost entirely between an actor and the chorus. On only two occasions does an actor converse with a fellow-actor (480 ff. and

<sup>1</sup> The chronological order of the plays followed is that found in Christ's *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur*. The references are for the 'Persians' to Teuffel-Wecklein's edition; for the other plays, to the Teubner texts.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Wilamowitz, *Hermes*, XXI, S. 597 ff.; Schönborn, *Die Skene der Hellenen*, S. 284 ff.; A. Müller, *B.-A.* 125 f.; Todt, *Noch einmal die Bühne des Aeschylos*, in *Philologus*, XLVIII, S. 505 ff.; Capps, *The Stage in the Greek Theatre*.



911 ff.). The chorus is the important element of the play. In the choreutae the interest centres, and where they are, there is the place of the action.

The first words of Danaos (τῷδε ναυκλήρῳ πατρί, 177) assure us that he has come as a guide to his daughters. As such his place was with the chorus when they came marching in chanting their anapaests, at the opening of the play. The entrance of the king (234) and of the herald (836) are most carefully motived. Even when Danaos returns from the city (600) the chorus greets him as he enters; and we feel that it is only because of the exciting nature of the scene that there is a lack of something of the kind when the king reappears (911). Since, then, there is nothing in the play to indicate that such is the case, it is hardly credible that Danaos should have entered during the recital of vs. 1-175. The play assumes his presence with his children from the beginning. ἀλλ' ὡς τάχιστα βᾶτε he bids them (191). If he were on the stage he must bid them 'come up' to him. For if a 'stage' existed, the altar, as we shall presently see, was upon it. But βᾶτε is exactly the expression to be used if the father stood with his children and bade them seek refuge at an altar on the same level with themselves. There is in fact no hint of any change of level as they repeatedly pass to and from this altar. The king says ἐπιστρέφου (508). They exhort each other βαῖνε φυγᾶ πρὸς ἀλκάν (832). It is not possible that they could have climbed to a stage in the four lines which are spoken before the herald joins them (836). What an absurd spectacle these choreutae would have presented scrambling up a flight of steps to reach their altar of refuge! Finally, when the king invites the chorus to go to the city, he uses στείχετ' (955). Schönborn infers from πάγον (189) that a hill is represented on the scene. But this is not simply a hill, but πάγον τῶνδ' ἀγωνίων θεῶν. It is neither more nor less than the altar of the gods, at which the maidens are to sit as suppliants. This is plain from κρείσσων δὲ πύργου βωμός in the following line. πάγον τῶν θεῶν for altar (βωμός) need not surprise us, when we remember that altars at Olympia and elsewhere frequently became hillocks by the gradual accretions from the remains of sacrifices.

At v. 208 the chorus says to Danaos θέλομ' ἂν ἤδη σοὶ πέλας θρόνους ἔχειν. Father and daughters are both at the altar. Here the choreutae remain till v. 508, when they leave their suppliant position at the request of the king. On the approach of the herald (832) they again seek refuge at the altar, from which they

depart to the city (955). Since the herald seeks to drag them from its protection (866-910), and is only prevented from doing so by the timely arrival of the king (911), it follows that this altar was where the actors were accustomed to be—on the 'stage,' if there were a stage. But the chorus is at the altar during 454 verses, considerably more than one-third of the entire play, and during almost the entire time when the *action* is going on.

Besides altars, chorus and actors there were present the attributes and images of the gods, *τρίαιναν* (218), *Ἑρμῆς ὄδ'* (220), *βρέτεια* (463), *τριάινας* (755), *βρέτεις* (885). These were numerous and of considerable size, for the choreutae threaten to hang themselves upon them (465). Some portion of the multitude seen by Danaos (180 ff.) is also present, as the king (*στείχοιτ' ἄν, ἄνδρες*, 500) commands his attendants to guide and guard Danaos. Again, *φίλαις ὁπάοις* (954) and *ὁπαδοί* (1023) refer to others than the choreutae. It would be difficult indeed to accommodate on any stage possible in a Greek theatre these persons and objects actually mentioned as present.

V. 713 *ἱκεταδόκου γὰρ τῆςδ' ἀπὸ σκοπῆς ὁρῶ* is also taken as an indication of an elevated 'stage.' That the chorus is at this time in the orchestra is evident. For they left the altar at 508 and do not return to it till the entrance of the herald. They are surely not far from it, because the ode 630-709 is a prayer at this *κοινοβωμία* for all blessings for the Argives. Danaos is with his children in the orchestra, since *μόνην δὲ μὴ πρόλειπε, λίσσομαι* (748) becomes nonsense if the father is not near enough to render assistance in case the choreutae are attacked. In *ἱκεταδόκου σκοπῆς* we surely have a reference to the same altar mentioned in *πάγον τῶνδ' ἀγωνίων θεῶν*. If this altar were on an elevated stage to which the herald was about to enter (836), and on which he was bound by the rules of dramatic art to remain, why does the chorus run to meet the danger?

The setting of the play becomes simple when we once have clearly in mind the earliest orchestra on the site of the theatre at Athens (cf. Part I). There were no stage-buildings. The altar in the middle of the orchestra would naturally be the altar belonging to the temple, since a second altar for sacrificial purposes would be superfluous. The Suppliants carries us back more nearly than any other extant play to the time when the drama consisted of odes sung by the choreutae as they danced around the altar. In the light of what we have found in the play itself

we are warranted in saying that to this circular dancing-place came the procession of Danaos and his daughters. To the large altar (*κοινοβωμία*, cf. 189 f., 222) in its centre, decorated with emblems and images of the gods, they go, deposit their branches, and sit as suppliants. Hither come the king and his attendants and find them. He sends Danaos to the city, then follows him. Danaos returns, from the altar sees the enemy approaching, and hastens for aid. The herald comes and seeks to drag the maidens to the ships, but is prevented by the king. Finally Danaos with his guard of honor (980 ff.) leads his children from the orchestra (1014 ff.) away into the hospitable city. Thus regarded the play possesses a dignity and simplicity which are entirely wanting on the supposition of a stage of any kind. Viewed in this light the Suppliants shows a natural step in the development from the choral song.

#### *Persae.*

The tomb of Dareios is the central point of much of the action. It is a structure of some size, for the shade of the king is invited (659) *ἔλθ' ἐπ' ἄκρον κόρυμβον ὄχθου*. *ἐγγὺς ἐστῶτες τάφου* (686) proves that he literally obeys this call. The words *στέγος ἀρχαῖον* (141) seem also to apply to this family sepulchre (cf. v. 657 *ἀρχαῖος βαλλήν*, Soph. *Electra* 1165, and Lycophr. Alex. 1097), since a council chamber such as Wilamowitz (Herm. XXI) has assumed would not be erected on the scene for this one brief reference.

The palace was at a distance. The chorus see Atossa approaching at 150, but it is five lines later before they begin to address her. Appearing from a palace in the background, she would have been immediately before them as soon as she became visible. She announces (159) *ταῦτα λιποῦσ' ἰκάνω*. These words are superfluous if the palace was before the eyes of the choreutae. The queen mentions (229) the offerings she will make after she has returned to the royal dwelling. She says she will return to the sepulchre with a sacrificial cake (524), but adds (529 f.) *ἐάνπερ δεῦρ' ἐμοῦ πρόσθεν μόλῃ, | παρρηγορεῖτε, καὶ προπέμπετ' ἐς δόμους*. This escort duty could only be performed by the chorus when the palace lay at a distance. The mother's fear that her son will arrive while she is absent, and her non-appearance in the long scene which follows the appearance of Xerxes, are both inexplicable on the theory that the palace is before the eyes of the spectators. In all these passages there is the idea of space to be traversed and time to be consumed in passing to and from the dwelling.

The queen announces (607 f.) τοιγὰρ κέλευθον τήνδ' ἄνευ τ' ὀχημάτων | χλιδῆς τε τῆς πάροιθεν ἐκ δόμων πάλιν | ἔσσεια. ὄχημα means vehiculum, chariot,<sup>1</sup> as in Iph. in Aulis 610 f. ἀλλ' ὀχημάτων ἔξω πορεύεθ'. The fact that Atossa takes pains to say that she has come without her chariot and her former pomp distinctly implies that at her first appearance she did come with such royal insignia. Therefore it was equally impossible that she should come from a palace in the background, or enter on a stage at all. Lines 1016 and 1024 show how poverty-stricken was the dress of Xerxes on his arrival on the scene of action, and how few were in his retinue. Still the poet could not introduce the king unattended, nor represent him as having come from Greece on foot. Therefore it is a fair inference that σκηναῖς τροχηλάτοισιν (1000 f.) imply a chariot in which the king appears in the orchestra.

But there are yet other proofs that actors and chorus are together in the orchestra. For the first forty lines after his appearance (249) the messenger converses with the chorus. Had he appeared on a stage of which Atossa and her attendants were the occupants, he would on his entrance have stood face to face with them, and it would have been most unnatural for him to turn from the queen before him to address the chorus in the orchestra below and at some distance from him. His action is natural only on the supposition that he enters through the parodos, since then the chorus in the middle of the orchestra would first meet his eyes. Again Atossa returns from the palace with the sacrificial offerings (598) and the chorus join in the libations to the dead which follow. It need hardly be said that all are by the tomb during this ceremony. In fact Dareios addresses his wife as τάφου πέλας (684) and the chorus as ἐγγύς . . . τάφου (686). He actually addresses the chorus first on his appearance (681). Then the commands of Xerxes to the chorus, πρὸς δόμους δ' ἴθι (1038) and εἰς δόμους κίε (1067), do not bid them to 'come up' to him and enter the palace by clambering over a stage, but to escort him to the royal house, as they had been commanded by the queen-mother (530). The length of the kommos (1036-76), during which all are leaving the scene together, is another indication that they are passing out through the parodos, and not by the shorter way, 'over a stage.'

<sup>1</sup> Teuffel-Wecklein, Perser, S. 50, attempt to explain ὄχημα as 'Thronsessel,' but this is simply an effort to show how the queen entered from a palace in the background.

It is true that no underground passage has been as yet found in the theatre at Athens, but the existence of such passages in Eretria, Sikyon and elsewhere produces not a demonstration but a conviction that the ghost of Dareios appeared by means of some such passage, that he appeared in the orchestra, not on a 'stage.'

The Persians is certainly a step higher in development than the Suppliants. The tomb of Dareios is of more importance than the *κοινοβωμία*, and the interest centres in the actors, not in the chorus. But the idea of a scenic background is not yet present.

### *Septem.*

The scene is on the Kadmeia in Thebes (*ἀκρόπολιν*, 240), and perhaps in an agora; for Eteokles, at the opening of the play, is addressing an assembly of the citizens. *Κάδμου πολῖται* (1), *ὀρμᾶσθε πάντες* (31), and the exhortation for young and old alike (10 ff.) to succor the city, unite to prove that numbers were present in this assembly. Being mutes, their place is with the actors, but their numbers are apparently too great for any possible stage. The bodies of the two brothers are brought in at 861. From 960 on Antigone and Ismene are present with them. The chorus in antistrophic strains (874 ff.) lament the fate of the dead. *σιδαρόπλακτοι μὲν ἔδδ' ἔχουσι* (911) shows that the body lies immediately before the semichorus. At 1068 *ἡμεῖς μὲν ἔμεν καὶ συνθάψομεν | αἶδε προπομποί* says the one semichorus as it, with Antigone, follows the body of Polynikes through one *parodos*. *ἡμεῖς ἅμα τῷδ'* respond the others as they, together with Ismene, accompany the funeral procession of Eteokles. Here not only are the numbers too great for the supposed 'stage,' but there is the distinct statement that all are together on one level, which could only be that of the orchestra.

Many images are mentioned, Ares (105, 135), Zeus (116), Apollo (145, 159), Artemis (149 f.), Hera (152). The chorus not only appeal to them in these passages, but prostrate themselves before them (95 *βρίτη*). They rush in haste to them (211 *πρόδρομος ἦλθον*). The *choreutae* are clinging to these figures (258), and only come forth from among them (265 *ἐκτὸς οὐσ' ἀγαλμάτων*) in response to repeated commands of the king. But neither here nor elsewhere in the play does anything suggest an ascent to a stage or descent therefrom. Yet Eteokles offers prayer to these same tutelary deities (69 f.). In these devotions he could not neglect the images, nor can we conceive that he prayed from the

top of a 'stage' to the images down in the orchestra. On the other hand, there is no room for these *agalmata* on a stage. These difficulties disappear when we grant that all—actors, chorus and mutes—are moving and performing their several functions on the acropolis of Thebes, from which the chorus (81, 89, 115, 117)—not because they have climbed the little elevation of a 'stage,' but because of the height of the citadel itself—watch the action going on without the walls.

### *Prometheus.*

The final catastrophe in which actor and chorus are swallowed up together could only take place if the cliff to which the Titan was chained was of considerable height and extent. Otherwise there would not be room beneath for the reception of so great a number of persons. In the Prometheus, then, we have the first example of extensive construction to aid in the presentation of a play, the first of the *προσκήνια* which Aischylos is said to have invented. For the tomb and altars used in the previous plays could hardly be called by that name. As has been shown in Part I of this paper, the stage-buildings of the V century were entirely of wood. The mistake which has been made in the past has been in the assumption that the theatre-carpenter first built a lofty narrow platform and then proceeded to erect his scenery upon this. But such a construction for the Prometheus is an absurdity. On the narrow platform of the so-called stage there would be no room for the representation of the craggy mountain-side to which the Titan is bound, much less for the immense trap-door(?) through which chorus and actor finally disappear. It was not on the (later) *proskenion*, but instead of it, that the scenery was constructed. It is quite possible that the sudden and complete disappearance of all the occupants of the scene finds its explanation in the peculiar position of the ancient orchestra at Athens. As explained in Part I, the earth outside of this orchestra to the south was five or six feet at least lower than the level of the orchestra. Under these circumstances such a disappearance could be easily managed.

For more than 150 verses after they appear (127-282) the chorus remain in their winged chariot. This chariot, with its burden of 12 choreutae, could not have moved into view through the air. The weight was too great. Vs. 143 ff. show that they are near the Titan when they enter. The idea that at 282 they

leave their chariot and descend from a stage into an orchestra, having no connection with the real scene of the action, finds no support whatever in the text. Next to the hero himself, the chorus is the important element of the play. Their conversation with him is, as it were, only interrupted by the visits of Okeanos and Io. They remain constant to him and finally suffer with him. Where they are is always considered a part of the scene of action. The words of Hermes (1058 ff.) show that they are then near Prometheus, and the whole play demands that there be no artificial barrier like a stage between them and the sufferer.

Certain common characteristics of these first four plays we shall find neither in the later dramas of Aischylos nor in those of the other dramatists.

1. Although a *σκηνή*, a building of some sort to which the actors could retire for the changes of masks and of costumes, was necessarily present, it is only in the Prometheus that a special structure to represent a scene is demanded.

2. So far as can be learned from the plays themselves, the side entrances, the *parodoi*, alone were used.

3. The chorus has an importance either greater than or equal to that of the actors.

As Mr. Verrall says (Class. Rev. 1890, p. 225): "The drama of Aeschylus is really a choric drama. If we except the Prometheus, a work *sui generis* and not really compassable by any stage high or low, all Aeschylus's remaining plays are of the choric kind. Speakers, singers and mutes are all indissolubly connected and equally essential to the action. So that to subtract the singers and separate them in any way from the whole body would be as improbable and contradictory to the nature of the act as to put a barrier between the actors of a dialogue."

## II. THE AISCHYLOS-SOPHOKLES PERIOD.

### A. Aischylos.—Agamemnon.

The scene is before the palace of the Atreidai: *στέγαις Ἀτρειδῶν*, 3; *Ἀτρειδῶν στέγος*, 310; *μέλαθρα βασιλέων*, 518; *ἐς μέλαθρα καὶ δόμους*, 851; *ἐς δῶμ'*, 911; *ἐς δόμων μέλαθρα*, 957; *εἴσω κομίζου καὶ σύ*, 1035; *πρὸς τὴν Ἀτρειδῶν*, 1088; *ἐν δόμοισι*, 1102; *δόμασιν*, 1191; *δόμοις*, 1217; *δόμοι*, 1309; *πρὸς δῶμα*, 1349; *δωμάτων*, 1673. These passages are cited not to prove what all the world knows, but to call attention to the marked contrast between the scenic accessories used in the

Agamemnon and those employed—if we base our judgment on the text—in the four earlier plays.

Commentators may be in doubt as to whether Pelasgos rides into the orchestra in the Suppliants, but there is no doubt that Agamemnon and Cassandra come on the scene in the Agamemnon (782) in a chariot. Not only was this act of itself impossible on a Greek 'stage,' but, granting that the chariot itself could appear on this narrow platform, no space would remain for the spreading of the carpet (909), for the maid-servants (908), for Klytaimnestra, and for the train of menials who must have followed the king. The conqueror of Troy would not arrive before his palace unattended. In spite of the repeated invitations of Klytaimnestra (1039 ff.) and exhortations of the chorus (1054), the prophetess remains seated in the chariot till v. 1290 (*λοῦσα κ' ἄγω*). Then she ranges free through the orchestra (1298). She approaches the door (1306). She essays again and again to enter, while the chorus gather about her in wondering pity (1321). Finally she rushes within to meet her doom (1330). Nothing in the play indicates that she must ascend to a 'stage.' During 500 lines (782–1290) the chariot and the captive Cassandra seated within is the middle point of the action. To this chariot must Klytaimnestra come, both when she welcomes her husband and when she invites the Trojan maiden to enter the palace. If stairs were present, the mutes and the actors, encumbered by their tragic costume, must have repeatedly passed over them. Then it would have been easy for the chorus, unencumbered by such dress, to have ascended them in the death scene (1342 ff.), in order to enter the palace, had it not been that the fate of Agamemnon was foreordained, and that the exigencies of the play required them to remain without, that Klytaimnestra might address them in the presence of the spectators.

In 1615 f. the chorus threatens that Aigisthos shall be stoned. Later (1650) he calls upon his companions to be ready, and the chorus draw their swords and rush forward (1651 *εἰα δὲ, ξίφος πρόκωπον πᾶς τις εὐτρεπίζτω*). These are not the words of men who must climb a narrow flight of steps to come at their enemy. Aigisthos retires to the house at the close of the play, but there is no indication again that he must ascend in order to do this. A stage was then not only not necessary, but would have been a decided hindrance to the entire action of the play, while the greater portion of the play must in any event have been represented in the orchestra.



*Choephoroe.*

Two objects are mentioned as being before the eyes of the spectators—the tomb of Agamemnon and the royal palace. The latter is first mentioned v. 13, and the chorus inform us that they are come forth from it (22 f.) as an escort to the drink-offering. The tomb being the central point of the action for the next 400 lines, the palace is not again referred to till 553. From this line to the end of the play the action is either in or immediately before this building (cf. 561, 652, 669, 712, 732, 849, 878, 885). The testimony concerning the sepulchre is equally emphatic. Orestes is at the tomb v. 4; Elektra pours libations on it, vs. 129 and 149. The lock of hair is found upon it (168). It is also referred to as present in 106, 355 f., 501, 511. Finally, after Klytaimnestra has conducted Orestes and Pylades within the house, 722 f. *ὁ πότνια χθῶν καὶ πότνι' ἄκτῃ | χόματος, ἥ νῦν ἐπὶ ναράρχῳ | σώματι κείσαι τῷ βασιλείῳ*, in connection with *δόμοισι* (13) and *ἐκ δόμων* (22) proves conclusively that there has been no change of scene, but that sepulchre and palace have both been present throughout the play.

But dwelling and tomb cannot both exist at the same time in the background directly in front of the *σκηνή*. The sepulchre could not be located close by the door of the palace, and Orestes (16 f.) sees the procession coming, yet has time to withdraw before the maidens perceive him. Furthermore, the narrow stage afforded no room for an object so large as the passages already cited prove this sepulchre to have been. The tomb was then in the orchestra.

This tallies exactly with what we learn of the position of actors and chorus. The choreutae enter with Elektra (16 f.), they are her associates (86), sharers in the ceremonies (100).. She prays for them as well as for herself (112). They move about her chanting the dirge as she pours the libation (152 f.). Therefore, for the first 584 vs.—more than half the play—actors and chorus are together in the orchestra. The chorus decide not to enter the palace in the death scene (870 ff.), and they have the same excellent reason here as in the Agamemnon. The play must go on before the eyes of the spectators. Later Orestes says, as he shows the murderous net in which his father had been entangled: *ἐκτείναν' αὐτὸ καὶ κύκλῳ παρασταδὸν | στέγαστρον ἀνδρὸς δεῖξας* (983 f.). He is plainly talking to the choreutae, and if they are not actually holding the garment, they are at least near the group. *κύκλῳ* certainly implies that they are not separated from the actors by a

'stage.' In the Choephoroe, then, actors and chorus are on the same level throughout, and a stage is impossible.

It is worth noting that in (878) *γυναικείους πύλας* we have probably the first allusion to a second door in the proskenion. The servant has just come out of one door as he goes to open that leading to the women's apartments.

*Eumenides.*

In the opening scene the proskenion represents the temple of Apollo at Delphoi, and the orchestra appears as the open court before it. The priestess entering offers prayer to *Γαῖα* and *Θέμυς* (2), *Τιτανίς*—*Φοίβη* (6, 7). Certainly goddesses who earlier were held in highest honor here would possess at least altars within the sacred precincts. At these the priestess does homage, and they could hardly have been crowded together on a narrow 'stage' close in front of the temple.

The chorus have just ended their ode (142-177) in the orchestra when the god gives his command (179) *ἔξω, Κελεύω, τῶνδε δαμάτων*. These words, then, refer to the sacred precinct—temple and court, i. e. orchestra—as a whole.

That, as the schol. in loc. informs us, the sleeping Furies, Apollo, Hermes and Orestes, are all brought into view on the *ekkyklema* (64) is beyond belief. No door in Greek or Roman theatre has ever been found capable of giving passage to a platform of such size. The words of Apollo (68), *ὑπὸ πεισοῦσαι κτλ.*, are unnecessary if the sleepers were before the eyes of the spectators. It is accordingly not till 140 that, finally aroused by the reproaches of Klytāimnestra, they come rushing forth. But the first strophe begins with 143. There is no time to descend a flight of steps between 140 and 143, and surely the choreutae are not descending stairs as they sing this ode.

It is of no great weight, but it is nevertheless natural to expect that the pursued Orestes and the pursuing Furies should leave the theatre by the same exit, the left parodos.

If there had been a stage, the Furies, when they reënter (244) searching for their victim (245 f.), would naturally look for Orestes an actor, upon it; but where they find him clinging to the image there the trial is conducted, and there all the participants in this magnificent scene have their places. Accusers, accused, defenders and judges can hardly be separated—a portion on a lofty platform and the rest deep down in the orchestra. That the altar and image of the goddess, with the numerous company of actors,

mites and chorus, could find no sufficient room on the 'stage' is self-evident. Whether Athena appears (404) moving through the air is of no importance so far as the stage-question is concerned, but, after judgment has been rendered, the goddess declares that she herself will head the procession which is to lead the Furies to their new abode (1003 f.). She invites the chorus to follow (1006), and bids the Areopagites accompany them. Attendants bear the torches (1005) and chant the closing ode (1032 ff.) as all move from the theatre together in splendid procession—affording splendid proof that the entire scene has been given on the broad level of the orchestra.

#### B. *Sophokles.—Aias.*

Since in the V century the proskenion was a temporary structure, alterable to meet the requirements of each play, it is reasonable to suppose that the hut of Aias was made with some attempt to portray a real structure of this kind. It could not occupy the entire space (e. g. 24 m. at Epidauros) between the paraskenia; nor could it, from lack of room, be built forward on the 'stage.' Then, too, the invitation to the chorus to enter the tent (329 εἰσελθόντες) is not an invitation to ascend to a stage. Nor can we assume, with Müller (B.-A., S. 127), that they do not enter because of the difficulty of climbing the steps. The scholiast (in 130) gives the correct explanation: ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἄτοπον τὸν χορὸν ἀπολιπεῖν τὴν σκηνὴν ἀναβοᾷ ἔνδοθεν ὁ Αἴας ἵνα μείνῃ ἐπὶ χώρας ὁ χορός. Here σκηνήν means simply the 'scene' of the action. Tekmessa opens the hut (344, 346), saying that the chorus can now see the hero (346), which statement Aias repeats (364). But the hero is lying on the floor of the hut (427). From the orchestra it would be impossible for the chorus to see him over the edge of a stage more than five feet high. Again, the choreutae must be near enough to make the request of Aias (361), that they slay him, appear reasonable.

Aias is an actor, therefore his place is on the 'stage,' if one existed. If the semichoruses are not entirely lacking in sense they will look for him there when they enter in the 'search scene.' Though they are on the scene 25 vs. before the body is found, Tekmessa is the one to discover it. The length of the search implies that considerable space was examined. This space existed only in the orchestra. A glance would have sufficed for the examination of the so-called 'stage.' πᾶ κείται (911 f.) asks the

chorus; οἱτοι θεατός is the reply, showing that the body was visible to them, as it could hardly have been if on a stage, while they were in the orchestra below.

Teuker bids the choreutae (1182) protect the child of Aias, and in the closing scene he bids some to hollow out a grave (1403 f.), others to put the tripod on the fire (1405). Let one troop bring forth the arms (1407 f.) of the hero. Finally, let every one (1413 f.) who says he is a friend of Aias hurry and go toiling for him. No one has a better right to be included in these commands than the chorus. Since all have been together in the orchestra, so all depart in solemn march through the parodos.

### *Antigone.*

The scene is before the palace of Kreon (386, 526, 1181, 1248, 1293). Apparently but one entrance to this is used (1, 99, 162, 526, 578, 626 (?), 804, 1182, 1243, 1276, 1292, 1346). One entrance on the right is necessary (99, 987, 1090, 1353), and one on the left<sup>1</sup> (99, 222, 331, 444, 765, 943, 1114, 1261).

Vs. 160 ff. inform us that the chorus is assembled in its capacity of council to the king, and that Kreon addresses them as such. Naturally, the king joins his councillors, and is not perched on a 'stage' high above them. The chorus is also frequently addressed and brought intimately into the action of the play by Antigone (940), by Teiresias 988. The prophet addresses Kreon and the chorus as members of one body, of which Kreon is the one who replies. The messenger (cf. Schol. in 1155) and Eurydike (1183) direct their conversation to the choreutae. This method of treating the chorus is natural only on the supposition that actors and chorus are together on one level in the open court before the palace of the king.

### *Electra.*

The palace of the Pelopidai is again in the background (10, 40, 69, 324, 661, 802, 818, 929, 1106); but the tomb of Agamemnon is not visible (51 ff., 404 ff., 871 ff., 893). An altar to Apollo is placed before the dwelling (634 f., 1376 f.). Ἀγορὰ Δύκειος (7) and Ἥρας ναός (8), particularly the latter, could not have been actually on the scene, for the proskenion represented the palace. They might have been represented on the paraskenia, however, and possibly we have here the first clear indication of that σκηνογραφία the invention of which Aristotle (Poet., c. 4) ascribes to Sophokles.

<sup>1</sup>Right and left from the standpoint of the spectator.

The pedagogue, entering v. 659, though Klytaimnestra has just finished speaking, first addresses the chorus. So Orestes (1098) salutes them, ὦ γυναῖκες, and seems unconscious of the presence of Elektra, as one apart from the rest of the number, till the chorus call his attention to the fact. Had these two actors come in on a stage whose only occupant in each case was another actor, it would have been a peculiar thing for them to turn from this actor to address the chorus in the orchestra below and at some distance from them. An examination of the plan of the theatre of Dionysos in Part I will show that when an actor entered the orchestra through the parodos, he would first see, and therefore naturally first address, the choreutae near the centre of the orchestra, rather than the actors nearer the proskenion.

From 120 to 324 Elektra and the chorus are engaged in intimate conversation (cf. 130, 229). There is no more reason for separating them than for keeping apart any two actors under similar circumstances. From 804-870 chorus and actor are again alone, and Elektra is lying by the door of the palace. 827 El. ἔξ, αἰαῖ. | Cho. ὦ παῖ, τί δακρύεις; | El. φεῦ. | Ch. μηδὲν μέγ' αὔσης. | El. ἀπολείς. Ch. πῶς; | El. εἰ τῶν φανερώς οἰχομένων εἰς 'Αἶδαν ἐλπίδ' ὑποίσεις, κατ' ἐμοῦ τακομένης μᾶλλον ἐπεμβάσει. It is surely but reasonable to say that the choreutae are near the one whom they are seeking to comfort. There is no word of their ascending to reach her, but in her recumbent position on a stage she would not even be visible to her friends in the orchestra.

### . *Oedipus Rex.*

The royal palace of Thebes is in the background (632, 927, 1294, etc.), before which are altars (2, 16, 919). It would not, indeed, have been impossible to arrange these altars and the crowd of suppliants<sup>1</sup> sitting at them as Oidipous enters, v. 1, on the so-called Greek stage; but, in that event, there could be but little room for any one or anything else there. The priest is an actor, the other suppliants are mutes, therefore they are on the same level as the other actors. All prostrate themselves before the king (40 f.), and the priest assumes that all are with himself (147 *ιστώμεθα*). Yet the crowd is at a little distance from the two actors, and have a clearer view of the side entrances. For the suppliants inform the priest that Kreon is approaching (78 ff.). The new-

<sup>1</sup> 16 ff. οἱ μὲν οὐδέπω μακρὰν | πτέσθαι σθενόντες, οἱ δὲ σὺν γήρα βαρεῖς | ἱερῆς, ἐγὼ μὲν Ζηρός, οἱ δ' ἐπ' ἡθέων | λεκτοί.

comer is still at a little distance, for two speeches are delivered before he is within speaking distance (85). The scene is entirely clear only on the assumption that the suppliants at the altars nearer the middle of the orchestra command a better view of the actor entering through the parodos than do the actors who are nearer the proskenion. It may be urged that the actor could be imagined as visible while still standing in the paraskenia, but this would not at all explain those scenes where the chorus in the orchestra first see and announce the coming of an actor through the side entrances. The chorus in such a case could not be expected even to imagine seeing an actor about to enter on a 'stage.'

Nothing in the play requires the chorus to ascend to a stage, yet are they on the same level with the actors. They first see Teiresias (297 f.), and they prostrate themselves before the king (326 f.). For all the MSS except L assign these words to the chorus, and Oidipous would hardly kneel to the prophet, nor could he say πάντες σε προσκυνούμεν οἷδ' ἰκτήριοι. Furthermore, Iokasta brings the chorus intimately into the action (648); the messenger addresses the chorus, not Iokasta (924); Oidipous questions the choreutae whether any of them know the herdsman (1047, 1115 f.). He appeals to the choreutae to lead him away (1339), to deign to touch him (1413). These passages imply unobstructed intercourse between actors and chorus.

Had the newly-blinded king come forth on the so-called stage (1307), one must surely have trembled lest he walk over its edge and fall into the orchestra.

#### *Trachiniae.*

The scene of the action is before the palace of Herakles (203, 329, 531, 900).

The chorus first appear to bid Deianeira hope (138). Later she comes forth in secret (531 ff.) to explain to them her fears and her plans, and to show to them the garment she has prepared (580). They are undoubtedly in a position to see this in its hollow chest (692). Although the herald is already without the palace (594 ff.), Deianeira bids the choreutae keep her secret, and adds a moral reflection for their edification. The eternal fitness of things would certainly seem to be violated if she were confidentially shouting her woes from a 'stage' to the chorus at some distance from her, below in the orchestra, with Lichas, from whom

these things are to be kept hidden, standing a few feet from her, at the door of the palace. This scene is also clear when we understand that the wife of Herakles is with her friends, the choreutae, in the orchestra, while the herald is at a little distance when he comes from the palace door. Directly to the chorus does the hero's wife come again (663), when she discovers the evil she has wrought.

Herakles is brought in where the chorus can see him lying on his couch (964 ff.). This they could do with difficulty were he on a stage. His bearers, attendants, and the friends who would naturally accompany him, the procession with which the play closes and of which the chorus probably form a part,—all tend to prove that the action is going on on the broad level of the orchestra.

*Philoctetes.*

Neoptolemos, a mute (45), the chorus (92 ἡμᾶς τοιοῦτος, 126 δοκῆτε), and Odysseus enter together. Following the directions of Odysseus (15), Neoptolemos begins the search for the cave on the hillside (20 f.). He finds it above them (29), mounts to it and describes its contents (33 ff.). He invites the chorus to draw near (145, cf. Schol. in loc.) and see the cave. Surprised at the miserable quarters, they question if it really is the hero's dwelling. Neoptolemos' reply (159) assures them that it is, and calls their attention to his previous description.

The impossibility of setting this play on the so-called 'stage' has been shown in Part I. For this is a hillside, on which actors and chorus can move easily without danger of slipping and dropping over the edge of a 12-foot stage. The proskenion is then neither that found in the theatre at Epidauros, nor that which represented the palace in the Agamemnon, but is one representing a rocky hillside sloping down to the level of the orchestra. On the slope was the cavern, to which led a path, and a spring was near (21).

Philoctetes addresses Neoptolemos and the chorus together (219), and only learns which is the leader from Neoptolemos' reply (232). V. 581 refers to the chorus as of one party with the actors, an idea which is strengthened by the εἰσώμεν of 825. In 861 the chorus can observe the sick man closely. Later on (887) Neoptolemos proposes that the choreutae bear the lame man to the ship, and Odysseus threatens that they shall bear him away by force (983). In his reply to this last Philoctetes alludes to the chorus as near him

(984). He threatens to throw himself down from the rocks (1002), but he is seized and held by members of the chorus, all of whom are present for the express purpose of rendering the necessary assistance. *Χωρῶμεν δὴ πάντες ἀλλήλεις* (1469, cf. *ἀλλήλεις*, Trach. 513) makes us to understand clearly that chorus and actors go off the scene through the *parodos* together at the end of the play.

*Oedipus Coloneus.*

The spot is full of the bay, the olive and the vine, and nightingales are singing within the grove (17 ff.). Real trees were an impossibility, therefore the painted scenery must have been elaborate. The precinct of the Eumenides is a grove (98, 126), into which Antigone guides her father (114). When the chorus see him (138) they caution him not to remain (156) in the silent grove. A long distance separates them from him (163). They invite him to come forth; when he advances (178) they urge him to come farther (178), and then direct Antigone to lead him still farther (180). She encourages Oedipous to follow with confidence. The advancing pictured in all these passages could not refer to crossing a stage 8 ft. wide. When the Colonean goes (80) to summon the chorus of his fellow-citizens, we look for the latter to enter by the same passage through which he departed. They do this, for they declare that they will search for the intruder through the sacred *temenos* (136). In other words, in searching for an actor they search where actors are accustomed to be. There is no indication of a barrier between the orchestra proper and the grove, excepting that wall of the precinct on which the blind king sits (192). Reasoning from analogy with other passages in which chariots and animals are mentioned, we may assume that Ismene rides into the orchestra on her Aetnaean steed (312); but nothing shows that she ascends to come to her father.

Theseus appoints the chorus as a guard to Oedipous (638, cf. Schol. in loc.). He appeals to them (724). They are near (803, cf. Schol.), so that Kreon cannot seize him against their will (815, cf. Schol.). When Kreon gives command to drag Antigone away, the choreutae first threaten (835); then, though he forbids them to touch him (856), they seize and hold him (857). From 638 to 857 actors and chorus have plainly been together. To these come Theseus (885) with followers (893). It is certainly not too much to say that, as in *Philoktetes*, the scenery could not have been placed on a stage, and, further, that no Greek 'stage'



could have contained the numbers present in the scene just described, particularly in the lively action in which they were engaged.

In the plays of this second period there is a clearness of statement, with reference to place of the action and to the details of the scenery, which was lacking in the first four dramas of Aischylos. In seven of the plays just considered a building is in the background, a palace in the *Agamemnon*, the *Choephoroe*, *Electra*, *Antigone*, the *Trachiniae*, and *Oedipus Rex*, and a temple in the *Eumenides*. In the *Ajax* we find a tent by the sea-shore, in the *Philoctetes* a cavern on a hillside, in the *Oedipus Coloneus* the sacred precinct in the grove. The *proskenion*, however, is still a unity; that is, it represents but one building. From the *Electra* and *Oedipus Coloneus* we are justified in inferring that great advances had been made in *σκηνογραφία*, and that this was employed even where there are no clear allusions to it in the text. The teaching of the dramas is that from the *Suppliants* of Aischylos to the *Oedipus Coloneus* of Sophokles there has been much the same progress in the art of representation as in the art of composition. Yet in every play of this second period, as in those of the first, there exists the strong probability that actors and chorus make use of the same *parodoi* for entrances and exits, and in several plays the text shows that the existence of a stage was an impossibility.

JOHN PICKARD.

#### IV.—CORRECTIONS AND ADDITIONS TO LEWIS AND SHORT IN CONNECTION WITH AULUS GELLIUS.

The following notes are the outcome of a study of the *Noctes Atticae* of Aulus Gellius. As my investigations progressed I found that the Lewis and Short Latin Lexicon was, for Gellius at least, a rather unsatisfactory guide. Quite often references are wrongly given, as under *argyranche* and *vocabilis* cited below; in some instances citations seem to have been hastily or carelessly made, as under *percalleo*, *saltuatim*. Not enough account has been taken of the readings of Hertz, the editor of the received text of Gellius. For example, books 6 and 7 are cited in the order in which they stand in the Gronovius edition of 1706, not as they are arranged by Hertz, though even here there is some lack of consistency, for occasionally (e. g., s. v. *asseverate*, cited as 6, 5, 2) the arrangement of H. is followed. The failure to follow Hertz's edition consistently results in the omission of several words which H. was the first to introduce into the text, e. g. *jejunidicus*, *juncte*, *induvies*. The commonest shortcoming, however, is the failure, under a given word, to cite instances of its occurrence in Gellius, where such citations would add materially to the history of the word. Examples of this are to be found in the words *clanculum*, *compluriens*, *victito*, discussed below. My purpose in this article is to contribute something, though but a small portion of what ought to be done, to correcting, amending, and supplementing the Lewis and Short Lexicon, in so far as it has to do with Gellius.<sup>1</sup>

**ABJUNGO.** Add ref. to G. 12, 5, 8 a dolore autem quasi a gravi quodam inimico (sc. homo) abjunctus alienatusque est.

**ACUO** (v. L. and S. II, D) = to pronounce with an acute accent. Add G. 13, 26, in lemm.: verba P. Nigidii, quibus dicit, in nomine Valeri in casu vocandi primam syllabam acuendam esse; cf. *ibid*.

<sup>1</sup> It should be noted that none of the words discussed in this article have been treated by Professor Nettleship in his *Contributions to Latin Lexicography*, save in the very few instances in which his treatment has been directly mentioned or criticised.

§2. We may also compare the use of the participle *acutus* in 6, 7, in lemm.: an 'affatim,' quasi 'admodum,' prima acuta pronuntiandum sit.

AGGRESSIO. Add ref. to G. 11, 16, 6, where G., after pondering over the translation of *πολυπραγμοσύνη* into Latin, says: *ad multas igitur res aggressio earumque omnium rerum actio πολυπραγμοσύνη* Graece dicitur. Here *aggressio* seems to bear a sense more fundamental than any of those given by L. and S. or by Prof. Nettleship (Contributions), for the meaning seems to be "the entering upon, or undertaking of, many lines of business and the active prosecution of them all," etc. With this meaning cf. examples given s. v. *aggredior* II, C, of *aggredior ad* = to undertake.

AMBULACRUM occurs not once (L. and S.) but twice in Gell. Add ref., then, to 3, 1, 7 *erat tum nobiscum in eodem ambulacro*. For the meaning cf. *ibid.* §1: *hieme jam decedente apud balneas Titias in area sub calido sole . . . ambulabamus*. Add also ref. to Pl. Most. 3, 2, 128, and Morris' note on Most. 3, 2, 67.

AMENDO, -ARE, a form of *amando* in 12, 1, 22. See Nettleship s. v.

ANNOTAMENTUM is wrongly cited from 1, 17, 2, as the word is not to be found in that passage. Correct reference to 17, 2, 1.

ANNOTATIUNCULA is wrongly cited from 19, 17, 21. No such passage exists, as book 19 has but fourteen chapters. Correct reference to 17, 21, 50.

ANTONIANUS. The references might be given more clearly as 1, 22, 17; 6, 11, 3; 13, 1, 1; 13, 22, 6.

ARBITRA is wrongly cited as *ἀρ. εἰρ.* in Hor. Epod. 5, 50. The word has been discussed by Professor Nettleship. To the passages cited by him may be added G. 17, 11, 6 *sed appositam* (sc. *ἐπιγλωττίδα*) quasi moderatricem et arbitram prohibendi admittendive quod ex salutis usu foret. Here *arbitra* is the feminine of *arbiter* in the sense which it bears in Horace's *arbiter Hadriae*.

ARGENTI-FODINA. Add ref. to Cato ap. G. 2, 22, 29 set in his *regionibus ferrariae, argenti-fodinae pulcherrimae*.

ARGUTIAE. L. and S. note that "the sing. is rare and only among later writers," citing Charisius and Phocas. Prof. Nettleship writes "mostly in the pl.: . . . but Diom., p. 300 K, and other late writers use it in the sing." Both these statements may perhaps be characterized as a trifle ambiguous, as tending to give the impression that the sing. does not occur *before* the time of

Charis. or Diomedes. Prof. Nettleship himself, under meaning *acuteness*, *cleverness*, cites instances considerably earlier than either Charis. or Diom., e. g. Apul. M. 1, 1 and G. 3, 1, 6. To these I may add G. 1, 4, in lemm.: *quam tenuiter curioseque exploraverit Antonius Julianus in oratione M. Tullii verbi ab eo mutati argutiam*; 12, 2, 1 *levi et caustidicali argutia*.

ARGYRANCHE is wrongly cited from 9, 9. Correct to 11, 9, 1.

CAUTULUS, cited by L. and S. as *ἀπ. εἰρ.* in 1, 3, 30, is not to be found in the passage as given either by Hertz or Gronovius. H. reads *affectiones amoris atque odii intra modum cautum exercuit*. In the Gronov. edition *intra modum tantum* is given in the text, but in the notes *cautum* is mentioned with favor. The word *cautulus* is destitute of authority and should be expunged from the lexicon.

CLANCULUM is characterized as "ante-class. but frequent," and is cited only from Plautus and Terence. Add, however, G. 1, 8, 5 *ad hanc ille Demosthenes clanculum adit*. The word seems ante- and post-class.

CLUNACULA seems to be the name of a kind of weapon in 10, 25, 2; cf. *clunactus*.

COGNOMENTUM is cited but once from G., though he uses the word quite frequently. Compare, besides other places, 1, 5, in lemm.; 1, 23, in lemm.; 1, 23, 13; 4, 3, 2; 4, 20, 13; 9, 13, 2; 9, 13, 3; 12, 11, 1. The meaning is regularly *cognomen*, *surname*.

COMPLURIENS is wrongly characterized as "only ante-class." In 5, 21, G. defends the Latinity of *pluria*, *compluria*, and *compluriens*. Speaking of *compluriens* he writes in §16 *id quoniam minus usitatum est, versum Plauti subscripsi ex comoedia, quae Persa inscribitur*; in §17 the word is cited from Cato's *Origines*. After this criticism, it certainly seems odd<sup>1</sup> to find G. using the word himself in 6, 3, 5 *Rodienses pertimere ob ea, quae compluriens in coetibus populi acta dictaque erant*. This passage is interesting, in that it is the only place of those thus far cited in which the word has been preserved naturally, so to speak. In all the other instances it has been preserved artificially through citations by Gellius, Nonius, and Festus.

COMPTIUS, comparative of *compte* (see s. v. *como*), is cited wrongly as *ἀπ. εἰρ.* 7 (6), 3, 53, as the word is not to be found in

<sup>1</sup> G. strongly condemns the use of archaic and obsolete or newly coined words; cf. 1, 10; 11, 7. With Gell. theory and practice often differ widely: see on *quoque* and *privus*, *infra*.

the passage as given by H. The Gron. edition had the word, with a note, however, to the effect that it was lacking in MS authority. The word should therefore be expunged from the lexicon.

CONDORMISCO, "only in Plaut." Compare, however, G. 6, 1, 3 cum absente marito cubans sola condormisset. The word seems to be ante- and post-classical.

CONSISTIO and CONSTITIO are both cited from G. 16, 5, 10 and Macr. Sat. 6, 8, 20. Hertz in Gellius and Eyssenhart in Macr. both read *consistio*; hence *constitio* should be expunged from the lexicon, or, if it be permitted to remain, a note should be added to the effect that it is merely a variant for the better supported *consistio*. The first alternative seems preferable. Further, it may be noted that *consistio* itself is practically a Vox Gelliana, since the Macr. passage is taken almost verbatim from G.

CONTERMINUS is used in 12, 13, 9 as a gramm. t. t.: sunt ergo haec omnia (sc. verba, i. e. *citra, ultra, intra*) quasi contermina. The meaning seems to be *with same ending, ending in same syllable*. *Quasi* marks this meaning as unusual.

DEFINITE by a misprint is cited as Gell. 1, 257 al. It should read 1, 25, 7.

DELPHINEROMENOS, to be added to lexicon from 6, 8, 6. G. is giving from Apion's Aegyptiaca the story of a dolphin who loved a boy. He writes postea ille puer delphineromenos morbo adfectus obit suum diem. Gronovius favored the same reading, remarking "(sic) monere occupavit Salmasius in Addendis ad Solinum." Liddell and Scott, s. v. *ἐράω*, cite *ἐρῶν* = *a lover*, Pind. O. 1, 128; *ἡ ἐρωμένη*, *the beloved one*, Herod. 3, 36; *τὸν ἐρωμένον αὐτοῦ* = *delicias eius*, Arist. Pol. 4, 5, 2. The meaning of *puer delphineromenus* is therefore *puer delphini deliciae*; *the boy loved by the dolphin*. The word is thus the passive of the phrase in the lemma of the chapter *res . . . super delphino amatore* and that used of the dolphin in §7 *at ille amans*. Liddell and Scott cite three compounds of *δελφίς*, *δελφινοειδής*, *δελφινόσημος*, *δελφινόφορος*. For compounds of *ἐρώμενος* see Diom., p. 326 K, where *ἐρωμένο-πάροχος*, *ἐρωμενοπώλης*, *ἐρωμεναγοραστής* are given, also *amicosus* = *πολυερώμενος*, *having many mistresses*.

DIUDICATIO is not, as L. and S. say, *ἀπ. εἰρ.* in Cic. Leg. 1, 21, 56, for in G. 2, 23, in lemm. we read *consultatio diiudicatioque locorum . . . ex comoedia Menandri et Caecili* "a comparison and critical examination of passages," etc.

**EDUCATOR.** In 12, 1, 8 Favorinus says *pleraeque istae prodigiosae mulieres fontem illum sanctissimum corporis, generis humani educatorem*, where *fons . . . corporis* = the *feminarum mamma*. *Educator* here seems to bear a sense more fundamental than either of the two cited in lexicon. I should arrange the meanings thus: I. properly, *supporter, nourisher*, G. 12, 1, 8; II. *foster-father*; III. trans. *tutor, pedagogue*.

**ELUCTOR**, as active verb (s. v. II). Add G. 12, 5, 10 *haec . . . sapiens . . . eluctari potest*.

**ENUCLEATE** is cited in positive only from Cicero. Add G. 12, 13, 17 *ea omnia cum Apollinaris scite perquam atque enucleate disputavisset*. The meaning *plainly, without ornament of speech* given in lex. will not suit the passage in G., where the meaning is rather *cleverly, wisely*, as is shown by the fact that *enucleate* is coupled with *scite*, in accordance with Gellius' well-known habit of coupling two or more verbs, adjectives, adverbs, or nouns of similar or identical meaning to express a single idea. *Scite* in G. has the meaning of *skilfully, cleverly*. In 2, 21, 3; 5, 3, 4 it is coupled with *perite*; its opposite *inscite* is coupled with *imperfecte* in 2, 8, 1, with *barbare* in 4, 8, in lemm. Hence *enucleate* l. l. = *cleverly, wisely*. Cf. 19, 8, 14, where *enucleo* = *to explain*. See further Sandys on Cic. Or. 9, 28.

**EXTREMITAS** is used as a gramm. t. t. = *ending, suffix* in 11, 15, 8 *ut productio haec et extremitas largam et fluentem vim et copiam declararet*. The suffix referred to is *bundus* in words like *errabundus, ludibundus*.

**FUCATUS.** In ref. s. v. to G. 13, 27, 3, the passage is cited wrongly as *versus Homeri fucator*. It should read *versus Vergilii fucator* (opp. to *versus Homeri simplicior et sincerior*).

**GRATULABUNDUS.** Add 3, 15, 3 *populus gratulabundus*; 5, 14, 4 *laetos et gratulabundos videres hominem et leonem*.

**HERCULANUS** (s. v. *Hercules* II C) is wrongly defined as *long, large*. The text runs *comprehensa autem mensura Herculani pedis*, the meaning plainly being "having thus obtained the measure of Hercules' foot." *Herculani* then = a simple genitive *Herculis*. G. often uses a derivative proper adj. in *anus* instead of the genitive of the personal name from which the adj. comes, e. g. 10, 17, 4 *versus Laberiani sunt*; 10, 24, 5 *venit ecce illius versus Pomponiani in mentem*; 1, 7, 1 *libro . . . Tironiana cura . . . facto*; 1, 15, 18; 10, 26, 9.

**IMPARILITAS** is wrongly cited as *Nigid. ap. Gell. 14, 1, 22*. The speaker throughout this chapter is Favorinus, not Nigidius.

The error in *lex.* may have arisen from the fact that the name of Nigidius is mentioned in §11, while that of Favorinus is not mentioned after §1 till §34. In §11 Nigidius is brought in as an aside, so to speak, merely as an authority for the name *errones* = planets.

**IMPUGNATUS.** By a confusion similar to that noted above *s. v. consistio*, L. and S. cite from G. 1, 6, 4 both *impugnatus* (*ἀπ. εἰρ.*) and *impropugnatus*, the reading of H. *Impugnatus* is defined as *not attacked, unassailed*, a meaning which does not suit the passage, which runs: *praeterea turpe esse ait rhetori, si quid in mala causa destitutum atque impropugnatum*. The context shows the meaning to be "it is a disgrace to a rhetorician if in a bad cause he fails to assert and to maintain or defend any position whatever." That the meaning *unassailed* is not appropriate was seen by Gronovius, who, though reading *impugnatum*, explained it as *non defensum, sine pugna vel certamine relictum*, a sense which the word could hardly bear. Hertz' reading *impropugnatus* gives exactly the meaning required. Further, the word occurs in Ammianus Marcellinus,<sup>1</sup> who not unfrequently adopts words coined by Gell., e. g. *consarcinare, evibrare, incohibilis, inconivens, undabundus*. None of these words seems to occur outside of Gell. and Amm. To sum up, I should recommend that *impugnatus* be stricken out of the lexicon.

**INCLINAMENTUM** is cited as *ἀπ. εἰρ.* Nigid. ap. Gell. 4, 9, 2, but cf. 4, 9, 12, where G. uses the word himself.

**INDUVIES.** Add to *lex.* as read by Hertz in 9, 13, 3: *causam cognomenti fuisse accepimus torquis ex auro induvies, quam ex hoste, quem occiderat, detractam induit*. The edition of Thysius and Oisellius (1666) read *induvias*, on which Gronovius remarked "sed Mssti fere consensu agnoscunt *induvies*." *Induvies* seems to be *plurale tantum*, like *exuviae, induviae*, and = *ornament, indumentum*, for which word cf. G. 16, 19, 12.

**INENARRABILIS, -E.** Add ref. to 13, 29, 4 *quodam sensu inenarrabili*. Cf. also 17, 10, 17.

**INSALUBRIS, -E**, of wine, in 13, 5, 5.

**INUSITATE.** For the compar. add ref. to 11, 15, 1 *verbo inusitatius ficto*.

**JEJUNIDICUS** is to be added to *lex.* as read by Hertz in 6, 14, 5. G. has been saying that both in poetry and in prose there are *tria*

<sup>1</sup> Ammianus has been called "imitator studiosissimus Gellii." See Hertz, *Critical Edition*, vol. II, p. viii.

*genera dicendi* which have met with approval, known respectively as *uber*, *gracilis*, and *mediocris*. Opposed to these excellences are three faulty styles, quae earum modum et habitum simulacris falsis ementiuntur. Sic plerumque sufflati atque tumidi fallunt pro uberibus, squalentes et ieiunidici pro gracilibus, incerti et ambigui pro mediocribus.<sup>1</sup> For the meaning of *squalentes* see Sandys' notes on *squalidiora*, Cic. Or. §115; on *horrida*, ibid. §20. For *ieiunidici* cf. *ieiunius dicere*, cited twice from Cicero. The word then means *those who are lacking in taste and force*. Further, the word has an archaic ring and may be compared with *spurcidicus*, Pl. Capt. 56; *saevidicus*, Ter. Phor. 213; *suavidicus*, Lucr. 4, 180; *falsidicus*, Pl. Capt. 671.

JUNCTE. Add to lex. as read by H. in G. 6, 10, 1 ut haec 'ususcapio' dicitur copulato vocabulo, a littera in eo tractim pronuntiata, ita 'pignoriscapio' juncte et producte dicebatur. *Juncte* here is synonymous with *conjuncte* and *copulate* found in the lemma of the chapter. The meaning can only be given by a paraphrase, thus: "*pignoriscapio* was used as a compound word and pronounced with a long vowel."

MODERATRIX. Add ref. to 17, 11, 6.

MUTITO is characterized as "ante-class." and then cited only from Gellius. It would be more correct to say that the word, though found only in G., is evidently derived by him from some old legal formula. See 2, 24, 2.

NUGALIS, -E. The lex. seems to be rather confused. I cite in full: "frivolous, trifling, worthless, empty (post-class.); theoremata, Gell. 1, 2, 6; Mart. Cap. 1, §2, Kopp; scholica quaedam, id. 4, 1, 1; 7, 17, 3, etc." The last two references should be corrected so as to read *Gell.* 4, 1, 1; 6, 17, 3.

OBRIGESCO. Under meaning I, C, add ref. to 12, 5, 11 quare . . . cur aut in ardoribus solis aestuet aut in pruinis immanibus obrigescat.

OBSURDESCO, properly *to become deaf*, is used in the general sense of *to be lacking in ability, to be dull of understanding*, in 12, 1, 11 cur igitur iste, qui hoc dicit, si in capessendis naturae sensibus tam obsurduit . . . The meaning seems to be "if he is so lacking in ability to comprehend the designs of nature." For a similar transfer cf. *obmutescere* = *cessare* in Cic. C. M., §23.

<sup>1</sup>On this whole subject see Cic. Or. §20 sqq., with Sandys' notes. This passage from Gellius might well have been cited by Sandys.



OPICUS, *a boor, clown*. Add ref. to 2, 21, 4 quid vos opici dicitis mihi?; and 11, 16, 7 tum ille opicus.

OVIS. Additional authority for the use of this word in the masc. gender is to be found in 11, 1, 4 (not cited in lex.), where G. gives the legal formula used by the magistrates in pronouncing fines, and cites from Varro: M. Terentio, quando citatus neque respondit neque excusatus est, Ego ei unum ovem multam dico, adding nisi eo genere diceretur, negaverunt justam videri multam.

PERCALLEO is cited from G. 17, 17, 2, where we read Mithridates . . . duarum et viginti gentium linguas percalluit. The same passage is cited by lex. s. v. *percallesco*. Since *percalleo* seems to be found nowhere else, and *percalluit* l. l. may well be taken from *percallesco*, a word used even by Cicero, I see no reason for inventing the word *percalleo* to suit 17, 17, 2, and should therefore strike it out of the lexicon entirely. Further, s. v. *percallesco* II, add ref. to G. 13, 10, 1 vocum origines rationesque percalluerat.

PERPETUITAS. Add ref. to 12, 5, 7 conservandae hominum perpetuitatis.

PRENSIO. Correct references from 12, 12, 4; 6 to 13, 12, 4; 13, 12, 6 and add Varro ap. G. 13, 13, 4; 13, 13, 5.

PRIVATIO. Add G. 7, 1, 4 quid aliud justitia est quam injustitiae privatio.

PRIVUS, -A, -UM, in meaning I, = *singulus, single*. Add 11, 16, 1. In 10, 20, 4, in discussing the word *privilegium*, G. remarks that veteres priva dixerunt quae nos singula dicimus. (See Munro on Lucr. 3, 372.) Here G. distinctly marks the word as an archaism. In 11, 16, 1 the case is different, for there G. uses the word himself in what may be called a literary way: adiecimus saepe animum ad vocabula rerum non paucissima quae neque singulis verbis, ut a Graecis, neque si maxime pluribus eas res verbis dicamus, tam dilucide tamque apte demonstrari Latina oratione possunt quam Graeci ea dicunt privis vocibus. Here the phrases *singulis verbis* and *privis vocibus* are absolutely synonymous.

PROBRUS, -A, -UM, is not ἀπ. in 9, 2, 9, for we find it in 1, 5, 2 maledictis compellationibusque probris.

PRODUCTIO. Add ref. to 11, 15, 6, where the word seems to be used as a gramm. t. t. in the sense of *suffix, ending*. Add also 11, 15, 8, where the word is coupled with *extremitas* (q. v. supra).

PROPAGO is cited by Lewis and Short as masc. Fab. Pict. ap. G. 10, 15, 13; the masc. is given also in the citation of the passage s. v. *praetendo*. So Gron. read, but Hertz reads *propagines* . . . *praetentas*, thus making the word conform to its usual gender. Hence correct both places in lex.

PROSUMIA, a *spy-boat*. Add ref. to 10, 25, 5, where G. is giving from memory a list of *navigiorum genera et nomina quae in historiis veteribus scripta sunt*.

PROTERREO. Add ref. to 13, 31, 13 ille egregius nebulo, quasi difficili quaestione proterritus.

QUANTUSVIS is wrongly cited from 4, 1, 2. Correct to 14, 1, 5 *quantovis hominis ingenio*.

QUOQUE (L. and S. II) = *quidem*, in phrase *ne—quoque*. After citing the phrase from Claudius Quadrigarius, G. (17, 2, 18) adds this comment: *ne id quoque dixit pro ne id quidem, infrequens nunc in loquendo, sed in libris veterum creberrimum*. With his love of archaisms, G. uses the word himself in 1, 2, 5; 11, 5, 4; 20, 1, 5, all of which passages should be added to the lexicon.

SALTUATIM is quoted from 9, 4, 9, where, however, H. reads *sallatim*, under which word also the passage is cited. Strike out the citation under *saltuatim*.

SENTENTIOLA. Add ref. to 9, 16, 7.

SICILIS, a kind of weapon. Add 10, 25, 2.

SPARUS, a weapon. Cf. 10, 25, 2.

SPATHA, a weapon. Ibid.

STABULATIO is not, as L. and S. say, *ἀπ. εἰρ.* in Col. 6, 3, 1, for it may be found in G. 16, 5, 10 and Macr. S. 6, 8, 2. (The passage in Macr. is nearly identical with that in G.)

SUBSICIVUS, -A, -UM. Under lex. s. v. II, add 18, 10, 8 *quantum habui temporis subsicivi*; under II, C, add 13, 25, 4 *vocum Latinarum quas subsicivo aut tumultuario studio colo*, "which I pursue irregularly, without systematic effort."

SUCCUSSOR. Add ref. to Lucil. ap. G. 1, 16, 11 (= Non. 16, 31 cited in lex.).

SUPER = *de, concerning* (see L. and S. s. v. II, B, 2, b). Not a single instance of this use is quoted there from G., though it forms one of the striking characteristics of his style. The exact equivalence of *super* and *de* is shown by passages where they stand side by side, e. g. 1, 19, in lemm., *historia super libris Sibyllinis ac de Tarquinio Superbo rege*; cf. 2, 22, in lemm.; 2, 22, 2; 9, 12, 19. The phrase *super ea re* occurs 34 times in the twenty

books, while of *super* = *de* in other phrases 103 instances are to be found in the same books.

TOLERANTIA. Add G. 12, 5, 3; Tert. De Cor. Mil. 14.

TRICOSUS. Add Lucil. ap. G. 11, 7, 9.

VERUTUM, a kind of weapon. Cf. 10, 25, 2.

VICTITO is called "ante-class" and cited only from Pl. and Ter., but compare G. 4, 11, 6 *porculis quoque minusculis et haedio tenerioribus victitasse idem Aristoxenus refert*; 9, 4, 10 *gentem . . . nullo cibatu vescentem, sed spiritu florum naribus haustu victitantem*.

VOCABILIS is wrongly cited from 30, 20, 14. No such passage, of course, exists. Correct to 13, 21 (Hertz), 14.

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## REVIEWS AND BOOK NOTICES.

Aristotle's Constitution of Athens. A Revised Text, with an Introduction, Critical and Explanatory Notes, Testimonia and Indices. By JOHN EDWIN SANDYS, Litt. D., etc. London and New York, Macmillan & Co., 1893. Pp. lxxx, 302. 15s.

Readers of the London *Times* were startled, on the morning of January 19, 1891, by the announcement of the discovery, and prospective publication by the British Museum, of Aristotle's long-lost treatise on the Athenian Commonwealth. Eleven days later the *editio princeps* appeared, prepared by Mr. F. G. Kenyon. With some superficial blemishes, due in large part to haste in publication, the edition gave evidence of the editor's extraordinary skill in deciphering the crabbed cursive hands of the papyrus, and of the general soundness of his judgments on the historical questions raised for the first time by the recovery of the lost work. To the promptness of the authorities of the British Museum, in happy contrast with the delays of some other like institutions on the Continent, the world of scholarship owes no slight debt. But for that, and for the success of most of Mr. Kenyon's original readings, one may safely say we might even now be waiting for a satisfactory edition of the text.

The announcement made within a few weeks after the appearance of Mr. Kenyon's book, that Dr. Sandys, who was among the first to greet the discovery, was preparing a critical and explanatory edition, was received with much satisfaction by all scholars who knew his broad and graceful scholarship, already tested in the fields of Athenian institutions and of Aristotelian criticism. This promised edition is now before us. The preface is dated December 27, 1892, the year following the first issue of the work. That within so brief a space of time a treatise on the whole so complete, comprehensive and sound could have appeared is not only most creditable to the editor's ability, but is an interesting indication of the vigorous vitality, splendid reach and vast resources of the classical scholarship of to-day. In a period of less than two years an important classic has been recovered; has been published in at least five independent and noteworthy critical editions; has been translated into nearly all the languages of Europe; a bulky literature of explanation and illustration has sprung up relating to it; it has been explored from all possible points of view, from those of language, style, subject-matter, in its relation to history, antiquities, palaeography. Each latest writer has had the benefit of the results reached by his predecessors. But as matters have by no means been brought to a definite conclusion, each investigator has thus far shared something of the spirit of the original explorer, and has always been called upon to exercise his judgment and critical faculty in deciding between variant views and propositions. Much foolishness has been written, and at times "the wild asses of philology" have been in evidence, but

in the main there has been distinct progress, both in the construction and in the explanation of the text, and unanimity has finally been reached on numerous points on which, until recently, there had been wide differences of opinion. Some fundamental problems have been solved. The question whether there are, between the Politics of Aristotle and the Constitution, differences so radical—in the matter of language, style, subject-matter and sentiments—as to make common authorship impossible, has been answered in the negative by scholars who have separately examined the topics included in such an enquiry. An absolute consensus of opinion has not been reached on all points, and probably will never be reached. On the matter of the authorship, the radical and the conservative views have found abundant expression, and the case has been strongly put for both sides. That there should be a general trend of opinion in favor of Aristotelian authorship is more significant now than it was a year ago, when many elements of the problem had not yet been taken into consideration.

Next to the *editio princeps*, the edition of Dr. Sandys is the most important contribution to the literature of the Constitution that has yet appeared. And this not by reason of essential originality, though everywhere in it are to be found acute and novel observations and most happy suggestions, but mainly because the author has gathered, with just grasp of the subject, the manifold results of recent study, has tested and weighed them with insight and sobriety, and has given the product in a clear and attractive form. Work more original has been done on the treatise by others—as the emendations and restorations of Blass, Kaibel-Wilamowitz, and several English scholars; the special studies of particular topics by Bauer, Busolt, the Cauers, Diels, Gomperz, Bruno Keil, Köhler, Lipsius, P. Meyer, Newman, Théodore Reinach, Rühl, and others—but nowhere have these special inquiries found a more judicious critic or a happier expounder than in Dr. Sandys. His edition stands alone in the attention paid to matters of verbal criticism—in general, to the details of scholarship as brought to bear on a classic—and to the comparison, with the fresh evidence, of our traditional knowledge of Athenian constitutional history and of legal antiquities: it abounds in illustrative material borrowed mainly from ancient historians, writers on antiquities, grammarians, lexicographers, and from Athenian inscriptions. Aristotle's other works have been abundantly drawn upon. The text has been constructed by the editor after due consideration of the readings proposed, and after repeated examinations of the papyrus itself. The importance of a resort to the papyrus, and the failure of the facsimile in cases of last appeal, are well seen in the changes Blass has been obliged to suggest (October, 1892), after inspecting the papyrus, in the readings proposed in his text-edition (January, 1892). Beneath Dr. Sandys's text, as printed, stand the *variae lectiones* and the *testimonia*. The former, though only a selection from the countless number published, comprise, if I am not mistaken, all the readings proposed in the editions of Kenyon (the third), of Kaibel-Wilamowitz, of Herwerden-Leeuwen, and of Blass, not to speak of ingenious and successful suggestions of many other scholars. The readings of the papyrus, where different from the text, are given in an attractive cursive 'uncial,' which suggests well enough for practical purposes the original forms of the letters. Dr. Sandys is not, however, perfectly consistent in the non-use

of spaces between words thus given in facsimile. The *testimonia* give the full text of all the passages in extant post-Aristotelian literature, thus far identified, that are believed to be taken more or less directly from the original treatise. Dr. Sandys has gathered under this head several passages not previously cited in the connections in which he cites them. The explanatory notes, printed on the same page with the text, are extremely copious, and, in keeping with the universality of the classical scholarship of the present time, cover a large number of topics. At many points the traditional, or the prevalent, views are criticised and corrected: especially valuable to the student are the corrections of Grote. In all these matters a happy proportion has been observed, and controversy has been wisely kept subordinate to positive exposition and elucidation. In an appendix are printed the fragments supposed by Rose and others to have belonged to this book, but not occurring in the recovered portion; here also is found the text of the Heracleidean Excerpts. An excellent *Index Graecitatis* gives us a concordance to the treatise, except that some of the more frequently recurring words are not indexed in full—the omissions are ἀπό, γάρ, δέ, δοκῶ, ἐαυτοῦ, ἐθέλω, εἰμί, εἰς, ἐκάτερος, ἐν, ἐπί, ἐρχομαι, ἑτερος, ἔτος, ἔχω, ἦ, καί, μὲν . . . δέ, μή, μηδέ, μηδείς, μήτε, νῦν, οἶδα, ὅταν, ὅτε, ὅτι, οὐ, οὐδέ, οὐδείς, οὗτος, οὕτω, some of which are to be regretted. By typographical devices one can distinguish at a glance all words absolutely new, and all words not found in Bonitz's *Index Aristotelicus*. Some of the lexical articles are very full. An English index finally calls attention to proper names, to subjects discussed in the text and notes, as also to the views of many recent writers on the Constitution.

The text is preceded by an introduction of eighty pages, in which, among other topics, the following are treated: the political literature of Greece before the time of Aristotle; political works ascribed to Aristotle; evidence of ancient authorities on the authorship of the *Πολιτεῖαι*; the later literature of the *Πολιτεῖαι*; the Berlin fragments; the British Museum papyrus; date and authorship of the treatise; and the authorities followed in it. A full abstract of its contents, given for the most part in a condensed translation, and an extremely copious conspectus of recent literature—comprising more than one hundred and eighty titles—add greatly to the value of the book. In the closing pages of the introduction the effort is made to bring the subject down to the date of publication. It is worth noting that this material received since the larger part of the book was put into type is mainly supplemental, and only seldom tends actually to correct the original statements of the editor. Finally there are several good cuts, viz. a *πινάκιον*, Athenian coins, heliastic σύμβολα, bronze ψήφοι, κληροί, etc.

Of the topics discussed in the introduction there are several which have by no means arrived at their final stage. Repeated examination and comparison of the later historical and kindred literature, both in fragments and in complete works, must be made before the last word can be uttered on at least these three important questions, viz. the evidence in ancient writers upon the authorship of the book, the use of the Constitution by later writers, and the authorities followed in it.

Dr. Sandys accepts the Aristotelian authorship of the treatise, and is inclined to adopt the argument by which, in this Journal (XII, pp. 310 ff.), I

have attempted to show that Philochorus, in the generation following Aristotle, quoted the Constitution as Aristotle's. For this attitude of mind he has been taken to task by Mr. H. Richards in the *Classical Review* (VII, pp. 210 f.). Since Mr. Richards has slightly misapprehended my positions, it may not be out of place for me here briefly to restate the main propositions, referring the reader to the article for the fuller discussion. My "third argument" is the only one that really aims to prove that Philochorus cited Aristotle *by name*: the other two are introductory. It having been shown, in argument I, that Philochorus quoted by name many of his authorities, and, in argument II, that he had quoted from the Constitution, a presumption was established in favor of the proposition that, in citing the Constitution, he would have mentioned Aristotle's name if the work were Aristotle's. In argument III was pointed out what appeared to be a distinct case of such quotation by name. I there aimed to show that Aelian, or the authority from which he drew, had before him an extract from Philochorus concerning several events that took place before the battle of Salamis; that in this extract the name of Aristotle occurred as authority for a certain statement, which is found in the Constitution and is by Plutarch actually assigned to Aristotle. (This Philochorean extract lies at the bottom of Plut. Them. 10: Plutarch was in the habit of drawing from Philochorus.) Now, Aelian abridged the extract (N. H. XII 35), recording only one incident, but he gives as his authorities the names both of Philochorus, from whom he drew it, and of Aristotle mentioned in the fuller account, the latter's name for the purpose of lending greater credibility to his story. (Similar double but not independent citations of authorities are extremely frequent in the literature of the same class as Aelian's works: e. g. 'as Aristophanes and Didymus say'—in a scholium—does not mean that the scholiast has an independent knowledge of both Aristophanes's and Didymus's views on the subject in question, but that Didymus, whom he is transcribing in epitome, quotes Aristophanes as saying so and so.) In short, the presence of Aristotle's name in Aelian can be most reasonably explained on the hypothesis that Philochorus quoted from the Constitution and named Aristotle as the author. Other explanations are less satisfactory. It is not claimed that the argument amounts to an absolute demonstration, but only that it leads to what is to a very high degree probable.

Much of the originality of this edition lies in the readings and restorations proposed by the editor. It will be well, therefore, here to register the more characteristic of these readings, referring the reader to the English index for clues to many others suggested in the notes but rejected on the final choice. The readings in the text original with Dr. Sandys and here proposed for the first time are the following: Chapter 3, §2, line 6 (of the chapter) αὐτὴ γὰρ ἐξ [ἀρχ]ῆς ἦν. §3, 13 ἀνταποδοθεῖσιν τῶν ἀρχοντι δωρεῶν. §5, 22 ἀλλήλων. ὥκησαν.—C. 4, §2, 13 ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ τέλους παρασχομένους. §3, 16 [δί]ελθειν.—C. 8, §4, 24 τὴν πρόφασιν τοῦ πράττειν εἶσθαι.—C. 38, §1, 7 ἐπε[στελλων].—C. 45, §1, 3 καὶ αὐθιμερόν.—C. 54, §7, 32, 33 [ἄλλα] δὲ πρόκειται [κατὰ τὰ ψη]φισματα τὰ ἐπὶ Κηφισοφώντος ἀρχοντος.—C. 57, §4, 25 δικάζουσι[ν ἐν ἡμέ]ραις [α] καὶ ὑπαίθριοι.—Fragm. Col. 31, 1-3 τ]ὰ δὲ [κιβώτια ταῖς φυλ]αῖς [κατατίθενται] | πρόσθεν [τῶν ἀρχόντων κ]αθ' ἑκάστην τῇ[ν φν-] | λήν. 27 καὶ [π]ρο[δεί]ξας αὐτῇ[ν ἀνέχ]ων τὸ γράμμα.—Col. 32, 9 ἐπιγέγραπ[ται πᾶσιν]. 15, 16 ταύτην τὴν ἀ[ρχήν, κα]τὰ [τ]ὴν τὰ[ξιν

ἀπο- | δοῦ]ς τὴν βακτηρίαν . . . . . THC [τὸν] | [α]ὐ[τὸν] τρόπον. 19 οἱ δημοσίαι [ὑπὲρ | τῇ]ς φυλῆς. But this list gives only an imperfect idea of the editor's independence: the punctuation, the choice between readings proposed by other scholars, as well as the editor's own suggestions, bear constant witness to the soundness and the caution of his judgment.

Of course, in a book of the range of this edition it is inevitable that not a few things should be said which cannot meet with entire assent. In what follows I venture to submit some criticisms, corrections and comments suggested by a rapid reading of the greater part of the book.

(1) Dr. Sandys more than once insists that Plutarch must have had a first-hand acquaintance with the Constitution, and in support of his contention appeals to instances of verbal coincidences of expression in Plutarch and in the Constitution. But verbal coincidences are not sufficient to establish such a claim. An abridgment of the Constitution would contain many of the identical words and phrases of the original book. Now at c. 10 we have a passage full of instruction on this whole matter. Aristotle writes, speaking of the obscurity of Solon's laws, οἰονται μὲν οὖν τινὲς ἐπιτήδες ἀσαφεῖς αὐτὸν ποιῆσαι τοὺς νόμους, ὅπως ἢ τῆς κρίσεως ὁ δῆμος κύριος. Plutarch, on the other hand (Sol. 18), says λέγεται δὲ καὶ τοὺς νόμους ἀσαφεστερον γράψας κτλ. Plutarch here has before him—or Plutarch's authority (Hermippus?)—not Aristotle, but rather one of the writers (τινὲς) whose views Aristotle mentions to controvert (perhaps Androtion). If he had had before him the exact words of Aristotle, his sentence could not have taken its present form. Not a few of the coincidences in language between Plutarch and Aristotle may be explained on the supposition of their drawing from the same historical writer, who at not a few points appears to have been Androtion. Bruno Keil has demonstrated this relation and reference for the account of the σεισάχθεια, and Hude for the story of Harmodius and Aristogiton. Some of the radical inconsistencies of statement in Plutarch's narrative and Aristotle's historical sketch might—it is true—be explained, with Mr. Kenyon, on the theory that Plutarch took abundant, but by no means complete, notes of his reading, and that when he wove his notes into the texture of his narrative, he was led to make connecting statements which were inconsistent with the full text of the original work. That Plutarch took notes of his reading for future use is incontrovertible; indeed, with the roll form of books, which made ready reference to a given passage extremely irksome, and the verification of references a vast labor, such a procedure is the only one conceivable. But the peculiar omissions of highly important facts and the varied order in which subjects are brought up seem to point to another explanation, at least for many of the phenomena. Plutarch did not make his own abridgment of the Constitution, at least in his life of Solon. Here he took his Aristotle at second-hand, doubtless through Hermippus, whose life of Solon was one of his chief authorities, and through Didymus. This view does not preclude the possibility of Plutarch's elsewhere making a first-hand use of Aristotle, though in such places, to judge from his literary habits, we should have expected him to give the name of an authority so distinguished, whereas, in fact, he almost never names him.

(2) Dr. Sandys is disposed to reject the account of the Draconian constitution as an interpolation, herein following Headlam, Reinach and others. But,



at least so far as language and style are concerned, this c. 4 is of the same tissue as the remainder of the work, and the historical facts which it brings to our notice are not radically inconsistent with our other positive knowledge on the subject. The case for the rejection of this chapter has not yet been made out. The extraordinary similarity of the Draconian constitution to that proposed under the Four Hundred may quite as well be explained on the theory of a revival as on that of an anachronism. Everywhere in the closing years of the fifth century the oligarchic party in Athens was seeking to strengthen itself by a revival of the most ancient institutions. Probably, however, the account of the Draconian constitution, which Aristotle took as his source, was drawn up by some historical writer after the establishment of the constitution of the Four Hundred, and this fact may have led to a slight confusion, on the part of the historian, between the two forms, the ancient constitution and its revival, and to an incidental ascription, in some minor details, of features of the later constitution to the older one. But in its broad outlines the Aristotelian account of the Draconian constitution must be recognized both as historic and as part of the original treatise.

(3) If large interpolations must be found in the Constitution, I am surprised that no one has insisted that c. 12, containing the poetical extracts, should be suspected. It breaks the sequence of the narrative continued from the close of c. 11 on to c. 13: the *διὰ ταύτας τὰς αἰτίας* of c. 13 refers, not to the closing words of c. 12, but to those of c. 11. But we are not obliged to accept the theory of a late interpolation. The writer of the treatise may well have inserted the poetical extracts himself, as an after-thought, forgetting, however, to correct and adjust the *juncturae*.

(4) There is very little punctuation in the papyrus, but the slight indications that do exist might have been made more of. The *παράγραφος* is plainly evident at col. 1, under line 40, and at col. 8, under line 20. The former indicates that what we call c. 3 should have ended with the words *ἡ μὲν οὖν πρώτη πολιτεία ταύτην εἶχε τὴν ὑπογραφὴν*, which, accordingly, should not have been thrown into the next chapter. This division is significant for the purpose of dividing into paragraphs other passages in Aristotle where a like expression occurs. The highly ornate *παράγραφος* at col. 8, line 20, shows that a main division of the work closed at that point, viz. the history of the tyranny of Peisistratus and his sons. But none of the editors make even a chapter division at this point. These *παράγραφοι*, it is assumed, are a tradition from the manuscript from which our copy was made, being transcribed from it hastily, and not originally inserted by the scribe. This last fact appears from the *παράγραφος* at col. 2, under line 4, which was dashed in too soon by a line.

(5) Something can be said for an earlier date for the transcription of the papyrus than the third century A. D. I have elsewhere sought to show that the bailiff's accounts which stand on the *recto*, written A. D. 78-79, had not lost their value at the time the Constitution was copied (Proc. Am. Philol. Assoc. 1892, p. xxviii). Significant here is the blank back of the broad column 11—of which Dr. Sandys does not speak—so placed at the end of the first roll as to protect the accounts from injury when the roll is rolled up with the Aristotle within. This points to a date not far from 100 A. D., rather than to one a hundred or more years later.

(6) On p. liv Dr. Sandys gives a most ingenious argument, by which he shows that the lost initial portion of the Constitution did not amount to more than fifty lines: the argument is based in part on the quires apparently required by the leaves of the Berlin fragments.

(7) It is to be regretted that the editor has not cleared up the subject of the several classes of authorities to whom Aristotle refers, in his frequently recurring οἱ δημοτικοί, ἐνιοί, τινές κτλ.

(8) The Constitution really falls into three grand divisions (not into two), viz. 1. Sketch of constitutional history down to about 411 B. C., cc. 1-28; 2. Documentary account of the oligarchic revolutions and of the Restoration (411-403 B. C.), cc. 29-40, with c. 41, resumé of the previous historical survey; 3. Description of the body politic, cc. 42 ff.

(9) On c. 4, §1, 11 the *πρυτάνεις* are identified with archons; but if this be correct, and I believe that it is, what must Herodotus's *πρυτάνεις τῶν ναυκράων* mean (VI 71)? Is not τῶν ναυκράων here a gloss—of Herodotus's own making, to be sure? If, however, Dr. Sandys insists on rejecting c. 4 as a later interpolation, perhaps the fiction of some oligarchic sympathizer in the fifth century, he certainly cannot take *πρυτάνεις*, as here used without explanation or qualification, in any other sense than that current in the fifth and fourth century, 'members of the senate's presiding committee.'

(10) Possibly the following reading of the Diphilus inscription (c. 7, §4) may solve difficulties untouched by the other readings: Δίφιλος 'Ανθεμίονος τήνδ' ἀνέθηκε θεοῖσι | θητικοῦ ἀντὶ τέλους ἰππᾶδ' ἀμειψάμενος. The faulty diaeresis after the third foot, though extremely rare, has its analogues on the stones (Allen, Greek Versification in Inscriptions, p. 56); in fact, in the cacophonous σῶμα μὲν ἐνθάδ' ἔχει σόν, Δίφιλε, γαῖα θανόντος (Allen, No. 57 = Kekulé, Theseion, n. 224), which partially resembles our first line, we have the name Diphilus. This reading makes it possible to retain the Δίφιλον in the introductory remark, and supplies an hexameter line, such as it is. That the text, however, as given in the papyrus, is an ancient corruption is apparent from Pollux, VIII 131.

(11) The dates of Peisistratus' life (c. 14) are discussed with much discernment. But two or three considerations, not weighed by Dr. Sandys, may be suggested. (a) In §4 the μετὰ ταῦτα in ἔτει δὲ δωδεκάτῳ μετὰ ταῦτα, by an idiom very frequent in the Constitution, may refer to τὴν πρώτην κατάστασιν, as Kaibel-Kiessling take it (Harvard Studies, III, p. 68, note): this renders unnecessary any change in δωδεκάτῳ. (b) According to the Parian Marble, Peisistratus introduced tragedy into Athens in B. C. 536: hence, if we are to trust the Marble, this year cannot have been one of the years when he was in exile (so Kenyon, Köhler, Reinach?). (c) In Isocrates, XVI 25, a στάσις of forty years' standing is mentioned as existing between the Alcmeonidae and Peisistratus and his sons. Forty is, of course, a round number, but if we date back forty years from the final expulsion of the Peisistratidae (511-510 B. C.), we reach c. 550 for the final and irreconcilable breach between Megacles and Peisistratus, i. e. for the beginning of the second exile. Hence the second τυραννίς, which began c. 549 B. C. and was ended through the hostility of Megacles, must have been a brief one (Clinton, Busolt, Bauer), and not a long one (Poland, Kenyon, Reinach).

(12) The 'obelus' on col. 7, line 15, opposite καὶ ὑβριστής, appears to indicate a corruption in the text, perhaps the omission of some words that, if retained,

would have removed the contradiction between the statements of Aristotle and Thucydides as to the relation of Thessalus and Hipparchus to the troubles of the Peisistratidae. At all events, we are not obliged to accept Aristotle's text as perfectly sound on this point.

(13) Blass's and Hude's reading at c. 19, §4 *ὅτι εὐπόρησαν χρημάτων* <*ἀποβλέποντες*> is much to be preferred to *ὄθεν*. But *ἀποβλέποντες*, though provided for by the break, is not absolutely necessary for the same sense. The new reading makes the text conform to that of Herodotus, on which the context is based; it renders otiose Dr. Sandys's learned note on the passage.

(14) In c. 22, §8, read *ὥρισαν τοῖς ὀστρακισμένοις μὴ ἐντὸς Γεραιστοῦ κτλ.* This gives the same sense as *ἐκτός*, is closer to the traditional text, and is in keeping with the quotation in Philochorus ap. Lex. Cantab. The hiatus after *μὴ* is not objectionable in a legal phrase; cf. c. 42, 8.

(15) At c. 24, §2, 1, in cancelling *τε*, the editor has removed an interesting anacoluthon, of which the papyrus gives several examples. Cf. c. 48, §4.

(16) In c. 43, §3, the retention of *καὶ ὁ τι* is more Aristotelian than the omission of it: *ὅσα*, at the beginning of the sentence, is not coincident in meaning with it: the warrant issued by the prytans shall cover the amount of matters to be taken up, the details for each day, and the time of the meeting.

(17) At c. 49, §3, Dr. Sandys takes *παραδείγματα* in the sense of 'architects' plans,' and does not note Diels's suggestion that the word means 'designs for the peplus' (Jahrb. d. deutschen Inst. 1891; Arch. Anz., p. 39). The context certainly favors the latter explanation, and it may be remarked that at c. 60, §1, we are told distinctly that it was in conference with the *βουλὴ* that the *ἀθλοθέται* τὸν *πέπλον* ποιοῦνται καὶ τοὺς *ἀμφορεῖς* ποιοῦνται. The designs both for the peplus and for the prize amphorae were originally to be proposed by the *Athlothetae* to the senate and executed with the consent of the latter body: at a later time, since jobbery had corrupted the decisions about the peplus, this matter was committed to a dicastery.

(18) Page 196, note: "In the fourth century, down to B. C. 322, we have 38 names, not one of them famous" (referring to *γραμματεῖς* of the senate). Certainly Aeschines might be regarded as one of the 'famous,' and there is little doubt that he was at one time secretary of the senate. Aristotle's language, however, applies the adjectives *ἐνδοξότατοι* καὶ *πιστότατοι* to men holding office in the period before c. 365 B. C.

(19) Attention might be called to the fact (c. 56, §3) that it was immediately on entering office that the archon selected the three choregi for the tragic contest. The Athenians wisely provided for a long period—midsummer to the following spring—in which actors and chorus might receive thorough training.

(20) At c. 57, §3, Dr. Sandys declares for *δικάζουσι δ' οἱ λαχόντες ταῦτα ἐφέται*. That such must have been the case in the earlier times 'cannot be denied, but there are grave difficulties in the way of those who maintain the continued existence and judicial activity of both the *ἐφέται* and the *φιλοβασίλεις* down to the close of the fourth century B. C. The whole subject of the interpretation of the so-called Amnesty Law of Solon (Plut. Sol. 19; cf. Andoc. Myst. 78), and the courts there mentioned, has by no means been fully cleared up.

(21) But for Dr. Sandys's suggestion (c. 57, §4) of *δικάζουσι[ν ἐν ἡλίαι] αἱ[α] καὶ ὑπαῖθριοι* nothing except words of praise can be said. This restoration reconciles the language of Isocrates c. Callim. 52, 54, etc., with that of the tradition. The word *ἡλιαία* has here a double connotation, 'in the sunlight,' and, less directly, that of a heliastic court in general.

(22) It is hardly accurate to say that "many Panathenaic amphorae are found in . . . Greece" (on c. 59, §1). Is it not a fact that fewer are found there than elsewhere in the Hellenic world?

(23) From c. 60, §3, the inference may be drawn that the archon did not become a member of the Areopagus until after the expiration of his term of office. Perhaps this fact throws some light on the theory of Lange—now, however, for other reasons, hardly tenable—whereby the fifty-one ephetae and nine archons together made up the ancient court.

(24) The following misprints, or other minor faults, have caught my eye: P. xxxii, for 'nine' archons read 'ten.' P. 61. 17 read *ἐφώνησεν* in adn. cr. P. 65. 39, and elsewhere, *πρῶος* is irregularly spelled. P. 79. 11, why not *συνέπιπτεν* without the [ ]? P. 86. 19, adn. cr., read 39 (not 35). P. 150. 4 (col. 21. 7), the spelling *ΕΝΤΡΑΦΟΝΤΑΙ* is certainly worth citing alongside of the *ἐμ Πειραιῇ* of Demosthenes (Σ). P. lx, and often, 'Alcmeonidae' is the better spelling: the editor always corrects the traditional *Munychion* to *Munichion*. *Mytilene* is inconsistently spelled.

But all these criticisms and corrections, and others that might be suggested, are of very slight consequence when one considers the vast body of unimpeachably sound doctrine in the book. In his effort, to use the happy line of George Herbert quoted by him,

"to copie fair what Time hath blurr'd"

—after all one of the chief duties of the classical scholar—Dr. Sandys has been signally successful. It will be many years before his book can be superseded, and then only because advancing knowledge gives us new points of vision and appreciation, and throws all our old lore into a new perspective.

J. H. WRIGHT.

Der Vokalismus der oskischen Sprache, von CARL DARLING BUCK. Leipzig, K. F. Koehler's Antiquarium, 1892. xv + 219 pp.

Within the past two years the interest in the dialects of the Italic peninsula has been greatly stimulated by the appearance of several important works. Pauli, in the third volume of the *Alt-italische Forschungen*, has gathered together the inscriptions of the Veneti. More recently Krall, by the publication of the long inscription found in the wrappings of a mummy belonging to the Agram Museum, has furnished new material for the solution of the Etruscan problem. A Swiss scholar, Robert von Planta, has undertaken a grammar of the Oscan-Umbrian dialects, of which the first volume, treating the *Lautlehre*, in 600 pages, has appeared, while the second, which is to include also the entire body of inscriptions, is promised within a year. The same scholar, in *Indo-germanische Forschungen*, II, pp. 435-441, has recently published 'Eine dritte oskische Bleitafel,' which is only a fragment. More

special treatises, both by pupils of Brugmann and both written in competition for a prize offered by the University of Leipzig in October, 1890, are 'Die oskischen *i* und *e* Vocale,' by Gotthelf Bronisch (Leipzig, 1892), and the work whose title is given above. The work of Buck failed to receive the prize for purely formal reasons, although considered by the Faculty as on the whole the better of the two.

One has only to compare these works with Bruppacher's *Versuch einer Lautlehre der oskischen Sprache* (Zurich, 1869), to see the justification of the prize, and the progress made in scientific treatment. It is not our purpose here to compare the two in detail, or to point out their different conclusions where the same questions are involved. The work of Buck is the more comprehensive, as it treats all the vowels and diphthongs, and contains more that is of interest to the student of Latin. A firm grasp of phonetic principles is shown, and a wide acquaintance with the recent literature, while the author maintains with spirit his independent views, and does not hesitate to take issue with older scholars. In the preface the importance of the comparative method is insisted upon, and a sharp rap administered to Blass in passing. The orthography of the Oscan inscriptions is shown to be more precise than that of the Umbrian, and more to be relied upon for determining differences of sound-quality, although vacillating in respect to quantity. In the introduction general questions are treated, as to the extent of the Oscan linguistic territory, the age of the monuments, the varieties of writing, the absence of a sign for *o* in the original Oscan-Umbrian alphabet, the primitive character of the Oscan vocalism, especially in the conservation of diphthongs. Finally a list of words borrowed from the Greek and Latin is given, in which we miss *turris* (*tiurri*); cf. Saalfeld's *Tensaurus*.

The treatment then proceeds in seven chapters, the first being devoted to the Indogermanic *a*-vowels, including *ɶ*, the second to the *e* and *i*-sounds, the third to *u*, the fourth to *o*, the fifth to sonant nasals and liquids, the sixth to the diphthongs *ai* (*āi*), *ei* (*ēi*), *oi* (*ōi*), *au*, *eu*, *ou*, the seventh to sound-changes in combination, as assimilation, contraction and elision, lengthening and shortening, anaptyxis, syncope and apocope. The results of the investigation are then summed up, with a determination of the value of each sound. Complete indices of the words of various dialects, and of the Latin words cited for comparison and illustration, greatly facilitate the use of the book. On p. 16 the *ll* of *mallom* is rightly regarded as without etymological significance, and Breal's derivation from *\*malvas* rejected; but attention should be called to the fact that such doubling of consonants is common in Oscan (see Planta, p. 537); another instance of *ll* is *Helleviis*. On p. 19 the form *Patanaſ* is made to disprove Brugmann's earlier hypothesis explaining the gerundive ending *-ndo* from *-ino*. This hypothesis Brugmann now discards (*Grundriss*, II, p. 1425) in favor of a derivation from infinitive + prep. *do* = *to*. The alleged dropping of *r* before *n* in *Falenia* receives weak support from *pestlum*. Compare *Fensernu*, *Freternum*, and other words where *r* before *n* is regularly retained. Buecheler's skepticism seems therefore warranted. On p. 29 we are glad to see Stolz's derivation of *quom, tum* from *\*quo-sme*, *\*to-sme* rejected as impossible. On p. 26, under the representatives of Indog. *ā*, *cāro*, *cārnis* is given. The same mistake in quantity is made in the index. On p. 35 we have the inter-

esting suggestion that in the ending *-āsio*, *ās* may be originally a gen. case-ending to which was added the suffix *-io*. That another form, *Floasio*, from *Floas* (*s* for *s* by sentence-Sandhi), should have coexisted seems highly improbable. On p. 37 *kahad* in the lead tablet defixio is considered, despite Buecheler, as a subjunctive, and this seems not unlikely. The history of the *a*-sound is comparatively simple, the *a* being preserved even in unaccented syllables, where in Latin it would suffer weakening. Final *ā*, however, does suffer a change, *viā* being represented by *vīd*, *vīu*. In the Latin alphabet both *u* and *o* are used, and in Greek *o*, so that Buck thinks the sound really intended was like the *a* in *call*. On p. 50 Oscan *pomtis*, 'quinquies,' and Umb. *nuvis*, *noviens*, are regarded as analogical formations, after *\*du-is* and *\*tri-s*, thus avoiding the difficulty of connecting the ending *is* with the Latin *-ies*, *-iens*. The same explanation is given by Bronisch, p. 132, for *pomtis*, and with less certainty for *nuvis*. The discussion of the reasons for the invention of a new sign,  $\vdash = \acute{e}$ , is most interesting. In Latin Indog. *i* had a closer pronunciation than Indog. *i*. This was probably true in Oscan, and so, for the sake of differentiation, the new character was devised to represent Indog. *i* and the *i*-sounds developed from Indogerm. *e*. Hence the Indog. *i* is regularly represented by  $\acute{e}$  or  $\ddot{e}$ . One finds it hard to believe, however, that *est* = *ēst*, inasmuch as we have *est* also in Oscan (Rhein. Mus. 44, 320), and the support adduced both by Buck and Bronisch from *ēs* of the comic poets falls away, if we adopt the explanation of Skutsch, *Forschungen*, p. 60, that *ēs*, not *ēst*, was spoken before vowels and *ēs* before consonants in the time of Plautus.

A long discussion is given of the representation of *u* after dentals by *iu*, as in *illiumam*, which, it is claimed, does not stand for *u*, but no conclusion is reached as to the real nature of the affection. A fair parallel seems to be afforded by the precise pronunciation of *nature* (*natyur*) and *verdure* (*verdȳur*). Planta, on the other hand, p. 126, comes to the conclusion that it does represent *u*. On p. 117 Buck proves Stolz to be in error in deriving *homo* from *hemo* by assimilation, it being rather a case of original ablaut. On p. 118 two ingenious explanations are offered for the *o* in *pomptis* over against the *i* of *quinquies*. The latter, of which a parallel is found in *coquo* from *\*pekwo*, seems to us the more plausible. For the ending of the gen. pl. *ōm* is accepted, not *ōm*, with Osthoff, and it is proved that *ō* had a much closer sound than *o*, and nearer *u*, by which it is regularly represented in the Tabula Bantina. We must assume also that in primitive Italic *ō* and *o*, like *ē* and *e*, differed in quality as well as in quantity, a fact which the writers of school-grammars would do well to bear in mind.

Chapters VI and VII, which space forbids our noticing, contain many points of interest to the Latinist. In fact, it is high time that the Latinist should awake to the fact that he has much to learn from Oscan and Umbrian, and that he cannot be absolved any more than a Greek scholar from the study of dialects. It is to be hoped that this book, written by an American, and a positive contribution to science, will be studied by Americans. There are quite a number of misprints, some of which are corrected at the end. Not among these are 'ludi Attelani' and 'mnoophthongischen,' on pp. 158 and 159.

MINTON WARREN.

Œuvres de Cicéron. Brutus. Texte latin, publié d'après les travaux les plus récents, avec un commentaire critique et explicatif, une introduction et un index, par JULES MARTHA. Paris, Hachette, 1892. xlvii + 261 pp.

This edition, inviting to the eye with its broad margins and clear print, is one which it will not simply be a pleasure for the student of the Brutus to possess, but a necessity. The materials amassed by previous scholars have been carefully examined, conflicting views tested with independent judgment, the difficulties of the text seriously considered, while here and there an emendation has been offered, but not rashly. The introduction deals, in a charming style, with the date of the Brutus and the circumstances leading to its composition, with its relation to the De Oratore, preceding it by eight years, and the Orator following it, with its historic worth and its sources, with the character of its criticism, and with the somewhat involved question of the MSS and their relative value. The editor justly remarks that while the same spirit animates the De Oratore and the Brutus, the latter contains vague intimations of a menaced attack. Cicero's supremacy in oratory has been questioned by the school of Calvus, and he feels called upon to defend himself against the charge of non-Atticism. The review of Roman orators, with their merits and defects, gives him the opportunity of doing this, but not avowedly. The criticism passed upon the early orators, including even Cato, is essentially literary criticism. They are not flesh and blood orators, with vigorous personal peculiarities of voice and gesture. Indeed, in chapters XV-XXXV only Laelius, Galba and Carbo are vividly portrayed, and this because Cicero must have talked with persons who knew them. For the later period his personal reminiscences were sufficient. For the earlier, while the Liber Annalis of Atticus furnished a prop to his chronology, the Annals of Ennius, the Origines of Cato, the Didascalica of Accius, Lucilius and other sources were ready to his hand. Jordan's hypothesis that Valerius Antias was the source of chapter XIV, Martha does not admit. That his friend Varro, with his enormous erudition, may have come to his aid occasionally is not disputed. The critical attitude of Cicero is on the whole fair, not affected, at least, by political bias. He does not hesitate to praise the Gracchi nor Carbo, but where his own pre-eminence is at stake, in the case of the Atticists, he fails to do full justice. Of the impassioned vehemence of Calvus he says nothing. We need not be surprised if the criticism is too uniformly technical, too much concerned with the question as to whether the three conditions of eloquence are present—natural talent, knowledge and practice—or whether the requirements under the five heads *inventio, dispositio, elocutio, memoria, actio* have been satisfied. We must not complain if a carpenter uses a rule and not a microscope.

In the treatment of the MSS Martha agrees in the main with Stangl, and uses not only F, O and G, but also B, H and M, for the reconstruction of the lost Laudensis. He differs, however, from Stangl in regarding F, which is the codex of greatest authority, as a direct copy of the Laudensis. To B, H and M he assigns much less authority than to the first three. It is to be regretted that he leaves unnoticed Parisinus 7704, upon which Orelli set a high value, and of which he might easily have made a new collation. In the constitution of the text he is very conservative, offering some forty conjectures. The notes are helpful and judicious, on the historical-biographical as well as on the

grammatical-rhetorical side. At the end is a table of proper names, and an Index of Latinity, with especial reference to rhetorical terms.

In §39 *videsne igitur ut, ut*, which Heusinger changed to *vel*, is ingeniously filled out to *Brute*, which is used with *vides igitur* in §231; but here also *ut* follows *igitur* immediately, so that it excites a doubt as to whether the *ut* in §39 is a remnant of *Brute*. In §55 *Ti. Coruncanium* is correctly given in the text, but *T. Coruncanium* in the notes. In §71 *sicin* is bracketed as the exclamation of some archaist surprised at this criticism of Cicero upon Livius Andronicus: "Bah! est-ce bien juste?"—an amusing but hardly tenable suggestion. Possibly *sicin* is due to *sic enim* of the line above, but most editors read *sic*. In §81 *Numerius* is an excellent emendation of *nua serius* F, *una ser* BHM. In §86 *asperior*, Moser's conjecture, seems too far from the MS *adhortor* to meet with general approval, even though elsewhere *asperitas* is made a characteristic of Galba, *actuosior* of Baiter and Kayser, read by Stangl, is much nearer to the MSS, and *ardentior*, the common reading, is supported by §276 and by *ardor* in §93. In §131 *Saufeio* is a beautiful conjecture for the unintelligible *savelio*, and likely to keep its place in the text. In §191 Martha reads *Plato enim mihi instar est centum milium*, adopting *centum milium* as the conjecture of Orelli, although Baiter and Kayser, and Stangl, attribute it to Camerarius. Is it not worth while to call attention to the possibility that *me. illum* of the MSS may be simply a misreading of the spelling MEILIVM, I being read L, as so often? Compare MEILIA, Corp. I 551, 4 and 8, and Lucilius, bk. IX, XIV, Mueller, *meile hominum*, *duo meilia*, etc. On the use of *ei* in Cicero for *i* see Buechler, Rhein. Museum, XI 515. While *centum* is admirably supported by ad Att. II 5. 1, I do not feel certain that *omnium* is wrong. Compare De Off. 3, 3. 11 *ut omnia ex altera parte collocata vix minimi momenti instar habeant*. Wölfflin, Arch. II 584, in his article on *instar*, seems to accept *omnium* without *milium*, interpreting 'er zähle, gelte so viel als alle miteinander.' *Milium*, however, or *meilium*, must certainly be retained.

MINTON WARREN.

The Five Zoroastrian GĀTHĀS, with the Zend, Pahlavi, Sanskrit and Persian Texts and Translations, by L. H. MILLS, D. D., Hon. M. A. Oxon. Parts 1 and 4. Leipsic, 1892.—A study of the five Zarathushtrian (Zoroastrian) Gāthās, with texts and translations, also with the Pahlavi translation, for the first time edited with collation of manuscripts, and now prepared from all the known codices; also deciphered, and for the first time translated in its entirety into a European language, with Neryosangh's Sanskrit text edited with the collation of five MSS, and with a first translation; also with the Persian text contained in Codex 126 of the Munich Collection edited in transliteration, together with a commentary, being the literary apparatus and argument to the translation of the Gāthās in the XXXth volume of the Sacred Books of the East, by L. H. MILLS, D. D., Hon. M. A. Oxon. Part I. Yasna XXVIII–XXXIV; Part IV. Commentary. Oxford, 1892.

The Rev. Lawrence H. Mills, D. D., a presbyter of the American Church, and distinguished Oriental scholar, has devoted himself for twenty years to the study of the sacred books of the Parsees, and more particularly to the



study of the Gâthâs, which are the most important part of the Avesta and at the same time by far the most difficult of interpretation. Not only is the idiom in which these hymns are composed of the greatest importance, but the main principles of the ancient Zoroastrian religion are nowhere else in the Avesta so prominent. During a stay of eight years in Germany Dr. Mills spared no endeavors in collecting all accessible materials for a translation of the Gâthâs, and, not satisfied with studying the original Zend text, he likewise made himself acquainted with the Pahlavi and Parsi translations. In 1887 appeared, as vol. XXXI of the Sacred Books of the East, edited by F. Max Müller, his translation of the Yasna, Visparad, Âfrînegân, Gâhs, and miscellaneous fragments (see my review in A. J. P. X 91-94). A new result of Dr. Mills's enlarged studies is the present work, which was published at the close of last year, eagerly expected by all Zendists, and particularly warmly welcomed by the writer of this article. Part I, pp. 1-153, contains the translation of Yasna XXVIII-XXXIV, and gives (1) the Zend text in the original character, with transliteration and with two renderings—the one literal in simple Latin, after the example of Haug; the other, more free and metrical, in English, exact reproduction of metre and words not being attempted; (2) the Pahlavi text transliterated, with various readings and with an English translation; (3) the Sanskrit translation of Nériosengh transliterated, with various readings and with an English translation; (4) the Parsi-Persian translation of the Pahlavi text. As to the designation of the Zend manuscripts, Mills has adopted Geldner's designations, but two MSS were consulted by him which Geldner had not yet compared: Pt. 4 and F\* (cf. Supplementary Introd., p. viii). Three fine facsimiles from the codices F<sup>2</sup> Y. XXIX, 4, 5, F<sup>2</sup> Y. XXX, 9, 10, D. Y. XXX, 2, 3, 4 are a welcome addition to the well-composed and in every respect carefully executed first part of the work.

Part IV, pp. 393-621, contains the commentary to the translation of Yasna XXVIII-XXXIV, in which, as a matter of course, we find continual reference to the translation and interpretations in vol. XXXI of the Sacred Books of the East. Both works are closely connected, and both works ought to be studied by those who desire information as to Dr. Mills's province of labor, his method, and the results of his researches. In the preface, and more particularly in the supplementary introduction to his recent work, Dr. Mills explains his mode of proceeding, but for the sake of succinctness refers the reader to the compendious introduction to vol. XXXI of the S. B. of the East, where, besides a very instructive summary of the contents of the Gâthâs, researches are made into their authorship, into the relation of the author's religious system to that of the cuneiform inscriptions, and into the age of the Gâthâs. To the same introduction we must go in order to ascertain Mills's attitude towards the Parsi and Pahlavi translations, and his views of metrical questions, of conjectural criticism, and of the relation of Veda to Avesta. In the commentary likewise there is constant reference to the introductory summaries and additional notes of the earlier translation. As to the translation of texts, the author was induced by the study of so many years, not only to consider conscientiously every possible translation, but likewise to examine carefully the interpretations attempted by other scholars, before writing down his own, and for the same reason, while Dr. Mills has not wantonly varied

from his former renderings, still, as the considerable interval of five years lies between the publication of vol. XXXI of the S. B. of the East and the present edition, he has occasionally changed his former translation, and has even endeavored to improve on different parts of the same book. "The commentary," he says, p. xxv, "was printed while the texts were in manuscript, and in printing the texts later I have suggested improvements up to the last, and I will continue to do so." Although the author, notwithstanding many certain results of his researches, will not and cannot pretend to have succeeded in every point, he may nevertheless justly claim, on account of his cautious and extensive investigations, to have his translation and commentary studied and conscientiously examined by his fellow-interpreters, as every discovered error will facilitate the discovery of truth.

The commentary in Part IV, which comprises the entirety of the Gâthâs, while the text in Part I contains only Yasna XXVIII-XXXIV, bears evidence of the author's enlarged studies, of his philological erudition which equally takes into account grammar, etymology and metric, and of his acute treatment of linguistic matters. The undersigned, who, during the author's stay at Leipsic a few years ago, was in correspondence with him about several passages of the Gâthâs, was convinced even then that Dr. Mills was likely to go about his difficult task with zeal, but at the same time with circumspection. The present commentary confirms this opinion. Dr. Mills tries to do justice to each of the two diverging schools of Avesta-interpreters, to the Eranists as well as to the Vedists, but the undersigned believes that Dr. Mills rather joins with him in accepting the conclusion of the late Paul de Lagarde: "If the words are Vedic, the sense, the ideas are Eranian." In the words of James Darmesteter in the preface of his recent translation of the Zend-Avesta into French (Paris, 1892, vol. I, p. xxxi): "Ce qui fait le caractère du Parsisme, c'est la précision absolue des dogmes, l'abondance des termes techniques, la sûreté de la nomenclature: or le sens précis que tel mot commun a pris dans le système, nulle considération de grammaire comparée ne peut le déterminer; les textes seuls et la tradition peuvent nous l'apprendre." These words of Lagarde and Darmesteter define the task which Dr. Mills has honestly endeavored to perform, i. e. to interpret the Avesta from the Avesta, with a constant reference to the kindred Eranian dialects and to indigenous tradition.

We part from the valuable and important book, which gives to every interpreter of the Avesta the materials in so apt and perspicuous an arrangement, with the expression of sincerest thanks to the author, and with the wish that Parts II and III may soon follow.

JENA, February, 1893.

EUGEN WILHELM.

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De *ὥστε* particulae usu Herodoteo, Thucydideo, Xenophonteo. Scripsit MAX WEHMANN. Argentorati, MDCCCLXXXI.

Wehmann's treatise on the use of *ὥστε* in Herodotos, Thukydides and Xenophon has done nothing to clear up the theory of the troublesome particle, to which I devoted a special study in A. J. P. VII (not VI, as Professor Goodwin has it) 161-75, with results which have been taken up into the new Moods and Tenses. Still the detailed statements of the usage may be of

service. That the construction is essentially post-Homeric, that the original form was the infinitive, that the finite form is an outgrowth from the inf., is no news. Pindar, as Wehmann might have noticed, has no *ὥστε* with the ind. and uses it very seldom with the inf. (see A. J. P. VII 167; Pindar, I. E. cviii). Aischylos does not use the finite form any more than his contemporary, Pindar, uses it, but in Sophokles the finite forms come forward freely, and according to Wehmann's tables Sophokles has 32 finite verbs to 53 inf., whereas Euripides has a much smaller proportion, 22 fin. verbs to 113 inf. Herodotos makes an advance on Sophokles, 57 f. v. to 75 inf.; Thukydides retrogrades, 82 f. v. to 144 inf., but not so much as Euripides, whose syntax, like his vocabulary, is not free from caprice; while Xenophon's laxness in the use of *ὥστε*, 319 f. v. to 280 inf., contributes not a little to the easy-going character of his style. This easy-going character is further enhanced by Xenophon's neglect of the correlative, which is necessary to keep *ὥστε* with f. v. from detachment. Wehmann's lists show how very seldom Xenophon employs the binding correlative, how often the consecutive clause becomes detached or semi-detached, according to the good pleasure of editors. Thus *ὥστε* with f. v., like the postscript *τε*, the afterthought *τε*, becomes an element of *neglegentia*, whether *grata neglegentia* or not; and it may be of interest to note here that, according to Dr. Miller's preliminary count, based on Caravella's Index, Aristophanes seems far to outdo Xenophon in the use of *ὥστε* with the finite verb, exhibiting as he does about 74 finite verbs as against 38 infinitives. To this I would add that, like Xenophon, Aristophanes makes very little use of the correlative, and when he does he seems to pull a rhetorical mouth, e. g. in the *ἀγών* of the Birds 488, 508; in set addresses, Eq. 681, Pax 610, and in a formal promise, Ach. 149. Clearly, then, it is safe to speak of stylistic effect within the range of *ὥστε*. *ὥστε* occupies a peculiar position among the correlative sentences—nay, among the dependent sentences. The protasis of the conditional sentence may follow. There is nothing strange in that. The final clause may precede. That liberty comes in with the dramatic poets. We may say *ὅς—οὗτος* as well as *οὗτος—ὅς*, *ὅσον—τοσοῦτον* as well as *τοσοῦτον—ὅσον*, but *ὥστε* must always follow, must always be what its name implies—consecutive, and when the correlative is expressed there can be no surprises, no *bouleversements*. It is therefore necessarily reflective, necessarily sedate. It is perforce excluded from the sphere of liveliness, of *γοργότης*. Of course, a certain deliberateness, a certain *περιβολή*, attaches to any wedded pair of correlatives, but if the relative precedes the demonstrative, there is room for an interjectional effect. Not so with *οὕτως—ὥστε*, not so with *τοσοῦτον—ὥστε*. This effect of the correlative in general and of *ὥστε* in particular was distinctly recognized by the ancient rhetoricians, and it may be of interest here to cite the passages:

In his chapter on *περιβολή* (see A. J. P. IX 143) Aristeides says (II 479 Sp.):  
 τὸ καθ' ὑπόθεσιν σχῆμα μάλιστα περιβολὴν ἐργάζεται καὶ θαν τις ὑποστάσει χρῆται. ὅ τι δὲ εἰσιν ἐν τῷ λόγῳ αἱ ὑποστάσεις καὶ ὅσον δύνανται, ἐπὶ παραδειγμάτων γνώσῃ, ὥσπερ ἐν τῷ κατὰ Κρόνου εὐθὺς ἐν ἀρχῇ ὑβρισθεῖς, ὡς ἄνδρες δικασταί, καὶ παθὼν ὑπὸ Κρόνου τοῦτον γε, καὶ τὸ μὲν ἀπλοῦν ἦν οὕτως εἰπεῖν, πολλὰ καὶ δεινὰ ἢ καὶ διάφορα πράγματα ὧν οὐδὲν γέγονε δεινότερον, ὃ δὲ διὰ τῆς ὑποστάσεως περιβολὴν εἰργάσατο τοιαῦτα ὥσπερ πολλὸν χρόνον πάνυ

μήτε τοὺς οἰκείους μήτε τῶν ἱατρῶν μηδένα προσδοκᾶν περιφεν-  
 ξεῖσθαι με. It is of the same passage that Hermogenes says *περὶ ἰδεῶν*, I, 3  
 (II 276 Sp.): τὰ δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐφ' ἐκάστῳ ῥηθέντα περιβολὴν ἐποίησε λελη-  
 θυῖαν. And again (II 325 Sp.): ἐφέλκονται νοήματα καὶ αἱ ὑποστάσεις οἷον  
 ἐξήλεξα τὸν Φίλιππον φανερώς οὕτως ὥστε τοὺς ἐκείνου συμμάχους  
 αὐτοὺς ἀνίσταμένους ὁμολογεῖν (D. 18, 136). But what is *ὑπόστασις*? Not  
 simply a subordinate sentence, as it has been defined. It is something more.  
 As *ὑπόθεσις* is a supposition, so *ὑπόστασις* is a substantiation. It gives the details,  
 and as we read in *ἐκ τῶν Λογγίνου* (I 327 Sp.): *ὑπόστασιν καλοῦσιν τὸ ἐμφασιν*  
*ἔχον καὶ πάθους τινὸς ἐνδεικτικόν, καθάπερ τὸ Δημοσθενικὸν οὕτως ὠργίσθη καὶ*  
*παρωξύνθη καὶ ἄλλως ὅσῳ πλείοσιν οὗτος ἦν ὡχληκεν.* The former of  
 the two sentences cited is a *ὥστε* sentence (D. 21, 2), but the second is a  
 correlative (D. 21, 4), and doubtless *ὑπόστασις* might be used of any correlative  
 clause that gives substantiating details, but it is interesting to know that this  
 function is so appropriate to the *ὥστε* clause that later rhetoricians actually  
 defined *ὑπόστασις* as *λόγου αὐξησις καὶ ἐρμηνεία κατὰ τὸ δεύτερον κόμμα ἢ κῶλον*,  
 Anonymi. *περὶ σχημάτων*, III 128 Sp., the only examples cited being *ὥστε* clauses.  
 To be sure, Spengel (Praefatio, ix) makes some unlovely remarks about this  
 Anonymus, whose subscription shows him to be a late scribbler; but who can  
 refrain from citing even a late scribbler when his testimony comes in so pat?  
 At all events, the consequentiality, as one might render the *περιβολή*, of the  
 consecutive sentence is a point not to be overlooked in future treatises on  
*ὥστε*, and the subject is one that deserves to be pursued. Unless some result  
 is gained from the mass of statistics and from the details of descriptive syntax,  
 fewer and fewer scholars will have the heart to keep up the laborious quest.

B. L. GILDERSLEEVE.

## REPORTS.

ROMANIA, Vol. XIX (1890).

Janvier.

P. Meyer. Des rapports de la poésie des troubadours avec celle des trouvères. Article of 42 pages, growing out of material collected for a course of lectures on the versification of the Romance languages, delivered at the Collège de France. The author's purpose is rather to point the way to profitable lines of investigation than to exhaust any portion of the subject. He takes into consideration—(1) les témoignages qui nous montrent la poésie du Midi portée dans les pays du Nord; (2) les rapports d'idée; (3) les rapports de forme; (4) les dénominations techniques qui ont pu passer de l'usage provençal à l'usage français; la poésie lyrique française dans le Midi de la France. "La conclusion qui se dégage des menus faits groupés dans les pages précédentes est que la poésie lyrique du Midi et celle du Nord se sont trouvées en contact et ont exercé l'une sur l'autre une influence appréciable, l'action de la première se manifestant à une époque plus ancienne et avec une puissance bien autrement grande que celle de la seconde. C'est l'inverse de ce que nous observons pour la poésie narrative. Peut-on aller plus loin et supposer que la poésie amoureuse des trouvères a été conçue dès l'origine à l'imitation de celle des troubadours? Pour ma part, je ne serais pas éloigné de l'admettre en une certaine mesure, pourvu que l'on concède aux trouvères une assez grande part d'originalité. . . . Mais l'influence d'une littérature sur une autre ne se manifeste pas uniquement par l'emprunt de formes poétiques ou de certaines idées destinées bientôt à devenir lieux communs. Elle s'exerce d'une façon plus large et plus haute en excitant les esprits et en faisant naître le sentiment de l'émulation. Si on se place à ce point de vue, on reconnaîtra que l'influence de la poésie des troubadours sur celle des trouvères s'étend bien au-delà des rapports matériels que l'on pourra jamais constater." The author adds an appendix of 20 pages on the 'Souhaits' of Pistoleta, in which are elaborately traced the various redactions and imitations of the Provençal chanson offering the most characteristic example of direct influence exercised by the South upon the North.

G. Paris. Henri de Valenciennes. The prose history of the Emperor Henry of Constantinople (1206-18), by Henri de Valenciennes, is found appended to several of the MSS of Villehardouin's Conquest of Constantinople, the events recorded following closely upon those narrated in the latter work. M. Paris here resumes what has been heretofore written upon Henri de Valenciennes, throwing new light upon the author's personality and the primitive form of his narrative. The conjectured identity of the biographer with his hero is summarily rejected, and the probability pointed out of his being the same person as one Henri de Wallentines, otherwise unknown

(Valenciennes is often written Valentines in contemporary documents), who announces himself as the author of a poem in Alexandrine quatrains written in honor of the Virgin. Such a conclusion would be in accordance with strong indications, in the style and structure of the history, that this work was originally composed in the poetical form of a *chanson de geste*. That it should have been done into prose and abridged in order to form a pendant to the history of Villehardouin, is to be regretted, since much has been sacrificed in the process.

M. Wilmotte. *Etudes de dialectologie wallonne*. III. La région namuroise (*fin*; cf. A. J. P. X 121, XII 242). M. Wilmotte concludes his valuable presentation of Walloon dialect peculiarities, accompanied by "pièces justificatives."

Mélanges. I. G. Paris. Philippe de Novare. This nobleman and author († about 1265), one of the seigneurs of Cyprus, writer of charming *Mémoires* which occupy a place apart in French historiography, and compiler of part of the *Assises de Jérusalem*, has heretofore been known in all modern texts and in various ancient ones as Philippe de *Navarre*. M. Paris shows that he was really from Novara in Lombardy, whence his name. It is incidentally pointed out that an allusion by Philippe to *Jehan Boute Dieu* is the earliest mention of the Wandering Jew thus far signalized in literature (the next oldest occurring in Italy under date of 1267).—II. P. Meyer. *Rotruenge en quatrains*. Eight quatrains of the 13th century published from a MS of the British Museum, followed by a short Latin poem of somewhat similar structure.—III. G. Paris. *L'auteur du Comte d'Anjou*. The author of the *Comte d'Anjou*, who wrote in 1316, concealed his name in an enigma which, owing to corruption of the text, had not been correctly deciphered until the discovery of a better manuscript enabled M. Paris to determine that the authorship belongs to one Jean Maillart. The phrase furnishing the name Maillart, "Ainz pesche au mail l'art" (pesche au mail = je pêche au maillet), raises an interesting question. M. Paris finds only one other occurrence of *pêcher au mail*. It is cited by Sainte-Palaye: "Quelquefois il se trouve je ne say quoy de bon, comme disoit la bonne femme qui peschoit atout ung mail en la mare de son fumier." Yet it must have been in frequent use, since Cotgrave defines *pescher au maillet*: "Foolishly to talke much, or make a great bruit, of a project, thereby discovering, and disappointing it." M. Paris adds: "On ne voit pas clairement par ces trois passages s'il y avait réellement un engin de pêche appelé *mail* ou si la locution *pêcher au mail*, *au maillet*, n'est pas purement ironique pour dire 'pêcher de façon à ne rien prendre.'" One of the printers of the Romania, moved by the philologist's embarrassment, sends him with the proof of the article an account (printed in a footnote) of *la pêche au maillet* as it is largely practised in the Haut-Jura. This consists in striking the transparent ice with a long-handled mallet and so stunning the fish underneath. But M. Paris states that he has searched in vain the works on fishing for any trace of such a device. In chapter I, p. 48, of Ridpath's *History of the United States* we are told that the Indians had a word meaning "to-take-fish-by-striking-the-ice," and this method is known of by hearsay to the present writer.—IV. Jan te Winkel. *Le conte des trois perroquets*. A

mediaeval Dutch version of the tale of the Three Parrots, one of which speaks in French, another in Provençal, and the third in Latin.—V. E. Picot. Note sur l'auteur du *Contreblason de faulces amours*. By deciphering correctly an acrostic appended to this poem, M. Picot rectifies several errors of his predecessors, and assigns the authorship of the poem to one Estrées, otherwise unknown. "Il y a donc lieu de rectifier La Croix du Maine et les bibliographes qui l'ont suivi, en supprimant Charles de Croy de la liste des chartreux et de la liste des poètes. Quant à notre Estrées, un hasard heureux fera peut-être rencontrer ailleurs quelque ouvrage signé de lui."

Comptes-rendus. Recueil de mémoires philologiques présenté à monsieur Gaston Paris . . . par ses élèves suédois (G. Paris). A minutely detailed review of thirteen pages, throwing new light on every point discussed. "On voit que ce beau volume ne constitue pas seulement pour celui dont le nom est placé en tête le plus précieux et le plus touchant des souvenirs, mais qu'il apporte à la science d'importantes contributions, et qu'il fait le plus grand honneur au pays lointain où la philologie romane est cultivée avec tant d'amour et de succès."—Isidoro del Lungo. Dante ne' tempi di Dante: Ritratti e studi (N. Zingarelli). Instructive review of a valuable collection of essays.—A. Bartoli. Delle opere di Dante Alighieri. La Divina Commedia, parte II (N. Zingarelli). The work here discussed constitutes volume VI, part 2, of the author's well-known Storia della Letteratura Italiana (for part 1 cf. A. J. P. XII 240). Its most important chapter is the first, entitled 'La Politica e la Storia nella Divina Commedia,' in which are passed in review all the personages introduced into the poem, for the purpose of estimating the historical accuracy and poetic justice of their treatment at the hands of Dante.—A. Rubió y Lluch. El Renacimiento clásico en la literatura catalana; M. Menéndez y Pelayo. Discurso leído en la Universidad Central (A. Morel-Fatio). Two academic discourses by former pupils of Milá y Fontanals. The first treats of the translations and imitations of the ancient classic authors in the Catalan literature of the Middle Ages, the second is a study of Platonism in Spanish literature.—J. M. Guardia. Le Songe de Bernat Metge, auteur catalan du XVe siècle (A. Morel-Fatio). Edition, with translation, the scholarship of which is indicated by comparing the reading "E s'il riu barber (rhubarb) es sech o humit" with the rendering "Et si le fleuve Berber est sec ou humide!" Mr. Morel-Fatio's lengthy review is, from beginning to end, "on ne peut plus" spirituelle.

Chronique. M. le Marquis de Queux de Saint-Hilaire, well known for his works on Modern Greece and on the French literature of the XIVth century, died on Nov. 29, 1889, aged 52 years. "Homme du monde, artiste, doué d'une instruction très étendue et d'une curiosité toujours en éveil, M. de Saint-Hilaire avait abordé avec succès des études fort diverses."—Under the title of 'Italienische Bibliothek,' Mr. J. Ulrich has undertaken to edit, for Renger of Leipsic, a series of volumes, comprising specimens of early Italian texts, and constituting thus an extensive chrestomathy, for the use of students of Romance philology. The first of the series is devoted to the *Aeltere Novellen*.—In celebration of his seventieth birthday anniversary, Konrad Hofmann, Professor of Romance Philology at Munich, received from his former pupils

the dedication of a collection of studies consisting of twenty-six scientific memoirs.—Professor A. Restori has discovered in the library of Parma two important collections of Spanish dramatic works, among them several unpublished plays by Lope de Vega.

Livres annoncés sommairement. L'Origine du français, by the abbé J. Espagnolle, published at Paris in three volumes, supports the following thesis: "Le jour où l'on aura terminé le dépouillement de notre vieille langue et de nos vieux patois, l'origine grecque du français s'imposera par son évidence aux esprits les plus prévenus."—Grammatik der romanischen Sprachen von Wilhelm Meyer-Lübke: "ouvrage capitale, qui marquera une époque dans l'histoire de la philologie romane."

Avril.

Fr. Novati. I codici francesi dei Gonzaga secondo nuovi documenti. By a careful study (of 40 pages) of the correspondence of the Mantuan family of Gonzaga, in the 14th century, with various Italian and foreign princes and ambassadors, the author traces, in a manner not only scholarly but entertaining, the vicissitudes of a considerable number of important French and Latin MSS belonging to the Gonzaga collection.

P. Meyer. Fragment d'*Aspremont* conservé aux archives du Puy-de-Dôme, suivi d'observations sur quelques MSS du même poème. The fragment here published is comparatively unimportant in itself, but a lengthy appendix to the article, offering an attempted reconstruction of a passage of seventy verses, from a collation of eight manuscripts, with elaborate explanations, affords a practical and valuable object-lesson in text-constitution.

A. Piaget. Oton de Granson et ses poésies. Traces, in some twenty pages, the tragic career of the French chevalier and poet, of the second half of the 14th century, whom Chaucer calls "Graunson, flour of hem that make in Fraunce." (*A suivre.*)

E. Picot. Fragments inédits de Mystères de la Passion. Gives first a list of ten complete Mystères de la Passion, including the most celebrated, *La Passion nostre seigneur Jhesucrist*, composed about 1450 by Arnoul Greban. The fragments here printed are four, interesting chiefly as marking the superiority of Greban's work. (*A suivre.*)

Mélanges. I. J. Cornu. *Ambulare*. Mr. Cornu recants his former etymology of the Romance group *andare*, *anar*, *aller*, viz. Lat. *enare*, *enatare* (Romania, XVI 560), and here supports Lat. *ambulare*. To this study the editors of the Romania append in footnote: "Nous devons faire remarquer que la Romania réserve encore son opinion sur la question de l'origine d'*andare*, etc.; mais, comme l'a fort bien dit H. Schuchardt, 'tous les efforts si variés et redoublés qui visent depuis longtemps à la solution de ce problème, même sans y arriver, sont à comparer au travail acharné des trois fils dans la vigne que leur père leur avait laissée en leur disant qu'il y avait caché un trésor.'" —II. G. Paris. *Accouter*; *fatras*. According to Prof. Tobler, *accouter* meant originally 'munir d'un couteur,' and was said only of a plow. Prof. Paris here supports satisfactorily the earlier etymology of Diez, \**accosturare* (= *ad, consu-*



*tura, -are*). *Fastras* (*fatras*) is connected with the verb *fastrer*, derived from \**farsurare* (from *farsum* for *farum*), which furnishes a further example (the supposed lack of which Tobler had cited as an objection to Diez's etymology) of the fall of *u* in the derivative of a word in *-ura*.—III. F. Lot. Guillaume de Montreuil. Throws doubt upon the supposed identity, and even upon the existence, of the Guillaume de Montreuil, or de Ponthieu, whom Gaston Paris, in vol. I of the *Romania*, had assigned to the middle of the 10th century.—IV. G. Paris. *L'Auteur de La Complainte de Jérusalem*. Shown to be Huon de Saint-Quentin.—V. P. Meyer. *Chansons en l'honneur de la Vierge tirées du MS de l'Arsenal 3517*. Three chansons, interesting chiefly from their peculiar versification.—VI. A. Bos. *Juge*. Not, as generally held, postverbal from *jugier*, but derived from \**judicum*.—VII. A. Bos. *Marnier*. "Quand on dit: 'la mer marne de deux pieds,' cela signifie qu'elle élève de deux pieds ses bords, dont la trace reste sur le rivage à marée basse. *Marner* vient régulièrement de *marginare*, qui du sens général de 'border' a passé au sens de 'border en parlant de la mer.'"—VIII. A. Bos. *Mettre au plein*. In this phrase, as in the corresponding "aller au plein," "*plein* n'est autre que l'ancien substantif masculin *plain* = *planum*, dont il ne nous est resté que le féminin *plaine* = *planam*." The expression is exclusively a marine term, 'to drive on shore,' used of a vessel cast upon the coast. In this case *plein* should accordingly be written *plain*, while, conversely, the marine word *plain*, which is derived from *plenum* = 'la pleine mer, la haute mer,' should be written *plein*.—IX. A. Delboulle and P. Meyer. *Bouquetin*. This word has heretofore been derived from the German *stainboc* (*Steinbock*) (with inversion of component parts). M. Delboulle having called attention to a much earlier occurrence of the word in French than had before been noted, M. Meyer is now tempted to refer *bouquetin* to "*boc estanc*, le bouc qui se tient solidement, qui a le pied sûr."

Comptes-rendus. Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque nationale et autres bibliothèques, publiés par l'Institut national de France, tome XXXIII (P. Meyer and E. Picot). Brief résumé of an account, by M. Meyer, of the French MSS known as *La Clayette*; of notices, by M. Hauréau, of Latin MSS in the National Library at Paris; and of a description, by M. E. Langlois, of the French and Provençal MSS anterior to the 16th century, preserved in the various libraries at Rome.

Henry A. Todd. *La Naissance du Chevalier au Cygne, ou les Enfants changés en cygnes*. French poem of the 12th century, published for the first time, together with an inedited prose version, from the MSS of the National and Arsenal libraries in Paris, with introduction, notes and vocabulary (Gaston Paris). M. Paris remarks: "Je profiterai de l'occasion que m'offre cette publication pour présenter très brièvement quelques résultats de recherches et de réflexions que j'ai eu l'occasion de faire sur la légende qui forme le thème du poème imprimé par le jeune professeur de Baltimore. C'est au cours de ces recherches que j'ai été frappé de l'intérêt que présentait ce poème, et que je l'ai indiqué à M. Todd." M. Paris proceeds to devote 25 pages to a most valuable study of the subject-matter and details of the edition under consideration. (For a certain number of points in regard to which the editor feels constrained to differ with M. Paris, the reader is referred to an article on

the subject in *Mod. Lang. Notes*, vol. VI, cols. 7-13.) "Il est probable, maintenant que l'enseignement de la philologie romane s'implante aux Etats-Unis, qu'elle [cette publication] ne restera isolée, et que M. Todd et les disciples qu'il formera grossiront le bataillon des travailleurs qui, dans tous les pays, s'attachent à remettre au jour les œuvres ensevelies de notre moyen âge littéraire, devenu pour le monde moderne comme une seconde antiquité."

Novelle e poesie francesi inedite o rarissime del secolo XIV (P. Meyer). "Ce livre est un de ces ouvrages somptueux que les bibliophiles se plaisent à publier en des occasions solennelles. . . . L'éditeur ne s'est pas fait connaître, mais nous croyons pouvoir révéler sans indiscretion qu'il n'est point autre que le savant et obligeant directeur des archives de Piémont, M. le baron de Saint-Pierre." It contains: la *Châtelaine du Vergier*, le *dit des Oyseaulx* et le *Conseil des Oyseaulx*.

I Capostipiti dei manoscritti della Divina Commedia. Ricerche di Carlo Täuber (C. de Lollis). The extraordinary number of the MSS of the Divine Comedy has rendered difficult their proper classification, so that the all-important question of the critical constitution of the text has, until recent years, received but scanty attention. Hitherto this branch of Dante-study has been almost exclusively limited to Witte, Mussafia and Monaci. The work under consideration is based upon a comparison of some 400 MSS, from which, by a process of successive eliminations, the author culls 17, which he regards as *capostipiti* for the constitution of a definitive text. "Je crois que ce que je viens de relever est déjà suffisant pour montrer quelle mauvaise application a été faite par M. T. d'une excellente idée."

Périodiques. In the *Zeitschrift für rom. Phil.* XIII, Ch. Bonnier has a study entitled 'Recherches sur l'antagonisme des chartes et du langage vulgaire,' which is thus characterized by P. Meyer: "La thèse de M. Bonnier est que les chartes ne représentent pas l'idiome vulgaire, qu'on ne peut par conséquent en tirer parti pour la connaissance de cet idiome. . . . M. B., faisant abus d'une vue exprimée par G. Paris, veut qu'on rétablisse l'idiome ancien uniquement à l'aide des patois actuels. Mais lorsque Paris a écrit la phrase que M. B. a prise pour épigraphe: 'on ne pourra vraiment arriver à la connaissance des dialectes anciens qu'à l'aide des patois actuels,' il n'a pas prétendu exclure l'usage des documents anciens: il a voulu seulement indiquer un élément de contrôle nécessaire. . . . Le langage vulgaire change de génération en génération, et on arriverait à d'étranges résultats si on admettait *a priori* l'identité de langage à diverses époques. Nous croyons donc que la thèse de M. Bonnier est radicalement fausse."—M. Paris characterizes as follows Hugo Schuchardt's 'Vermischtes,' No. 2, in the same journal: "Les profondes remarques de l'auteur ont surtout pour but d'illustrer cette double maxime, que le parfait accord du sens peut rendre très vraisemblable une étymologie peu conforme aux lois ordinaires de la phonétique, et que le désaccord du sens peut faire rejeter une étymologie phonétiquement satisfaisante. Il insiste en outre sur la thèse qu'il a souvent émise, à savoir que les mots très usités subissent des contractions et des altérations phonétiques anormales. . . . Je me borne à dire, pour ma part, que je reconnais pleinement le fait pour des mots ou groupes de mots passés à l'état de formules et dans lesquels le sens n'a besoin que d'être

indiqué par une sorte de geste vocal, comme les formes de politesse, les 'intercalaires,' etc."—M. Meyer speaks of Prof. A. Gerber's article in *Mod. Lang. Notes* for December, 1889, The Fable of the Truthful Man, etc., as an "intéressante étude de littérature comparée. Il n'est pas exact de placer Marie de France et Eude de Cheriton 'vers 1200-1203.' C'est trop tard pour Marie et probablement trop tôt pour Eude de Cheriton."

Chronique. Wilhelm Meyer-Lübke, most remarkable of the younger professors of Romance philology, has been called as professor extraordinarius to the University of Vienna.—The French Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres has awarded a prize to Frédéric Mistral for his 'Dictionnaire provençal.'

Livres annoncés sommairement. Notices, often of considerable content, of thirty-three works.

Juillet.

F. Lot. Geoffroi Grisegonelle dans l'épopée. Interesting study based upon a passage, here printed *in extenso*, of the *Chronica de gestis consulum Andegavorum*. Count Geoffroi d'Anjou, called *Grisegonelle*, who flourished in the reign of Lothair (954-86), played so important a rôle in the history of his time as to set in motion an epic current attested by his mention in a number of chansons de geste (*Chanson de Roland*, *Chanson des Saisnes*, *Aspremont*, *Renaud de Montauban*, *Fierabras*, *Gaydon*). The present study undertakes to unravel the interwoven threads of history and legend.

A. Jeanroy. Sur la tençon *Car vei femir a toi dia*. "Le plus ancien spécimen conservé de la tençon."

A. Piaget. Oton de Granson et ses poésies (suite et fin). A study (46 pages) of the poetry of Granson, with copious extracts. "Oton de Granson, enfin, est au moyen-âge le premier poète de la Suisse romande: à ce titre seul, on aurait dû depuis longtemps, semble-t-il, recueillir ses œuvres et les publier."

Mélanges. I. G. Paris. *Andain*. Derived from Lat. *indaginem*.—II. J. Loth. Les noms *Tristan* et *Iseut* en Gallois. Corrects certain assertions of Golther.—III. P. Meyer. Fragment de *Mtraugis*. 58 lines recovered from an old binding.

Comptes-rendus. Arsène Darmesteter. Reliques scientifiques. A collection of most of the lamented author's works, apart from those already printed in book form. "Il aura été donné à peu d'hommes de remplir aussi fructueusement une carrière, hélas! aussi courte."—H. d'Arbois de Jubainville. Recherches sur l'origine de la propriété foncière et des noms de lieux habités en France (période celtique et période romaine) (G. Paris). "En établissant ce rapport [entre la forme actuelle des noms de lieux cités et celle qu'ils ont eue à l'origine] avec certitude dans un très grand nombre de cas, M. d'A. de Jubainville a rendu un signalé service à l'étude de l'évolution phonétique du gallo-romain; je crois également la servir en présentant sur les résultats auxquels il est arrivé quelques observations qui ont pour but de les rendre plus précis et plus sûrs."—Frederic Spencer. La Vie de Sainte Marguerite (P. Meyer). "Prise dans son ensemble, cette édition témoigne d'un soin louable."—Heinrich Röttgen. Vokalismus des alt-genuesischen (E.-G. Parodi). Detailed critique. Diligent and methodical, but without new results.

Chronique. Henri Michelant, honorary conservator of the department of MSS at the National Library, Paris, and editor of numerous Old French texts, died May 23, 1890, aged 78 years.

Livres annoncés sommairement. John E. Matzke. Dialectische Eigenthümlichkeiten in der Entwicklung des mouillierten / im Altfranzösischen. "En résumé, le travail de M. M. est consciencieux, et le temps qu'on emploie à le lire n'est pas perdu."

Octobre.

S. Berger. Nouvelles recherches sur les Bibles provençales et catalanes. A continuation (of 55 pages, with many illustrative extracts) of the author's study of Les Bibles provençales et vaudoises (cf. A. J. P. XII 245). The earliest attempt at a vernacular rendering of the Scriptures in South France is the well-known version of five chapters (XIII-XVII) of the Gospel of St. John, emanating from Limoges and extant in a MS of the 12th century. There is no reason to suppose that this is a fragment of a more extended translation. About a hundred years later appears, in southern Languedoc, the official New Testament translation of the Cathari, preserved in a Lyons MS. Another version, that of a Paris MS, written in the dialect of Provence, is preserved in so imperfect a text as not to furnish satisfactory critical data. Recent discoveries have brought to light two Provençal versions dating from the 14th century, as well as a curious Bible history, the 'Book of Genesis,' made up from the Apocrypha and legends, as well as from the Old Testament. In the 15th century appears a translation proper of the historical books of the Old Testament, made not upon a Latin text but from French sources. As for the Catalan versions, the 14th century was their flourishing period. Their most obvious characteristic is their lack of originality, much of the work being based on that of French and Provençal predecessors. In the history of the Catalan versions, many problems of detail remain to be elucidated.

G. Paris. La Chanson d'Antioche et la Gran Conquista de Ultramar. Continued from vol. XVII 513-41 (cf. A. J. P. X 121). To be concluded.

Mélanges. I. E. Muret. Le suffixe *ise* = *itia*. A note to Mussafia's article, vol. XVIII 529 (cf. A. J. P. XII 246), ingeniously explaining French *-ise* neither as coming from *-itia* (Mussafia) nor as a learned formation (G. Paris), but as representing the regular phonetic development of palatal sound + *itia*; cf. *franchise* (reduction of \**franchieise*). Later, consciousness having been lost of the necessary phonetic conditions, *-ise* was appropriated to non-palatal stems.—II. J. Loth. A propos d'*estaler*.—III. F. Lot. Gormond et Hasting. Cites evidence identifying the one with the other.—IV. E. Picot. Fragments d'un lai inédit d'Arnoul Greban.

Comptes-rendus. Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque nationale et autres bibliothèques (A. Thomas). Review supplementary to that of MM. Meyer and Picot in Comptes-rendus for April, above.—J. Bédier. Le lai de l'Ombre (G. Paris). Instructive review, with rectifications.

Périodiques.

Chronique. Adolf Ebert, Professor of Romance Philology at the University of Leipsic, founder in 1859, with Ferdinand Wolf, of the *Jahrbuch für romanische und englische Literatur*, author of the *Allgemeine Geschichte der Litteratur des Mittelalters im Abendlande*, died July 1, 1890, aged 70 years.

Livres annoncés sommairement.

H. A. TODD.

NEUE JAHRBÜCHER FÜR PHILOGIE UND PAEDAGOGIK, 1891, Heft 7-9.

Fascicle 7.

59. Pp. 433-44. E. Kurtz, critical notes on 50 passages of Plutarch's *Moralia* (56-3236).

60. P. 444. M. Schneider assigns the last 3 vss. in Theocritus, XV 80-6, to Gorgo, and not to Praxinoa, as has been done hitherto, so that Praxinoa's words cease with σοφόν τοι χρῆν' ὠνθρωπος.

61. Pp. 445-8. R. von Scala collects passages from the works of Isocrates throwing light on his philosophical training, and shows that he had at least a superficial acquaintance with the leading systems. The most important passages are 15, 268; 10, 2; 10, 8. In 11 (Busiris), 38 Isoc. imitates a vs. of Xenophanes (κλέπτειν μοιχέειν τε καὶ ἀλλήλους ἀπατεύειν), a fact which seems hitherto to have escaped notice, while Panegyricus 1 contains the same line of thought as Xenophanes, fr. 2 (Bergk), vs. 9 ff. The additional resemblance between Xenophanes, fr. 16, and Paneg. 32 (cf. 38), makes direct use of the works of the philosopher probable.

62. Pp. 449-53. P. Stengel, The Sacrifices to River Gods. This article (to the uninitiated, at all events, rather obscure) seems to have for its chief purpose the contention (directed against Roscher) that the sacrifice of the bodies of animals to the river gods by hurling them into the stream (e. g. II. Φ 130 ff.) was not an offering of food to the god, but an expiatory sacrifice (Sühnopfer), only explicable on the hypothesis that the bodies were thrown in near the mouth of the river, where they would readily be washed out to sea.

63. Pp. 453-4. R. Peppmüller argues (against the view of Jacobs) that the epigram Anth. XVI 300 refers only to the Iliad and the Odyssey, and not to the work of any cyclic poet brought under the name of Homer.

64. Pp. 455-64. L. Paul, critical discussion of passages in the Apologies of Justin Martyr. The readings defended by Paul would form a text more faithful to the MS tradition than the editions of Otto or Krüger.

(44.) Pp. 465-96. G. F. Unger continues (A. J. P. XIII 509) his discussion of the credibility of the *fasti Capitolini*. III. The insertion and omission of the *cognomina* in the lists of Diodorus. Unger questions Cichorius' assumption that Castor was the source of the lists in Diodorus, and maintains that there is absolutely no evidence that he followed a Greek authority, while there are some indications that his names were taken from a Latin source. If, then, there is no reason to assume, with Cichorius, that the original *fasti* until about 400 A. U. C. were without *cognomina*, his further contention, that two series of interpolations of *cognomina* were merged into one by Atticus, also falls.

IV. Other grounds of suspicion. Such are the early appearance of the *cognomina* Augurinus and Caecus, the doubling of *cognomina*, their appearance in plebeian families, the addition of the name of father and grandfather, the mention of *consules suffecti* for the earliest times, the presence of plebeian names in the list of consuls before 388, early Greek *cognomina*, the absence of certain consular tribunes from Diod., the intercalated consuls (between the consuls for 297 and 298) given by Diod.—all which are found inadequate to cast doubt upon the trustworthiness of the *fasti*.

65. Pp. 497–500. H. Besser reviews Hartman's de Horatio poeta, Leyden, 1891. The first chapter contains a laudatory but rather paradoxical estimate of Peerkamp's critical work upon Horace, following which the author endeavors to show that Horace was in no respect a true poet, but only a skilful manipulator of metrical forms, and inferior to all his illustrious contemporaries, and especially to Propertius. In an epilogue he softens the severity of this judgment somewhat by recognizing his genius as a satirist and as a keen observer of men, and by granting a certain excellence to his patriotic odes. Besser defends Horace against these charges, and maintains that H., at all events, is more in touch with modern thought and feeling than the greatest of Greek lyric poets, Pindar.

66. P. 500. P. Loewe, in Ovid's Amores, I 8, 104, reads *venena natent*.

67. Pp. 501–7. W. Heraeus takes up again the phrase *haud impigre* (Liv. XXXII 16, 11 oppidani primo haud impigre tuebantur moenia; dein fessi, etc.) = *haud pigre*, *haud segniter*, or *impigre* alone, and seeks to confirm this interpretation by instances of similar confusion of negatives in litotes gathered from various sources, of which Shakespeare's '*doubt truth to be a liar*' is one of the most interesting.<sup>1</sup>

68. Pp. 507–8. J. Lange, critical note on Caesar, B. Civ. III 25, 1 ff. O. May, on III 44, 6.

69. Pp. 509–11. H. Draheim, de Aviani elegis—a metrical study. 'Investigandum est quo modo cum linguae natura versuum numeri conveniant . . . [conveniunt igitur ita] ut dissensio sit in medio hexametro, consensio in primo atque extremo: nullus est versus ubi omnes ictus cum accentibus congruant.' The detailed proof of these statements follows, and the investigation is summed up in these words: 'vidimus Aviani leges quae dicuntur ex uno tamquam fonte fluxisse: verborum enim et numerorum partim congruentia, partim differentia tota ars continetur.'

70. P. 512. G. Goetz, on the Arguments to Lucan. The most important variations of the Escorialensis g III 6 and of the Toletanus cajon 101, 31, from the text of Baehrens, PLM. V, p. 413 f., are given.

Fascicles 8 and 9.

71. Pp. 513–28. K. Busche defends the MS readings in 7 passages of the Hecuba of Euripides (20, 51, 241, 367, 398, 417, 1033), offers conjectures to 12 other places, and thinks 207 and 820–3 are interpolated.

<sup>1</sup> Heraeus, following the German translation, does not recognize the second meaning of 'doubt' = 'suspect,' now obsolescent. See Fitzedward Hall, Modern English, p. 228.—B. L. G.

72. Pp. 529-55. K. Buresch, on the Pseudo-Sibylline Oracles and their latest treatment, makes a hearty recognition of the service performed by Rzach (*Oracula Sibyllina*, Vienna, 1891) in the collation of the MSS and the collection of critical material, but this recognition is only the prelude to a long list of editorial sins committed by Rzach, because of inadequate acquaintance with the Alexandrian dialect, with the language of the Septuagint, and with vulgarisms which are intelligible only in the light of modern Greek. Further, Rzach's acceptance of Volkmann's extraordinary overestimate of the  $\Omega$  class of MSS has, in Buresch's judgment, ruined the Sibylline text, and to prove this he examines the readings of the  $\Omega$  class in detail, and concludes that only in 19 places does it offer superior readings to the  $\Phi\Upsilon$  class, while in general it presents a text of most unparalleled corruption. Not more fortunate than in the *recensio* is Rzach in his *emendatio*, whether in the admission to the text of his own conjectures or those of others; the special point of weakness with him, as with previous critics (except Alexandre), being unfamiliarity with the underlying religious ideas and the historical background.

73. Pp. 556-7. O. Apelt, in Plato's Republic, VII 532c, reads *θέα* for *θεία* and in I 336c *ιοῦ, ἰού, ὦ φίλε* for MS *οἶον τε σὺ, ὦ φίλε*.

74. Pp. 557-60. F. Blass treats of two inscriptions published by W. Fröhner in the *Revue Archéologique* for 1891. Discussion of nom. forms without  $\varsigma$  of names in *-ίδας*.

75. Pp. 561-76. B. Schmidt collects and comments on various formulae of imprecation which have the common underlying thought of averting evil from the speaker or the haunts of man and bidding it begone to places where it can do no harm, especially the sea and the mountain-tops. One of the earliest examples is Il. Z 347 *εἰς ὄρος ἢ εἰς κύμα*. Similar phrases, though properly outside the sphere of more elevated language, are found even in the tragic poets (e. g. Soph. O. R. 190; Eur. Herc. 649, where see Wilamowitz), while Horace's *tristitiam et metus tradam protervis in mare Creticum portare ventis* (Carm. I 26) belongs to the same category. (For other Latin examples cf. Tibull. IV 4. 7; Catull. 33, 5; Terence, Phor. 977; Varro r. r. I 2, 27.) In modern Greek like phrases are constantly heard; e. g. *στά ἀγρία ὄρη, στήν κακὴ ἐρημιά, χίλια μίλια*. Of the same character are phrases banishing evil to certain animals, e. g. *εἰς (κατ') αἰγας ἀγρίας*, but with the same underlying thought, viz. to desert places where such animals are found, or only fit for their habitation. To this class belongs the imprecation *ἐς κόρακας*, which has also survived in modern Greek. Discussion of various ancient interpretations of this imprecation.

76. P. 576. E. Dittrich discusses two fragments of Callimachus, and assigns them to the *Γραφεῖον*.

77. Pp. 577-88. W. Hoerschelmann, Miscellaneous Observations. I. The only ancient authority for the oft-repeated statement that Sappho made mention of her love for Phaon in her poems has been Palaephatus, *περὶ ἀπίστων*, ch. 49. Now it appears that *ἄσμα ἐποίησεν* is only a conjecture of Eudokia (Constantine Palaekappa), for which the MSS, without exception, give *αἶμα*—evidently corrupt, as is the whole passage. II. The vss. of The-

ognis 425-28 are found in a shorter form without the pentameters, and with the variant ἀρχήν for πάντων, from which it has been inferred that the two hexameters were extended by Theog. to their present form. But ἀρχήν adv. is not an old form, and the earliest witness to the version in 2 hex. with ἀρχήν is Alcidas, to whom H. attributes the abbreviation and the variant. III. Interpretation of Propertius, V 11, 15-20. The alternative introduced by *aut* has as its first member *det pater*, etc., not *non noxia*, as has been assumed. The interpretation of *posita urna* and *sortita pila* is suggested by *iudex*, *urna* being the urn for the voting pebbles of the judges, and *sortita* (pass.) *pila* referring to the casting of the votes (*pila* = *tabella*, cf. Asconius, Milo, 26). The whole line should therefore read: *is* (not *in*) *mea sortita vindicet ossa pila*.

78. Pp. 589-624. G. Thilo, à propos of Bauer's recent edition of the *Punica* of Silius Italicus, examines the evidence of Modius and Heinsius for the readings of the *Coloniensis*, now lost, and seeks to reconstruct the *Sangallensis* (also lost) from the many (mostly indirect) copies of it. With regard to the latter he concludes that we may assume that we have its readings when (1) the four leading MSS LFVO agree, (2) when LF agree against VO, or LVO against F, (3) when F, which is the only direct copy of Sang., agrees with two, or even one, of the other three, whether in correct or false readings. The superiority of the *Coloniensis* can no longer be affirmed, so that between its readings and those of the *Sangallensis* decision must be made on the intrinsic value of the reading. Critical notes on a number of difficult passages.

(44.) Pp. 625-55. G. F. Unger. Conclusion of 44 above. V. The sources of the *Chronographer* of the year 354 A. D. (Teuffel, §413). The *Chronographer* seems to have made use of a list of magistrates like the *fasti Capitolini*, which, however, contained more *cognomina* and which took note also of more insignificant wars than the official *fasti*, and differed from them also in recording the names of the praetors and of special officials. For the period of anarchy, 379 to 383 A. U. C., the *Chronographer* gives the names of the aediles. The source used for the republican period came to an end with the year 705, not long after which it was probably written. This work was not the *annalis* of Atticus, but possibly may have been a *liber magistratum* of L. Scribonius Libo. The last section (VI) is devoted to rescuing the *libri lintei* from the discredit into which they have fallen by the criticisms of Mommsen. The source of the official *fasti*, as well as of the *Chronographer*, is these *libri lintei*, which were for Livy and Dionysius the supreme authority with regard to past officers of the state. Suspicion of their trustworthiness is not only ill-founded, but there are positive grounds for belief in the genuineness of the citations of Macer from the *libri lintei*.

79. P. 656. J. Nicole gives a few corrections to the text of *Les Scolies Genevoises de l'Iliade*, etc., published by him, Paris, 1891.

80. P. 656. F. Polle, in *Diod. IV 3, 3*, places καθόλου either before or after μιμονμένως.

GEORGE L. HENDRICKSON.



HERMES, 1891.

## III.

M. Wellmann, Sostratos, ein Beitrag zur Quellenanalyse des Aelian. This Sostratos was probably a physician of Alexandria who lived not very long after the battle of Actium, 32 B. C. His writings on toxicology W. traces in Aelian, the Scholia of Nicander, Athenaeus and elsewhere. Incidentally the kindred writers are discussed, and valuable details of the history of ancient medicine are given, e. g. on lithotomy, a notice of which in Celsus W. endeavors to trace to Sostratos. Hesychius too (*ἀμφίσβαινα, ἐλένιον, παρεία δφεις*) has some glosses which may be traced to Sostratos. On pp. 346-9 eighteen references to Sostratos are given.

J. Vahlen, Zu Sophokles und Euripides Elektra. The matter under discussion is whether the play of Euripides or that of Sophocles antedates the other. Wilamowitz (Hermes, 1883) had claimed priority for Euripides. Ribbeck (Leipziger Studien, vol. 8, 1885), like Vahlen, claimed priority for the Sophoclean drama, but did not, as Vahlen says, mention the most important point.

Vahlen, in analyzing the arguments in the dispute between mother and daughter, disapproves of Wilamowitz's assumption of interpolations. The mere fact that the argument of Euripides' Clytaemnestra is supersubtle (*spitsfindig*) should not impugn the authenticity of the passage which W. considers to be interpolated, 1041 sq.:

εἰ δ' ἐκ δόμων ἥρπαστο Μενέλεως λάθρα,  
κτανεῖν μ' Ὀρέστην χρῆν, κασιγνήτης πόσιν  
Μενέλαον ὥς σώσαιμι; σὸς δὲ πῶς πατὴρ  
ἤνέσχετ' ἂν ταῦτ' ;

Euripides, thus Vahlen reasons (p. 361), "had the discourse of Electra in Sophocles before his eyes, and with conscious intention put in the mouth of his own Clytaemnestra a defence, with which he intended to outdo the discourse of Sophocles' Clytaemnestra, which it was so very easy to refute. Cassandra, of whom Sophocles, as we saw, makes no use, Euripides has borrowed from Aeschylus, who makes (Agam. 1368, 1395 sqq.) Clytaemnestra advance this reason for the killing of Iphigenia beside the other. What we see, therefore, here in a single instance is valid elsewhere also—that Euripides, as the third one in the series of dramatists who have worked up this subject for the stage, has endeavored to utilize or outdo his two predecessors."

H. von Arnim, Entstehung u. Anordnung der Schriftensammlung Dios von Prusa. The order of the pieces in the collection of the works of Dion Chrysostomos was evidently not made by himself, and the poorer codices are poorer in this respect as in others. The sequence is of great importance for the understanding of Dion, and von Arnim has tried to bring the problem nearer to a solution. The examination of Philostratus does not yield results that are sufficiently definite, but Synesius is much more satisfactory, though a great deal remains to be done, and von Arnim promises further studies on this interesting and important author.

W. Soltau, Zur Chronologie der Hispanischen Feldzüge. S. takes up the chronological mistakes and inaccuracies in Livy and tries to show how Livy came to make them. One of the most striking instances of confusion is found

28, 16, 14, where L. really sums up the narrative of the military events of *two* years (p. 413). The great source of L.'s mistakes is to be sought in the use of a source which presents a different chronology from that which the historian ordinarily follows. Soltau's conclusion is that in the Spanish campaigns Livy did not make use of Polybius directly, but followed an author who blended sections from Polybius with statements of annalistic authors (p. 429), and S. even undertakes to identify this man, considering him to have been Claudius.<sup>1</sup> Soltau's idea of the manner in which Livy worked is given on pp. 436 and 437: "As in the 4th decade, so Livy here too (in the 3d) follows *one* author alone through larger sections, to which, generally in the transition to a new source, he adds some differing authorities. *There, as here, he chose different sources, in accordance with the change of the subject-matter which he treated.* He never followed Polybius, or the version of Polybius, in matters affecting the city of Rome; it is only in the sphere of Greek affairs that he had intended to copy Polybius. It is only when the other sources failed that he chose him as the main source in the African war too." The table on p. 439 is very instructive for students of Roman history.

Boissevain, Zonaras' Quelle für die römische Kaisergeschichte von Nerva bis Severus Alexander. B. endeavors to prove—1) that Zonaras does not contain anything that is not found in Xiphilinus; 2) that Zonaras does not contain anything that is contained in the Constantinian Excerpts, or in b. 78-79 of Dio, exclusive of what is also found in Xiphilinus; 3) that in those instances in which a Dionean passage is extant in the original draft as well as in the version of Xiphilinus, and there are discrepancies between the two, the phraseology of Zonaras agrees with Xiphilinus, not with Dio.

A. Höck, Der Odrysenkönig Hebrytelmis, prints a supplement of his recent paper on the kingdom of the Odrysai in Thrace in the V and IV centuries B. C., which supplement consists mainly of an inscription found on the acropolis, published by Lolling in the *Δελτίον ἀρχαιολογικόν*, 1889, and reprinted in this number of Hermes (p. 454). The inscription dates from the archonship of Mystichides, 386-5 B. C., and praises Hebrytelmis for being an ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς περὶ τὸν δῆμον, etc.

F. Burger, Stichometrisches zu Herodot. B. discovered in codex 1633 undoubted signs of line-counting. The character P (100) recurs at even distances, and gives the number of στίχοι, each, according to B.'s computation, containing about 28 letters, and thus corresponding to the short-line type (see A. J. P. IV 145).

#### IV.

Wellmann, Alexander von Myndos. Alexander of Myndos composed works on natural history which, in accordance with the current of classic taste, treasured much on mythology (Metamorphoses and the like) and on παράδοξα. He is mentioned both in Aelian and in Athenaeus. Hitherto scholars had believed that Aelian copied Athenaeus. Wellmann undertakes to show that both used Alexander of Myndos, and that Plutarch too, De Sollertia animalium, used this original. Notices of mantic and prophetic importance of birds were

<sup>1</sup> On Q. Claudius Quadrigarius as a source of Livy cf. Arn. Schaefer, Quellenkunde<sup>2</sup>, p. 45. —E. G. S.

also to be found in the work of Alexander, whose time was probably about or somewhat after 50 A. D.

Geffcken, Zur Kenntniss Lykophrons. Lykophron's real purpose was to mystify the reader, and to this end he is fond of using words that have a two-fold meaning. So of Helen, v. 822, *φάσμα πτηνὸν εἰς αἶθραν φηγόν*, where one must not forget Aethra, the mother of Theseus, to whom the latter entrusted Helen. One of his tricks is the use of digressions. Writing as he did in the time of Euhemerus, he shows traces of this rationalizing influence in v. 508. In his treatment of Trojan legends he has made use of Stesichorus, calls Penelope, 771 sqq., a wanton who, by lavish banquets, robbed her unfortunate husband of his possessions, and strips the great figures of the classic legends of all nobility and elevation (p. 574). The concluding pages add to Wellmann's observations in regard to Lykophron's use of Hellanicus.

G. Kaibel, Zu Herodas. This paper was suggested by Kenyon's publication ('Classical Texts from Papyri in the British Museum, including the newly-discovered poems by Herodas,' 1891). Herodas wrote in Cos, and probably was a slightly younger contemporary of Theocritus. Two of these *μίμοι* (dramatic character sketches from common life) are reprinted.

E. Bethe, Proklos und der epische Cyclus. The abstract of Proklos is supposed to have preserved to us all that remains of ancient tradition on those epic poems which deal with the Trojan legends. This is substantially the view of Welcker, and as a corollary he maintained that the other poems were, all of them, later than Iliad and Odyssey, which they surrounded and encompassed as the central subject-matter; and this is the view that Bethe controverts in detail, encouraged by the publication of matter which may serve as parallel tradition, the *Epitome Vaticana* of Apollodorus' *Βιβλιοθήκη*, published by Wagner, and the Jerusalem fragment published by Papadopoulos-Kerameus (Rh. Mus. XLVI 165). Before entering upon the work of making the comparison, Bethe urges that the *Κύπρια* (cf. Pausan. X 26, 1 and 4) dealt also with the last part of the Trojan war and with the destruction of Troy. Nor was the first part of the *Κύπρια* completely outlined by Proklos, as he mentions nothing of the birth of the Dioscuri and of Helen, which matter was narrated<sup>1</sup> in the poem (Athen. 8, 334 b). Similar criticisms are made on the *Αἰθωνίς*; cf. Schol. on Pindar's Isthm. III 58. Comp. also Proklos' statement that Paris and Helen were carried out of their course to Sidon, with Herodotus, II 116, where we are told that Paris, according to the *Κύπρια*, came from Sparta to Troy in three days. On pp. 608 and sqq. Bethe begins the comparison of Proklos' abstract with that made of Wagner's *Epitome Vaticana* and the Papadopoulos fragment, and sums up his conclusion on p. 612, as follows: "Es ist unmöglich, dem zwingenden Schlusse zu entfliehen: Proklos hat das was er als Auszüge aus den cyclischen Epen giebt, abgeschrieben, zum Theil wörtlich abgeschrieben aus einem mythologischen Handbuche, das dem uns in Excerpten vorliegenden Apollodor so ähnlich war, wie ein Zwillingsbruder dem andern. Müthin ist das schon längst als Quelle des Proklos vermuthete mythologische Handbuch als das apollodorische nachgewiesen. Damit ist die Autorität des Proklos gestürzt."

E. G. SIHLER.

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps by way of episode, as Robert properly conjectured. One need but think of the Iliad.

## BRIEF MENTION.

MR. ANDREW PHILIP SKENE, an Aberdonian, now resident in Pornic, Loire-Inférieure, France, has published a little book entitled *Ante Agamemnona, a New Departure in Philology* (J. Vincent, Oxford, 1892). Mr. Skene, it is understood, has special claims on kindly consideration at the hands of American scholars. American rebels turned his ancestors neck and crop out of Skenesborough, which they held by royal grant, and an American investigator, Professor Garner, of simian fame, has failed to come to the help of Skene against the mighty. It is true that the editor of the *American Journal of Philology* cannot undertake to atone for the sins of all American revolutionists and American pithecolologists, but it would give him the greatest imaginable pleasure to present an analysis of Mr. Skene's results to the readers of the Journal, if what Mr. Skene evidently considers the most valuable part of his treatise or treatises did not lie outside the competence of a humble syntactician. Needless to say, those of the regular contributors to the Journal who would commonly be considered most competent to deal with so serious a subject as is the genesis of the Greek language could hardly be expected to welcome a revolutionary book with perfect openness of mind.

According to Mr. Skene, 'the strange monosyllable *ἴδ* preserved almost in Greek alone' 'lies at the bottom of Greek,' and this monosyllable, which 'must have meant *fluid* in general,' is further reinforced by 'λ preceded by a vowel,' and the results of this discovery, which, we are informed, came to Mr. Skene June 8th, 1887, have been confirmed by the researches of Professor Garner in the language of the simians; though Professor Garner has failed to acknowledge that he has been anticipated by Mr. Skene.

Of more interest to the student of 'ethnic' grammar is the chapter in which Mr. Skene makes a formal assault on the inherency of the iterative character of -σκ-verbs. Here he deserts speculation and appeals to statistics. In Homer and Hesiod, Mr. Skene tells us, there are about 341 occurrences of 'iteratives,' including -φασκ-. Of these, 137 do not differ from a simple imperf. of habit, 156 deal with one continued act, in 176 cases the 'iterative' form is connected by a conjunction with a simple imperf., in 121 iteration is excluded by the context—in all, 590 reasons in 341 words, for denying all "iterative" force to these forms!' 'Against these figures we have to set only 150 cases in which iteration *may*—but by no means *must*—be predicated of the action.' In the Il. we have 161 occurrences, in the Od. 133 only, not counting -φασκ-; and not only does the Od. show fewer occurrences, but also fewer groups. There are 32 groups in the Il., 19 groups in the Odyssey. The groups may be a matter of some moment, but as to the number of occurrences, Mr. Skene has failed to notice that as the Il. is to the Od., roughly, as 16 to 12 (15,693 : 12,160), the Odyssey has really somewhat more than its proportion of -σκ-forms. However, Mr. Skene is on safer ground here, for all the root-determinatives are in a bad

way, and one hears the mutterings of an analogical storm before which they seem doomed to go down, -σκ- and all.

Mr. Skene, it further appears, has received what he considers scant courtesy from the philological guild, and is not inclined to mince matters when he thinks that he has solid earth under him. So in his fourth chapter, "Elis to wit," he vents his scorn on the epigraphists in particular, who are so blind as not to see, for instance, what he considers the simple, self-evident solution of such a problem as is presented by the well-known Elean inscription (Roehl, IGA, Add. 113c, Cauer<sup>2</sup> 259). In this inscription a *θεαρός* is to be heavily mulcted, ΑΙΔΕΒΕΝΕΟΙΕΝΤΙΑΠΟΙ. BENEOL, according to Mr. Skene, is *βε(ι)νέοι*, and the severe punishment is perfectly comprehensible. To be sure, *βε(ι)νέοι* is not a dignified word, and yet we read in Hesychius *βε(ε)νεῖν· παρὰ Σόλωνι τὸ βίαι μίγνυσθαι. τὸ δὲ κατὰ νόμον ὀπύειν*, which points unmistakably to legislative language. But a dialectological friend, who is conversant with such matters, has kindly pointed out that Mr. Skene's solution was reached in 1886 by Brand, *Hermes*, XXI 312, who compares *Hdt.* II 64: *τὸ μὴ μίσγεσθαι γυναῖξιν ἐν ἱποῖσι—οὗτοί εἰσι οἱ πρῶτοι θρησκειύσαντες*. All this seems plain sailing, but, alas! dialectologists are a stiff-necked generation, and will not accept *ε* for *ει* in this inscription, and after all, despite Mr. Skene's merriment, Blass's ENEBEOL, *ἐνθεῖν* being = *ἐνθῆν* (ap. Collitz, D. I. 1156), is not so hopeless as it might seem. Why might not *ἐνθῆν* be an accepted euphemism as well as *συνθῆν*? True, Maximus Tyrius insists (c. 24) on the Pickwickian sense of *συνθῆν*, but one does not care overmuch for the sophistries of Maximus Tyrius, who, by the way, figures in a recent edition of the Greek Lyric Poets as Maximus Tyrannus!

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In a recent number of the *Classical Review* (Feb. 1893) Mr. TYRRELL has paralleled the metre of Mr. GRANT ALLEN's translation of *Attis* (see A. J. P. XIII 518) with the familiar strain 'From Greenland's icy mountains, from India's coral strand.' The parallel is fatal, and I am ready to cry out

Iam iam dolet quod egi iam iamque paenitet.

To be sure, there will always be more or less quarrel about orgiastic effect, or in fact any other effect. Charles Wesley had no hesitation about the employment of the jiggling Priapean in a hymn, and others may agree with Mr. Tyrrell that Tennyson has done the best that could be done with the problem of reproducing in English the movement of the *Attis*. But for all that and all that, Tennyson's *Boadicea* is not Galliambic. The Laureate's lines are, as Mr. Allen says, 'fine and dashing and hurrying and eager,' but they are not Galliambic. The initial movement is trochaic, nor does the accumulation of short syllables at the close change the trochaic character of the verse; and for a recitative poem it is a matter of prime importance whether the initial movement is trochaic or iambic. 'The fierce volubility,' which, it seems, we are to pronounce 'volubility,' like 'Cámulodune,' is the volubility of a *belli metuenda virago*. It is the volubility of an *ἀνδρόβουλων κέαρ*, the volubility of a heroine. It does not reproduce the quivering accents of the *semiviv*. The friends of Mr. Allen's version might add that it is hardly fairer to judge his attempt by

a single verse than it would be to judge the Attis by the verse I have just quoted, or to judge Tennyson's Boadicea by

Hear Icenian, Catieuchlanian, hear Coritanian, Trinobant.

But Heber's hymn is too suggestive. As to the application of the Galliambic verse to translations of modern poetry, tastes must necessarily diverge. 'The Assyrian came down like a wolf on the fold' and 'O mother Ida, many-fountained Ida' seem to the present writer as remote from the Galliambic atmosphere as 'Greenland's icy mountains' are from the 'Idae nemora,' which doubtless suggested to Mr. Tyrrell his remarkable version of Oenone. Mr. Tyrrell's 'antispastic' theories will hardly find favor with modern metricians, but, needless to say, his verse is always a delight.

I have almost taken a vow never to remark again on the divagations of commentators in the treatment of the Greek negatives. But *βροτοῖσιν οὐδέν ἐστ' ἀπώμοτον*, or, as Theognis puts it (659):

*οὐδ' ὁμόσαι χρή τοῦθ'· οὐ μὴ ποτε πρήγμα τόδ' ἐσται.*

Or did Theognis say that? *μὴ* has naturally given offence, and Ahrens, followed by Bergk in his last edition of the *Poetae Lyrici*, and by Hiller in his ed. of Bergk's *Anthologia Lyrica*, reads

*οὐδ' ὁμόσαι χρή τοῦτ'· οὐ μὴ ποτε πρήγμα τόδ' ἐσται,*

though *οὐ μὴ* does not belong to this sphere. It is not epic, it is not elegiac; it has been thrust into lyric by modern conjectural critics, but it does not belong to lyric. It is essentially dramatic. But who has scruples of this sort? Hartung, as usual, has no fears, and believing firmly that *οὐ μὴ* with the fut. indic. 'never *denies* but only *forbids*,' restores the normal grammar and writes *τοῦτ' οὐ μὴ ποτε πρήγμα γένηται*. But what will the uniformitarians do with

Soph. El. 1052 *οὐ σοι μὴ μετέψομαι ποτε?*

with

O. C. 176 *οὐ τοι μὴ ποτε . . . ὀξεῖ?*

Simply accept them? No. The latest suggestion is that 'the mistake might easily be on the part of the copyist; the aor. conj. would suit the metre.' One asks in amazement: What aor. conj., which aor. conj.?

Ohne Wahl vertheilt die Gaben,  
Ohne Billigkeit das Glück.

The medley of half-digested and wholly undigested notions that Mr. EUSTACE HAMILTON MILES has put forth under the pretentious title *Comparative Syntax of Latin and Greek* (New York, Macmillan & Co.) appears unabashed before the philological world, clad in the sumptuous raiment of the Cambridge University Press, while Professor FRACCAROLI, of Messina, has been hoping and praying for a publisher these many years, and hoping and

praying in vain. He has now resorted to publication by subscription, and asks the help of students of Pindar. The subscription price of his *Odi di Pindaro dichiarate e tradotte* will be to subscribers 15 lire, postage not paid, to non-subscribers 20 lire. Address Professor Fraccaroli, Messina. Professor Fraccaroli is a determined Terpandrian, and will probably show little mercy to non-Terpandrians or anti-Terpandrians, but all students of Pindar—Bornemann always excepted—will welcome his work, and it is to be hoped that the Sicilian scholar will be able to bring out before long his edition of *il poeta più ostico di tutta l'antichità*.

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Shortly before his lamented death, JOHN ADDINGTON SYMONDS dedicated the third edition of his *Studies of the Greek Poets* (New York, Macmillan & Co.) to the friend to whom he dedicated them twenty years before. Thirty years had passed since he first set hand to these studies, and in order to understand them aright it is necessary to roll back the tide of a lifetime, to recall the epoch when the 'organic' conception of Greek poetry was not so hackneyed a theme as it is now, and when the fine enthusiasm, the opulence of style and the wealth of illustration attracted and held a generation that was not yet ashamed of its sap. A young Symonds of to-day is unthinkable, and, in fact, Symonds was too young for his own youth, and actually seems much younger than his close contemporary, Mr. Pater, who is decidedly more *fin de siècle* than Mr. Symonds. Mr. Pater's style has been pronounced to be a style of 'perfectly finished beauty, and full of exquisite restraint,' but old-fashioned readers will miss in him what Persius missed in the *décadents* of his time, the throb that runs through the 'lushness' of Mr. Symonds' fervid periods, the youthful sincerity with which one can never be angry. It is well, therefore, that Mr. Symonds was not tempted to spoil his book by recasting it, it is well that he did not rob these early studies of the charm of youthfulness by lessening the glow and toning down the color. Of course, it is harder, very much harder, for an oldster to read Mr. Symonds' *Studies* now than it was a generation ago. Neither the stream of time nor the reader has stood still, but whoever has to deal with Greek poetry will find his advantage in consulting the new edition. The original studies have been rearranged in chronological order, which for Greek is the organic order, a number of translations have been added, there is a new chapter on Herondas, and a prose rendering of the *mimiambi*, the famous one about the 'leathern conveniency,' and all. An occasional note shows that Mr. Symonds was no stranger to the course of recent study, but 'the substance of the book is unaltered,' and the author refused to weave himself over again. And who would have it otherwise? A wonderful amount of high and noble enjoyment did this invalid scholar snatch, day by day, for himself and for others, out of the jaws of death, and now that he is gone, suddenly at last, it may be said that few men have ever been more true to the motto which he put on his title-page and which he suffered neither his reader nor himself to forget:

Im Ganzen, Guten, Schönen  
Resolut zu leben.

A circular has been received from Professor Wülker, announcing that Veit & Co., of Leipzig, are ready to publish a phototypic facsimile of the Vercelli MS of Andreas and Elene (86 leaves), in case 100 copies are subscribed for by January 1, 1894. The price is put at \$5, which will be raised to \$7.50 after publication, and very few extra copies will be printed. It is further announced that the price of the facsimile of the Codex Farnesianus of Festus has been fixed at 42 marks. Address: "Le Secrétariat de l'Académie des Sciences de Hongrie, Budapest."

### CORRIGENDA.

Doleo quod Miscellaneorum graecorum altera series, quam scripsi (American Journal of Philology, Vol. XIII, No. 4), nonnullis erroribus turpatur; quos ut corrigat, lectorem benevolum rogo. Oportebat enim, ut scripta essent haec: Pag. 438, lin. 2 in *finem* sed potius in *principium* belli convenit. Pag. 438, lin. 11 *dictas* esse volunt. Pag. 440, lin. 27 in Euripidis *Hercule*. Pag. 441, lin. 24 *media* Peloponnesus. Pag. 441, lin. 35 Quaestionum homericarum p. 244 (deleto commate). Pag. 442, lin. 16 *hostia fit*. Pag. 446, lin. 10 *se dant*. Pag. 446, lin. 40 *der* beglaubigten.

FRIDERICUS HANSEN.



## RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

Thanks are due to Messrs. B. Westermann & Co., New York, for material furnished.

### AMERICAN.

Aeschylus. *Choephoroi*; with an introd., commentary and translation by A. W. Verrall. New York, *Macmillan & Co.*, 1893. 8vo, cl., \$2.75.

Appleton (W. Hyde). Greek Poets in English Verse, by various translators; ed. with introd. and notes. Boston, *Houghton, Mifflin & Co.*, 1893. 46 + 360 pp. 12mo, cl., \$1.50.

Cicero (M. T.) *Laelius sive de Amicitia*; with introd. and notes by St. George Stock. Pt. 1. Introduction and text. New York, *Macmillan & Co.*, 1893. 84 pp. 16mo, cl., 90 cts.

Demosthenes. Oration of Demosthenes upon the Crown; tr. into English, with notes, by Henry Lord Brougham. New York, *G. Routledge & Sons*, 1893. 2 + 254 pp. 12mo, cl., \$1.

Fowler (W. W.) *The City-State of the Greeks and the Romans*. New York, *Macmillan & Co.*, 1893. 28 + 332 pp. 16mo, cl., \$1.10.

Herodotus. Books 5 and 6; ed. with notes and appendices by Evelyn Abbott. New York, *Macmillan & Co.*, 1893. 15 + 347 pp. maps, 8vo, cl., \$2.75.

Hickie (W. J.) *Lexicon of the Greek Testament*. New York, *Macmillan & Co.*, 1893. 16mo, cl., 75 cts.

Homer. *The Iliads of Homer*; tr. from the Greek by G. Chapman; il. from Flaxman's designs. New York, *G. P. Putnam's Sons*, 1893. 3 v., 16mo, cl., \$3.75.

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Ohnefalsch-Richter (Max). *Kypros, the Bible and Homer*. In 2 vols. V. 1. Text; V. 2. Plates. New York, *B. Westermann & Co.*, 1893. 6 + 531 pp.; 7 + 43 pl. map, il. F. bds., net \$60.

Plutarch. *Life of Demosthenes*; with introd., notes and indexes; ed. by H. A. Holden. New York, *Macmillan & Co.*, 1893. 80 + 183 pp. 16mo, cl., \$1.25.

Riggs (Stephen R.) *A Dakota-English Dictionary*. Ed. by James Owen Dorsey. 4to, x + 665 pp. Washington, *Government Printing Office*.

Symonds (J. A.) *An Introduction to the Study of Dante*. 3d ed. New York, *Macmillan & Co.*, 1893. 288 pp. 12mo, cl., \$2.50.

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Virgil's Aeneid, bks. 1-6; tr. into English by Ja. Rhoades. New York, *Longmans, Green & Co.*, 1893. 4 + 210 pp. 8vo, cl., \$1.75.

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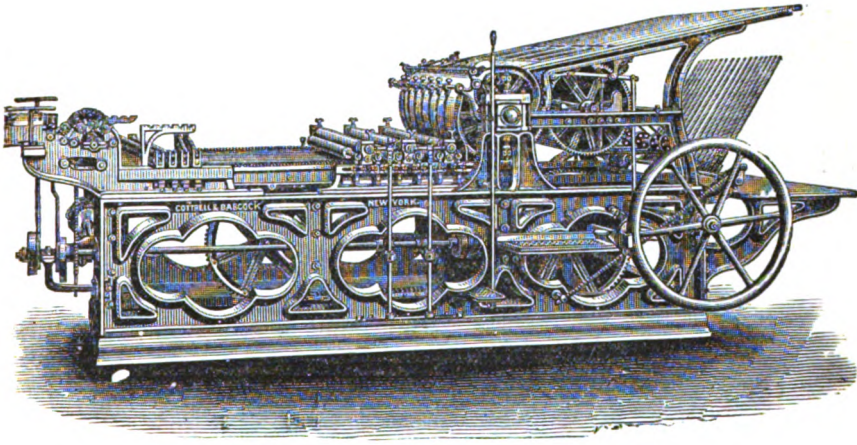
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## I.—THE RELATIVE POSITION OF ACTORS AND CHORUS IN THE GREEK THEATRE OF THE V CENTURY B. C.

*Concluded.*

### III. THE PERIOD OF EURIPIDES AND ARISTOPHANES.

#### A. *Euripides*.—*Rhesus*.

The chorus, in its character of night-watch, approaches the tent of Hektor (1 ff.) in the background to awaken him. His reply (11 ff.) affords excellent evidence that the choreutae are close to him, not below in an orchestra. Odysseus and Diomedes enter (564) and find the tent of the Trojan chief empty. They depart to slay Rhesos. On their return (667) they are pursued by the chorus. 675 ff. βάλε | θένε θένε· τίς ὁδ' ἀνὴρ; | λεύσσετε, τοῦτον αὐδῶ . . . | δεῦρο δεῦρο πᾶς | τούσδε ἔχω, 685 παῖε πᾶς, 688 τί δὴ τὸ σῶμα; Od. φοῖβος, make clear as the light that in the lively pursuit all must have been in the orchestra together, and that the intruders are seized and held till the watchword is given. This scene simply requires more emphatically, what the entire play also demands, that there be no barrier between actors and chorus. All alike are soldiers, the only difference being that the actors are commanders. No good reason can be urged why the choreutae, in going to or coming from the camps of the Greeks and the Trojans, should make use of different roads, different exits, from those employed by Dolon, Odysseus, Diomedes, Rhesos, Aineias, Paris and Hektor under like circumstances.

*Alkestis.*

The *proskenion* represents the house of Admetos (1, 87, 477, 911, 941, etc.). As the chorus enter their attention is directed to the palace. They do not see before the doors water for bathing the dead; nor are there locks of shorn hair *ἐπὶ προθύροις* (98 ff.). Such minute observation as is implied in this last statement was only possible when the chorus stood near and on practically the same level with the palace door. The chorus is the first to see and announce that Alkestis is really dead (392). Such observation as this scene also requires would have been impossible on the 'stage' theory.

The funeral procession comes forth from the dwelling (605 ff.). Admetos addresses the choreutae, and bids them, while the servants are bearing the body, to salute the dead in the customary manner. No word is spoken to show that the chorus ascends or that the rest of the procession descends, yet there can hardly be a doubt that all leave by the same *parodos* (741). By the same road Herakles follows them (860); by the same entrance the funeral procession returns (861), and by the same way we certainly expect the son of Jove and Alkmene to bring back the rescued Alkestis (1007). Again, three entrances—the palace door and the two *parodoi*—meet all the requirements of the play.

*Medea.*

The chorus has so little to do with the action of the play that there are but few indications of the relative position of actors and choreutae. *παρελθω δόμους* (1275) shows the possibility of the chorus entering the house, but again the exigencies of the play (as in *Agamemnon*) prevent such action. The first words of Jason (1293) addressing the choreutae are surely more natural if he enters through the *parodos* and joins them standing in front of the palace, than they would be if he came in on a 'stage' above them, and turned to address them, instead of giving his attention to the palace.

Before the doors can be broken in (1314) *Medeia* is visible on the chariot drawn by dragons (cf. Schol. in 1321), which has been given her by the Sun. Such a chariot, large enough to contain the sorceress and the bodies of her sons (1376 f.), requires room. On such a *διστροβία* as was possible if the 'stage' theory be accepted,<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Part I, Müller, B.-A., S. 140 ff., and Haigh, Att. Th., p. 172.

such an equipage could not be placed. Actors on the narrow 'stage' would run decided risk of stepping overboard into the orchestra in their vain endeavor to get far enough from the building to be able to look up at objects on the roof of the dwelling. The scene becomes perfectly intelligible when we consider that the proskenion represented the palace of Jason, the 'stage' was its roof, on which was room not only for Medea and her chariot, but also for the necessary stage machinery.

### *Hippolytus.*

The statues of Artemis (58 ff., 72 f.) and Aphrodite (101, 116 f., 359, 522) are standing before the palace of Theseus (108, 171, 575, 790, 882 f., 1152) as Hippolytos appears (57), bidding his numerous band of attendants (54 f. πολλὺς . . . κῶμος) sing to the goddess of the chase. This chorus of attendants (cf. Schol. in 58) enter, remain and depart (108 f.) with their master. For this scene the broad level of the orchestra is far better suited than is the narrow platform of the 'stage.'

Phaidra bids the real chorus of the play, not to ascend to a 'stage,' but (575) ταῖσδ' ἐπιστᾶσαι πύλαις. The choreutae do not obey because they are plainly terrified by the outcry of Phaidra (569 f.), and because the audience must also hear of what is taking place within the house. So they bid her announce to them what the evil may be (577 ff.). They do not respond to the appeals of the nurse (775, 780) that they (776) rush in and save her mistress. The action, from the first appeal of the nurse (775) to the announcement that Phaidra is dead (786), is too rapid to allow the choreutae to enter the dwelling even had they been so inclined. The foreordained has again come to pass, and the announcement has been made to the public in due form (cf. death-scene in Agamemnon).

### *Hecuba.*

When Talthybios enters (483) the chorus have just completed an ode, and therefore are near the middle of the orchestra. He asks where he can find Hekabe. The reply, αὕτη πέλας σου . . . κείται ξυγκεκλημένη πέπλοις, proves that, as they point her out, they can see her lying, wrapped up in her mantle. Polyxene has just been borne away to the camp. In the agony of parting the mother threw herself down near the exit through which her daughter disappeared. Talthybios enters from the camp. Had

he come in on the 'stage' the prostrate form of the fallen queen must have been immediately before him. His question to the chorus would have been then quite uncalled for; he must have seen her before the chorus was visible to him. On the other hand, as he came through the parodos he must needs see the chorus first, and his question and their reply are both pertinent.

The choreutae are on the point of entering the hut of Agamemnon (43, 171, 619, 880, 1049) to bear aid to their friends within (1042), when Hekabe comes hastening forth (1044) to escape the furious Polymnestor (1070). There is no talk of descending steps, and no time for such action. Barely have they and the queen fled to one side (1054), when the raving Thracian bursts from the dwelling—upon a narrow stage? That would indeed be difficult to believe.

### *Cyclops.*

The chorus with *πρόσπολοι* (83) enter (40), driving the flocks and herds of the *Kyklops* (43 f., 51 f.). Whether these are really animals or are men dressed as such, their erratic motions (41 ff.) show that they must enter the orchestra, from which they pass to the cave in the background (35, 82 f., 383).

Odysseus first sees the servants (96) as he enters, then perceives the satyrs, Silenos and the chorus by the cavern. Had he entered on a 'stage' he would have seen these last first. In the bargaining scene which follows there are present Odysseus, his several companions (85 f.), Silenos, the chorus, and the servants (191), who bring in the lambs bound ready to be borne away. The 'stage' could not well accommodate these numbers. The *Kyklops'* threat to beat the chorus (210 f.), and their reply (212 f.), prove that they are near him. A 'stage' would be very narrow accommodations for the giant when he comes forth drunk later on (502).

There is no hindrance for the choreutae if they desire to enter the cave, therefore they readily enter into conspiracy with Ulysses (451 ff.). To be sure, they refuse to aid in putting out the *Kyklops'* eye, not because they cannot easily ascend to a 'stage' (Müller, B.-A., S. 127)—that difficulty has been overcome many times in the course of the play—but because of the cowardly nature of the satyrs, and because the poet desires to amuse the spectators by their dancing rather than leave the stage empty.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Capps, *The Stage in the Greek Theatre*, p. 42.

The blinded giant (683 ff.) would have found the 'stage' a dangerous place. Odysseus announces that he is far from (689) the Kyklops, and undoubtedly he, his companions and the chorus have all moved out into the orchestra, on the appearance of their enemy, preparatory to departing together through the parodos on their way to the ship. The impossibility of representing the hillside and the cavern on the 'stage' has been discussed in connection with the Philoctetes.

#### *Heraclidae.*

Iolaos and a numerous company (10, 64, 91 f., 93, 248, 581) of the younger sons of Herakles sit as suppliants at the altar of Zeus (61, 79, 97 f., 121, 238, 341, etc.), at which the children remain throughout the play (344 ff.). This is the βωμός before the temple (41 f., 479, 643, 646, 657, 695 ff.), of sufficient size to receive this group. Excavations at Olympia and elsewhere have shown that such altars were not placed close before the temples; their use for sacrifices forbade that. The size and probable character of this altar alike tend to prove that it could not have been on a narrow platform of a 'stage.'

When Kopreus is attempting to drag the children away he throws Iolaos violently to the ground (75 f., 128 f.). In response to the cry for help (69 f.) the chorus come in with a rush (73), on the same level with the actors, for their presence compels Kopreus to desist from his attempt. Because they are later with Demophaon, the messenger of the Argive king feels that he is powerless (274 *μᾶς γὰρ χεῖρὸς ἀσθενὴς μάχη*). Iolaos bids the chorus and the children exchange the pledge of the right hand (307, 308). The choreutae fulfil this duty in their character of representatives of the Athenian people (cf. 69), and the king is separately addressed (320 ff.). This act of pledging is performed by all the chorus (307 f.). Thus scenery and text alike require that the play be acted in the orchestra.

#### *Hercules Furens.*

The chorus enter (106), to find the father, wife and children of Herakles as suppliants at an altar (51, 72, 243) before the palace of the hero (107, 330, 523, 622, 1142). The passage 119 ff. is very corrupt, and it is doubtful whether *ἀναγρες* belongs in the text. At best, however, the words referring to ascent are used in the comparison, and refer to the 'yoke-bearing steed' as showing the

cause of its weariness. The chorus of old men, each of whom leans on his staff for support (107 ff.), comes feebly in, each man assisting his neighbor (125). They are on the same level and near to the actors, for they are on the point of striking Lykos (254), and declare (262 f.) that while they are alive he cannot carry out his design of slaying the children. The long choral ode (348-441) must have been delivered in the orchestra. There is no indication that they descend for this, nor that they ascend for the following scene. Here Amphitryon is bidding farewell to the chorus (503 ff.), when Herakles enters and finds all together before his house (525 ff.). He beholds his family in funeral garb standing not *near* but *among* the choreutae (σχλφ τ' ἐν ἀνδρῶν). The words of the hero (529), that he will approach them, are nonsense if he refers to the few feet between the side and the middle of a 'stage'; they are natural if he is near the parodos, while the others are grouped together in the orchestra, immediately in front of the palace.

At 748 the chorus cry σκοπῶμεν 'let us look into the palace.' The death-cry of Lykos is heard a few moments later, and the choreutae begin their dance in the orchestra. The description of objects within the palace (1029 ff.) shows that they are again where they can see within the ruined dwelling. They flee to avoid the danger, when it is announced that Herakles is coming forth (1081 f.). This danger could exist only because he is coming out into the orchestra. In company with Amphitryon (1109 ff.) they again approach the dwelling. These passages offer strong proof that no stage existed as a barrier between the chorus and the palace, particularly when we remember that the choreutae could not have seen the hero lying chained among the ruins of his dwelling, had the so-called stage been in their way.

#### *Andromache.*

The proskenion again represents a palace (41, 495, 817, 1055). The shrine of Thetis, by which Andromache is sitting at the opening of the play, is referred to under different names: 115 ἄγαλμα θεῆς, 117 δάπεδον καὶ ἀνάκτορα, 135 ἀγλαὸν ἔδραν, 161 δῶμα Νηρηΐδος τόδε, | οὐ βωμός οὐδὲ ναός, 253 ἀγνὸν τέμενος ἐναλίας θεοῦ, 380 τῶνδ' ἀνακτόρων, 411 βωμόν. This is no ordinary altar, but a precinct, τέμενος, containing a house, δῶμα, ναός, an altar, βωμός, and an image, ἄγαλμα. There is no room for such a structure in the background—the palace is there—nor on the so-called stage—that is too

narrow to afford space for the shrine and for the actors. This structure is then in the orchestra, and in the orchestra is represented the main action of the play which concerns Andromache sitting within this temenos.

The choreutae are on one occasion (817) about to rush in to prevent the suicide of Hermione, but before they can do this she is heard coming forth (822). So they remain without. The text implies the easy possibility of their entering (cf. Müller, B.-A., S. 127).

### *Suppliants.*

As the play opens, Aithra, with the mothers of 'the seven' (20), is sitting at the altars (33, 64, 93) before the temple of Demeter and Kore at Eleusis (30, 88, 938). Adrastus, surrounded by the sons of 'the seven,' lies at the doors of the same temple (22, 104). 279 ἀμφιπύρρυσσα τὸν σὸν γόνυ and 284 f. περὶ σοῖσι γούνασιν prove that Theseus is standing close by the Argive king. But Theseus' direction to the chorus (359 f.) to remove the hallowed garlands from his mother, that he may lead her back to the city, show that Aithra and the suppliants are also on the same level with the actors. In the Heracleidae it has been pointed out that the βωμός of a temple would not be placed on a 'stage.' The chorus of 15, Aithra, Adrastus, with the seven sons (106, 1124 f., 1224), make a total of 24 persons, arranged in two groups, when Theseus and his attendants enter. It is incredible, again, that so many persons could occupy this 'stage.' No room would remain for the necessary action. When nearly one-third of the play is past, and the chorus is bidden (359) to leave the altar, the word of Theseus is not a command to descend to a level below that occupied by the actors. As a matter of fact, the choreutae are with the actors later on.

Adrastus goes to meet the bodies (772), and commands that they be brought in (811). 815 ff. δόθ', ὡς περιπτυχαῖσι δὴ | χέρας προσ-  
αρμύσας' ἑμοῖς | ἐν ἀγκῶσι τέκνα θάμναι cries the chorus. ἔχεις, ἔχεις is the reply. The choreutae are in the orchestra, for they have just completed the ode 778 ff. But they here embrace the bodies brought in under the direction of Adrastus. Theseus also comes (837), and stands by the bodies while the heroes are being described (860 ff.). As the dead are borne forth, Adrastus invites the chorus to follow (941). This Theseus forbids (942), but Adrastus promises that they shall receive the bones (948 f.). The chorus remain, that they may be present at the burning of

the body of Kapaneus (cf. Müller, B.-A., S. 127). To them in the orchestra are brought the ashes of their dead by the Epigoni (1113 ff.), and from the orchestra they march forth in company with Adrastos (1132), at the end.

There is no room on a 'stage' for the pyre of Kapaneus (981, 1010, 1058) and the towering rock (987) from which Evadne leaps (1071), to say nothing of the danger to wooden 'stage' and stage-buildings from the actually burning pile (1012-1017). Dismissing the stage-idea as untenable, the lofty rock occupies a portion of the space where stood the later proskenion, and the burning pile was on the earth in the orchestra. The importance of the chorus and the freedom with which it mingles with the actors remind one strongly of the early plays of Aischylos.

#### *Troades.*

Hekabe, lying before the door (37) of the hut (32, 139, 155, 157, 294, 359, 880) in which are confined the captive Trojan women, calls (143 f.) on the chorus within (cf. Schol. in 139) to sing responsively with her. One semichorus comes forth at 153 (cf. 157), the other at 176 (cf. Schol. in loc.). The ode 197-229 is of course sung in the orchestra, but, again, no word shows that the performers descend to reach their accustomed place.

Andromache appears with her son (571, 614, 702, 713, 749, 782, 786), riding on a chariot (569, 572, 626). From 610 ἀγόμεθα λεία σὺν τέκνῳ and 622 τῶν δ' ὅχλων we learn that she remains in the chariot at least till 626. Her chariot can only enter to the orchestra. There is no mention of her leaving this vehicle, much less of her ascending to or descending from a stage. She unquestionably rides forth (779) on the same conveyance on which she entered. All things tend to show that this scene, in which Andromache holds long and intimate conversation with Hekabe, and pours forth all her mother's tenderness in embracing her son (755 ff.), has taken place in the orchestra. Thither come Talthybios and his companions to seize and destroy the child. There Hekabe utters her lament for her grandson (790 ff.). From thence the herald commands the chorus (1266 ff.) to depart to the shore at the sound of the trumpet, and bids Hekabe follow him (1269 f.). She does not obey, and he directs the servants to lead her forth (1285). Still she does not go, but from 1302 to the end she sings the responsive dirge with the chorus. She kneels (1305 f.) and places her hands on the ground; the choreutae follow her example



(1307 f.). Here also all are moving toward the same shore, from the same level, through the same parodos, and the poet sends all forth in procession at the close of the play.

*Iphigenia Taurica.*

73. ἐξ αἱμάτων γοῦν ξάνθ' ἔχει θριγκώματα  
 Op. θριγκοῖς δ' ὑπ' αὐτοῖς σκῦλ' ὄρῃς ἡρτημένα ;  
 Πυ. τῶν κατθανόντων γ' ἀκροθίνια ξένων  
 . . . . .  
 113 Πυ. δῖα δὲ γείσα τριγλύφων ὅποι κενὸν  
 δέμας καθεῖναι'

No such minute and realistic description of scenery is found in any of the preceding plays. These lines demonstrate that the temple was carefully represented. The long back wall of a 'stage' was hardly adapted for such a building. The theatre carpenter could, however, in the period of which we are speaking, build the proskenion in whatever form the drama required. Its door would then open out upon the orchestra.

Iphigeneia, coming from the temple (142), joins the chorus, addresses the choreutae as *δμοί* (143), offers her shorn locks, and pours a libation to the shade of her brother (159 ff.), in which the chorus assist by singing a hymn to the dead (179 ff.). As in the other libation scenes in which the chorus take part (e. g. *Persians* 619 ff., *Choeph.* 92 ff.), actors and chorus are together in the orchestra. In 1069 ff. Iphigeneia appeals to the various members of the chorus not to betray her. There is in her words no actual demonstration that actors and chorus are together in the orchestra, but it is improbable that Iphigeneia is talking in this individual, intimate manner to a group of people twelve feet below and at some distance from her.

*Ion.*

Seven metopes are carefully described (184–218), and therefore the temple-front (79, 219 ff., 510, 1319 f.) must have been represented in a most realistic manner. Hermes says (76): *εἰς δαφνώδη γυαλα βήσομαι*, from which it is fair to infer that painted decorations represented the laurel groves of Delphi. To one who has climbed the steep hillside to the site of the ancient temple of the oracle, the words of Kreousa and the pedagogue as they enter (cf. 724–738 f.) convey an additional idea of the realistic nature of the scene presented to the gaze of the Athenian audience. The

temple (738 ff.), *μαντεῖα*, did lie high, *αἰπεινά*. A winding path (743 *περιφερῇ στίβον*) may well have led up to it. The old man's exhaustion (739 ff.) under such circumstances was to be expected. Here, as in the *Philoktetes* and the *Birds*, any indication of the ascending path was possible only in the orchestra. The conversation of the two actors (724-747) shows that they are slowly but steadily advancing. At 747 Kreousa first sees and addresses the chorus. The time consumed in uttering these 23 verses would be requisite for entering through the *parodos* and passing to a position near the front of the temple, but not for moving from the side to the centre of a 'stage.'

In the distance traversed this scene resembles 183 ff. The choreutae, loitering and discussing the metopes in the latter scene, consume a still longer time before they are near enough to address Ion (219). They do not enter the temple because they have not performed the necessary sacrifices, and have no motive but idle curiosity (226 ff.); not because there is a stage in the way (cf. Müller, B.-A., S. 127).

The choreutae are the servants of Kreousa. Arriving with her from Athens, they have come direct to the temple (183, 252 ff.). Mistress and servants enter then by the same path. The choreutae are still at a little distance from the temple when they first call to Ion (219 *σέ τοι τὸν παρὰ ναόν*). Kreousa has perchance stopped by one of the altars to offer the necessary sacrifices,<sup>1</sup> for we find no word in the following lines that it is unlawful for her to enter the temple because of failure to do this. The chorus says (237): *παρούσας δ' ἀμφὶ τὰσδ' ἐρωτᾷς*. She is still at a little distance, for it is not till 241 that Ion observes that she is weeping. On a stage she would have been within a few feet of him as soon as she was visible at all. The entire scene gains in clearness when we recognize that actor and chorus enter through the *parodos*.

Kreousa comes hastening in (1249) to her attendants, asking what she shall do to escape the death to which she has just been sentenced. Naturally she comes to them, not to a platform above them. In obedience to their advice (1255 ff.), she goes as a suppliant to the altar (1275, 1280, 1401, 1403). Like the temple *βωμός* in the plays previously discussed, this was in the orchestra. So from the orchestra at the end, in obedience to the commands of Athena, master, mistress and newly-found son, with the servants, the choreutae, move forth together on their way to Athens.

Cf. Capps, *The Stage in the Greek Theatre*, p. 23.

*Elektra.*

Orestes and his companions (394) enter, and perceive Elektra returning from the stream with water (107). They sit down (109 *ἰζόμεσθα*) very near to the peasant's hut (216), which the *proskēnion* for this play represents (78, 251, 489, 750, 1233). Elektra sings the long ode 112-166, the chorus joins her (166), and together they sing the verses 167-212. The choreutae are present as the friends (175) of Elektra, and invite her to come with them to receive the proper apparel and join in the festive dance (191 ff.). This scene implies that actors and chorus are together. But the strangers, though they have no reason for concealment (109 ff.), remain unobserved from 112 to 215. Had Elektra entered on the side of a 'stage,' Orestes and his companions would have been directly before her eyes, but a few feet distant. She could not have avoided seeing them during the recital of one hundred verses. She begins her song, however, as she comes in through the *parodos*, is joined by the chorus, and all move gradually toward the cottage, absorbed in their conversation. As a movement of Orestes (217) suddenly attracts the attention of his sister, frightened, she calls to the chorus to hasten back the way they came (218), while she attempts to escape into the house.

At 962 Elektra sees her mother coming from Argos in her chariot. To look from the 'stage' out through the *parodos*, through which the chariot must enter, is an impossibility. The queen enters at 987. Elektra comes forward to meet her, and offers to assist her from the chariot (1006). Beyond a doubt then are the two actors here in the orchestra. Not till 1135 does Klytaimnestra send the chariot forth. Like the old man in *Ion*, the old servant complains of the steepness of the way (489). Here, as in *Ion*, the ascending path leads from the *parodos*.

*Helena.*

The central point of the action during the first 1200 lines is the tomb of Proteus in front of the royal palace (64, 324, 528, 797, 984, 1165, 1203). On this (984 ff. *τύμβον 'πὶ νότοις*) Menelaus declares that he will slay Helen and himself, so that their blood shall flow down the tomb, and their two bodies shall lie upon it. Although, as he enters (1164), his first words are a salute to the sepulchre of his father, Theoklymenos does not see Menelaos

crouching by this tomb till Helen points out her husband (1203). Then this structure was of considerable size.

When Helen reappears from the palace at 527 she speaks of again coming to the sepulchre, but does not see Menelaos till 544. She has not then reached her former resting-place, for she cries out that she is being kept from the tomb by the stranger (550 f.). This monument would hardly be built against the very front of the palace. This fact, its size, its distance from the palace door, all tend to demonstrate that it was constructed in the orchestra. Then the action was in the orchestra. This agrees with that free intercourse between actors and chorus in 327 ff. and 1624 ff., also with the presence of the band of hunters with their dogs and nets (1169 f.).

It is necessary that the scene be vacant when Menelaos appears (386 ff.). Therefore the chorus accompanies Helen within the palace, reappearing with her at 514. There is no sign of difficulty connected with this action.

Theoklymenos threatens to revenge himself on his sister (1624 ff.). The chorus remonstrates (1627), but he bids them to get out of the way (1628). They respond that they will not release their grasp on his garments (1629). There is no reason why the choreutae should be on a 'stage' just previous to 1624. Between 1624 and 1628 there is no time for the entire chorus, nor for any members of it, to leave their position in the orchestra and ascend a flight of steps to seize the actor. The teaching of the entire text is, then, that no stage existed.

#### *Phoenissae.*

The palace in Thebes (99, 193, 277, 1067, 1342, 1636), with the customary altars before it (274, 604, 631), is in the background. The pedagogue, in company with Antigone, appears (87), investigates the road in front of the palace (92), then invites his companion to ascend the steps (100), to reach the point from whence she can see the hostile army. She requires his assistance to mount the difficult ascent (103 f.). The Scholiast to 90 understands διῆρες ἑσχατον to refer to a second story. Pollux, IV 129, informs us that the two ascend to the διστεγία. From the text this much is clear, the two actors come forth and ascend to some portion of the decoration. For such an elevation, and the stairs leading to it, there is not room on the narrow stage.

In response to Polyneikes' declaration of his birth and name (288 ff.), the chorus prostrate themselves at his knees (294 f.), a difficult action, to say the least, if he is not with them in the orchestra.

Antigone enters (1484) with the procession which bears the dead bodies of her mother and her two brothers (1491, 1523, 1526 f., 1563, 1627, 1629, 1635, 1665). Kreon is present with the attendants, whom he commands (1660) to seize Antigone. It is natural to suppose that other soldiers besides the bearers enter with the funeral train (1484). The blind Oidipous joins the company at 1539. Antigone embraces the body of her mother (1661), and leads her father that he may touch the bodies in turn (1693, 1699). There is room, then, for unimpeded action. Yet, without mentioning the number of soldiers who escort the funeral train, or the number of attendants with Kreon, there were present the three dead, stretched on their biers, four bearers for each, Oidipous, Antigone, and Kreon—19 necessary persons. It is highly improbable that such numbers, with the altars and other necessary decorations, were crowded together on a 'stage,' when abundant room existed in the orchestra.

#### *Orestes.*

As the play opens Elektra is sitting by Orestes, who is sleeping on a couch (35, 44, 88, 185, 311), before the palace of Agamemnon (60, 112, 356, 744, 1119, 1358). She cautions the chorus to move gently (136), to retire from before the couch (142). Again, when they show that they can move lightly and speak softly (147 f.), she bids them approach. They are close by the sleeper (166), for they cry out *ὄρᾱς; ἐν πέπλοισι κινεῖ δέμας*. Their cries disturb the sleeper, and Elektra again bids them move away (171). This request, repeated in 187 f., is then obeyed, for the choreutae at 208 f. cannot see whether Orestes is sleeping. The words of the play show clearly enough that the chorus is throughout the scene moving near the actors, but the verbs of motion employed all imply motion to and fro on the same level. Nothing here suggests a stage (cf. Müller, B.-A., S. 125).

In 1246 ff. Elektra and the chorus remain outside to guard against surprise. Elektra commands (1251) *στῆθ' αἱ μὲν ὑμῶν τόνδ' ἀμαξήρη τρίβον, | αἱ δ' ἐνθαδ' ἄλλον οἶμον εἰς φρουράν δόμων*. The one semichorus replies (1258) that they will guard the east, the other says (1260) that they will watch the west. Since they are guard-

ing against actors, they will be on a 'stage,' if there be a stage. Only two paths are mentioned, and the choreutae are guarding these on either side of the proskenion. But the ἀμαξήρη τριβὼν can be nothing else than the road by which chariots are accustomed to enter the orchestra. One entrance on either side, and that leading into the orchestra, is exactly what the new theory demands.

The closing scene (1554 ff.) adds its emphatic testimony in favor of the same theory. As Menelaos and his attendants (1562) are about to break in the gates, there appear on the roof of the palace Orestes (1567), Hermione (1575), Pylades (1620), and others (1574). The knife is placed at Hermione's throat and the torches are ready to set fire to the building. The roof of the palace, i. e. the top of the proskenion, alone could afford the necessary room for this exciting scene. Only in the orchestra, in fact, could Menelaos and his companions remove far enough from the front wall of the palace to see the roof easily.

#### *Bacchae.*

The text does not make clear the exact location of the tomb of Semele (6, 596 ff.), which must be, however, near the palace (7, 170, 212, 606, 1165, 1368).

In 55 ff. Bacchos addresses the chorus as present, and announces that he has brought them with him from among the barbarians, as his companions. There is no direct statement to this effect, but, as the immediate followers of the god, we expect them to enter on the same level and at the same time with him. Their entrance at another time and place is not suggested.

The cry of the god to light the lamp and burn the house of Pentheus (576) comes from within, for the chorus question from whence it is (579); and Bacchos explains (616 ff.) that, as the flame sprung upon the grave of his mother, the king believed his palace was burning, and labored with his servants to quench the flames. These actions of the king take place within; without the choreutae only see the pillars of the house shake at the presence of the god (591). Consequently there can be no difficulty in ascending a 'stage,' of which Müller (B.-A., S. 127) speaks.

The numbers present at the end—Agave (1167), women of Thebes (1203 ff.), Kadmos and his servants bearing the remains of Pentheus (1216), Bacchos (1330 f.), the guides for Agave (1381)—are too numerous to be readily accommodated on the 'stage.'

*Iphigenia Aulidensis.*

The old servant of Agamemnon sets out on the road to Argos (163), but is brought back by Menelaos (302). The messenger enters by the same road (414), to announce the coming of Klytāimnestra. The chorus proclaim that she is visible (592), and the testimony that she rides into the orchestra is exceedingly clear. Rejecting the doubtful verses 598–606, in 607 Klytāimnestra thanks the chorus for their kindly greeting. She bids (610 ff.) some take from the chariot and bear within the hut (1, 12, 440, 678, 820, 1098, 1106) the wedding gifts for her child, and asks the choreutae to assist Iphigenia to alight (617). She directs others to stand in front of the horses, that they may not become frightened (619), and still others to take the boy Orestes (621). Iphigeneia runs to meet her father (631 ff.). Who will care to maintain either that she ascends to or that he descends from a 'stage' that they may come together? They enter the tent on the invitation of the king (678). The text teaches that the orchestra is simply the open space in front of the royal quarters, with no impediment to free passage from the one to the other.

Again, Iphigeneia cries that she sees a crowd (1338 ὄχλον) approaching. The mother replies that this is Achilles, and that hero himself (1359) informs us that these followers are on the scene. But the attendants of Agamemnon are also present in numbers (1463 ὑπαδῶν τῶνδε). It is almost needless to remark that the Greek 'stage' afforded no room for action in the presence of numbers.

It is interesting, indeed, to find the testimony of this last drama of Euripides so emphatically supporting the theory that actors and chorus occupied the same level in the classic period of the Greek drama.

B. *Aristophanes*.<sup>1</sup>—*Acharnenses*.

The opening scene portrays an assembly on the Pnyx. Dikaiopolis is seated as the Prytanes come crowding in (42), each endeavoring to obtain the best seat. The herald calls to order (43), and asks who desires to speak. Amphytheos responds (46 ff.). His words not being pleasing, he is removed by the

<sup>1</sup> The writer acknowledges his special indebtedness to "The 'Stage' in Aristophanes," by Prof. John Williams White, in *Harvard Studies in Class. Philol.*, vol. II, p. 159 ff.

policemen (54 f.), and the ambassadors to the great king are announced (61). With them comes Pseudartabas (91) and two eunuchs (117). This worthy company retire to dine in the Prytaneion (123 ff.), but their places are more than filled by the arrival of the envoy to the king of Thrace, with his army of Odomantians (156 *σπαρτός*). There must have been some attempt to represent the Pnyx with its Bema and its benches for the Prytanes and spectators. The Prytanes are present in numbers (26, 43), and people occupy the remaining benches (56 *τὴν ἐκκλησίαν*) with Dikaiopolis and Amphitheos. When to all these are added the ambassadors and their companions, or the envoy and his Thracians, thirty is surely an understatement of the number present (cf. White, p. 189). These actors and mutes, in the lively scenes when Amphitheos is removed by force (54), and when the Odomantians rob Dikaiopolis of his garlic (163 ff.), could not have been placed on any 'stage.' Therefore some portion of the orchestra represented the Pnyx, and there is no reason why, from the beginning, the *proskenion* may not have represented the houses of Dikaiopolis (262, 1095 ff.), of Lamachos (1072, 1095 ff.) and of Euripides (395 ff.).

Since the Acharnians are in pursuit of Amphitheos, and he appears on the Pnyx (175), they also appear here. Yet they are before the house of Dikaiopolis and hear him preparing to come forth (238). Our hero, his wife and daughter (245), two slaves (259 f.), and probably the rest of the household whom we find mentioned in 817 ff., 1003 ff., appear. From 262 (*πρόβα*) to 280 the procession is in motion. This march is impossible on a 'stage,' and a *διαστεγία* above a 'stage' would have been narrow quarters for the wife and daughter.

Since if he does not persuade the chorus he is willing to forfeit his life, Dikaiopolis (365) brings the *ἐπίσηνον* to the orchestra, where the chorus is. Therefore, when the one semichorus seeks to strike him (564 *θευεῖς*), but is prevented from doing so by the other, there is no hint that the choreutae must climb steps in order to reach the object of their enmity.

It is hardly conceivable that the Boiotian with his flute-players (863), and his attendants loaded with fish, flesh and fowl (874 ff., 878 ff.), could have entered on any stage. But with reference to the Megarian a word is used which is held to prove that he and his daughters enter the orchestra and ascend to a stage. *ἀμβάρε ποττὰν μάδδαν αἰ χ' εὐρηρέ πα* (731), he calls to his children. But there



is no reason why the Megarian should enter the orchestra, if this was not the customary place for the actors. In discussing Knights 149 we shall find that ἄμβατε signifies simply 'enter.'

In his drunken elation at his victory in the drinking bout, Dikaiopolis cries out (1225) ποῦ 'στιν ὁ βασιλεύς; ἀπόδοτέ μοι τὸν ἀσκόν. Previous to that moment, then, he has not received his prize. At 1230 the chorus calls χῶρει λαβὼν τὸν ἀσκόν. Between 1224 and 1230 the wine-skin has been given to him, probably with some joke on the Archon Basileus (White). This could, of course, only take place in the orchestra, from which alone approach to the seat of the Archon was possible. At 1231 Dikaiopolis invites the chorus to follow him singing. This they do 1232 ff., and, as a matter of course, this procession moves from the orchestra through the parodos.

#### *Equites.*

The scene is before the dwelling of Demos (110 ff., 234 ff., 725 ff.), that is, the Acropolis, and the proskenion represents the propylaia (1326), not, of course, that of Mnesikles, but the lower gateway to the citadel. Probably here, as in the Lysistrata, where the propylaia is also represented, the ascending road leading to the Acropolis entrance was indicated.

Demosthenes calls to the sausage-seller (147 ff.) ὦ μακάριε | ἀλλαντοπῶλα, δεῦρο δεῦρ' ὦ φίλτατε, | ἀνάβαινε σωτῆρ τῇ πόλει καὶ νῦν φανείς. In Dübner three scholia are given to 149: 1. ἀνάβαινε σωτῆρ τῇ πόλει· ἴνα, φησὶν, ἐκ τῆς παρόδου ἐπὶ τὸ λογεῖον ἀναβῇ. 2. διὰ τί οὖν ἐκ τῆς παρόδου; τοῦτο γὰρ οὐκ ἀναγκαῖον. λεκτέον οὖν ὅτι ἀναβαίνειν ἐλέγετο τὸ ἐπὶ τὸ λογεῖον εἰσιέναι. ὃ καὶ πρόσκειται. λέγεται γὰρ καταβαίνειν τὸ ἀπαλλάττεσθαι ἐντεῦθεν ἀπὸ τοῦ παλαιοῦ ἔθους. 3. ὡς ἐν θυμέλῃ δὲ τὸ ἀνάβαινε. Suidas s. v. ἀνάβαινε repeats substantially the words of the second scholiast. Three other passages in Aristophanes must be considered with the above: Ach. 731-2, already noted (ἄμβατε); Wasps 1341, where Philokleon calls on the flute-player to enter (ἀνάβαινε); and Eccl. 1151 ff., in which the choreutae say that while the actors are passing off (καταβαίνεις) they will sing in accompaniment (ἐπάσομαι; cf. Eurip. Elect. 864 and Hdt. I 132, White).

It is to be carefully noted—

1. That in the passages cited from the Achar. and Knights no reason is apparent why the actors should be entering by other than the usual way. In the Eccl. the chorus keep their word and sing the accompaniment as the procession passes from the theatre.

2. The words ἀναβαίνειν, καταβαίνειν are used in this way but these four times in all the extant Greek dramas; and each time they refer to an actor or mute who is on the point of entering or departing by a side entrance. In the many instances in which the chorus join the actors or leave them to return to their customary position, these words are never used.

3. The scholiasts do not agree. This illustrates, what needed no additional illustration, that, while there is a very large amount of valuable information in the scholia, while many of their opinions go back to excellent authority, there are scattered through the scholia notes made by men who were not in a position to know the truth, who often betray most lamentable ignorance of the real force and meaning of the passages on which they commented. In short, the unsupported testimony of a scholiast cannot be cited as authority against the plain teaching of the dramas themselves.

The words of the second scholiast have the greatest interest for us. Not only do his explanations of ἀναβαίνειν by εἰσιέναι and καταβαίνειν by ἀπαλλάττεσθαι exactly agree with what the situations in the various plays demand, but his statement that these meanings were derived ἀπὸ τοῦ παλαιοῦ ἔθους is most important. The ancient time referred to is that mentioned by Pollux, IV 123: ἐλὼς δ' ἦν τράπεζα ἀρχαία, ἐφ' ἣν πρὸ Θέσπιδος εἰς τις ἀναβὰς κτλ. In those days before Thespis ἀναβάς meant to ascend to the table. In the later, the time of the scholiast, for example, ἀνα-κατα-βαίνειν had come to have merely the technical meaning of entering and retiring.

The third scholiast refers the words of the text to ascending to the θυμέλη, but to a θυμέλη to which *actors* were wont to ascend. His idea of the θυμέλη agrees with what has already been said of this portion of the βωμός (cf. Part I).

The entrances and exits of the actors in all four of the passages cited were made, then, as usual. The first two scholiasts, however, mention the λογεῖον as a well-known portion of the theatre. This proves neither more nor less than at the time in which they lived the stage was customary in the theatre, and, so far as they knew, the same platform was in use in classic times. We know nothing of the age in which they lived, nor of the authorities they may have used. Therefore we cannot accept their testimony where it conflicts with the evidence of all the extant Greek dramas—including the very one on which they have commented—that a stage never existed in the classic Greek theatre of the time of the great dramatists.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. White, "The 'Stage' in Aristophanes," p. 164 ff., for the entire discussion of these scholia.

To return to the play. The chorus enters in haste (246). *παῖς* (247), *δίωκε καὶ τάραντε* (251), they cry. They themselves take an active part in the beating and pursuing (252, 255 ff., 271, 272, 273). There would be no room for this lively scene on a 'stage,' nor is there any indication that the chorus mount to such a platform. In 451 ff. the choreutae again fall upon Kreon and pummel him. The action is again quickly agreed upon and as quickly executed. The actor and chorus are plainly near each other, where the latter can fall upon their enemy and pummel him whenever the desire seizes them. It is because they are on the same level with the actor that the choreutae (490 ff.) easily equip the sausage-seller for the coming fray with the flask of oil and the garlic. At 919 ff. again no barrier exists between them and their champion, as they hand him the ladle with which to 'skim off' the frothy Kleon.

#### *Nubes.*

The proskenion represents two separate buildings. The one before which father and son are sleeping at the opening of the play, from which Strepsiades bids the servant bring forth a light and his writing-tablets (18 f.), into which Pheidippides enters (125), stands till the end of the play. For the father leads his son within to entertain him (1212), the old man's creditors call him forth (1221, 1258, 1320), and he rushes out (1320), calling for help because he is being beaten by his son. He summons Xanthias to come forth (1485 f.), bringing with him the implements necessary for the destruction of the Phrontisterion. Before this dwelling of Strepsiades is the statue of equestrian Poseidon (83).

But the building of chief importance in the play is the 'thinking-shop' of Socrates. First mentioned in 92, allusions to it are frequent (132, 183, 195, 506, 804, 1144, etc.). In the final scene Strepsiades and his servant mount to the top of this building (1487, 1502), and dig down through the roof (1488, 1496). Finally they set fire to the house (1490, 1494, 1497, 1504). There is a real climbing from the orchestra to the top of the proskenion, hence the *κλίμακες* mentioned by Pollux are used.

The two houses are quite separate and distinct. There is no room for them on a narrow 'stage.' A distegia two feet wide could not represent the roof in this case; it would not afford space sufficient for the action. It is incredible that fire should be applied to scenery the continuation of which represents the entire

background, including the house of Strepsiades himself. These difficulties all disappear when it is granted that these buildings stood as separate houses on that space later occupied by the stone proskenia, such as those of Oropos and Eretria.

*Vespaë.*

The house of Philokleon is realistically represented (142 ff., 172 ff., 196 ff., 317 ff., 456, 1484 ff.). Bdelykleon, who is sleeping on the roof as the play begins, drives his father back as he attempts to escape through the chimney (142 ff.). But the old man again appears on the roof (202 ff.), and later on (379 f.) tries to lower himself from a window with a cord. This roof could not have been represented by such a *diorteyia* as Müller and Haigh have imagined.

The scene (170 ff.) in which the ass is led forth with Philokleon clinging beneath his belly, like Odysseus beneath the ram in the Odyssey, just as all scenes in which animals were introduced, could only take place in the orchestra.

The road by which the chorus of dikasts appears (228) is a street of the city (247 ff.). They halt before the house of Philokleon to wait for his appearance. The houses of Athens were certainly not perched on platforms twelve feet above the street. On the supposition of a 'stage,' in the duet following the appearance of the chorus, Philokleon would have been some 20 to 25 feet above his fellow-dikasts (White). When his attempted escape is prevented (394), he calls upon the chorus (402) to keep the promise they made (383) to defend him. The choreutae prepare to obey (420, 423), and rush upon the actors (453 ff.), are beaten back by Xanthus, suffocated with smoke (457), again clubbed (458). Though much is said of rushing forward and driving back, there is not one word of ascending or descending. Not till 727 do the choreutae finally throw aside their stones. From the moment that the choreutae first appear before the dwelling till their weapons are finally laid down, the text clearly assumes that the door of the house opens on the level of the orchestra.

*ἀνάβαυε* (1342) needs but a word of additional explanation<sup>1</sup> here. Philokleon and the girl enter together, for he has just stolen her and brought her away from his boon companions. They come in (1325) to the same level just occupied by Xanthias, or he would not be so fearful of receiving another drubbing (1324).

<sup>1</sup> Cf. discussion of Knights, 147 ff.

The pursuing Bdelykleon and the *συμπόται* must appear in the same portion of the theatre (1331). The old man drives his pursuers back, leads the flute-player farther in, where Bdelykleon again finds them (1363). From 1325 to 1363, then, the actors occupy their usual portion of the theatre, and the drunken old man neither climbs to a 'stage' himself, nor drags his flute-girl up to one.

It is now so commonly admitted (cf. White, 168) that *καταβαίον γ' ἐπ' αὐτοῖς* (1514) means *in certamen descendere* that it is hardly necessary to say that no change of level is implied here. The chorus make room for Philokleon and the sons of Karkinos (1516), and sing the accompaniment for the dance which follows. Finally all the occupants of the scene go dancing off through the parodos together (1535 ff.). To complete the proof that the entire play has been presented in the orchestra, we need simply note that the sons of Karkinos, though mutes, plainly appear in the orchestra, and that the violent motions of Philokleon (1484 ff.) could not be safely made by a drunken man on a narrow 'stage.'

#### *Pax.*

The change from earth to heaven and from heaven back to earth has given commentators more trouble, perhaps, than has any other passage of our poet. It is natural, however, that the scene before the palace of Zeus should take place on the theologion, where the gods were accustomed to appear.

The figure of Peace was of great size (schol. Plato, *Apol.* 19, C.). Hermes says she has been cast into a deep cave (223), below where he and Trygaios are standing (224). The latter has actually ascended through the air (149 ff., 174 f.). The platform on which he has landed is large enough to contain himself, Hermes, the great statue, Theoria, and Opora. The scholiast to 727 informs us that Trygaios and the two maidens descend to the orchestra by means of klimakes. These suggestions all point to the roof of the proskenion as the location of heaven. But we cannot accept the additional statement of the scholiast just quoted, that probably (*ἴσως*) the chorus has also been in heaven with the actors. It is composed of *γεωργῶν Ἀθμυνίων* (*Dramatis Personae*, Codex V) and comes in (300) calling to Trygaios to direct them. The dance which follows (322 ff.) would be possible only in the orchestra. Accompanying them is a crowd of Boiotians (466), Argives (475, 494), Spartans (478), Megarians (481, 500), and

Lamachos (473). This numerous company is possible only in the orchestra. The absurdity of the chorus and their companions tugging away in the orchestra, on earth, while Hermes and Trygaïos are directing them from the heavens, is not so great as the absurdity of allowing the chorus to climb by some means to that heaven to which Trygaïos only attained by the flight of his beetle (cf. Capps, p. 76 f.). In the Peace, then, we have the only instance in the classic drama of the use of the so-called stage by the actors for any considerable time. At the bidding of Hermes (427) some of the choreutae enter (*εἰσιόντες*) the *proskenion*, in order to 'remove the stones' and so prepare for the raising of the goddess.

Trygaïos appeals (881 f.) to the audience to inform him who is to care for Theoria, then adds that he will himself lead to a position in their midst. He invites the Prytanis to receive her (905), then cries (906) *θέασ' ὡς προθύμως ὁ πρύτανις παρεδέξατο*. There can be no doubt that Theoria actually goes to the spectators' seats.

962. Tryg. καὶ τοῖς θεαταῖς ῥίπτε τῶν κριθῶν. Oik. ἰδοῦ.

Tryg. ἔδωκας ἥδη; Oik. νῆ τὸν Ἑρμῆν ὥστε γε  
τούτων ὅσοιπέρ εἰσι τῶν θεωμένων  
οὐκ ἔστιν οὐδεὶς ὅστις οὐ κριθὴν ἔχει.

In the Wasps, 58 f., we find

ἡμῖν γὰρ οὐκ ἔστ' οὔτε κάρυ' ἐκ φορμίδος  
δούλω διαρριπτοῦντε τοῖς θεωμένοις.

In Plutus, 797 ff.

οὐ γὰρ πρεπῶδές ἐστι τῷ διδασκάλῳ  
ἰσχάδια καὶ τρωγάλια τοῖς θεωμένοις  
προβαλόντ', ἐπὶ τούτοις εἰτ' ἀναγκάζειν γελᾶν.

These passages prove what was the custom in the time of Aristophanes. There was undoubtedly, then, an actual throwing of the barley in Peace, 962 ff. The sacrifice is therefore being offered in the orchestra, from which alone the barley could be thrown among the spectators. Since the actors were in the orchestra, the direction of Trygaïos (1305 f.) to the chorus to eat all that remains is easily understood, and the choreutae readily join the procession which escorts the 'happy pair' from the theatre at the end.

*Aves.*

It is necessary to ascend the bushy hillside (1, 92, 202, 208, 224, 265) in order to reach the mouth of the cavern where the Epops dwells (51 ff., 92, 646 ff.), for Euelpides declares (8) that he has worn off his toe-nails in following the directions of his Jackdaw, and asks the bird if he proposes to lead them down the rocks (20). From 1 to 51 the actors are plainly wandering hither and thither, in obedience to the motions of their feathery guides. This play, like the Prometheus and the Philoktetes, could not be 'set' on a 'stage,' and the actors have evidently entered by the parodos.

175. βλέπον κάτω. Ep. καὶ δὴ βλέπω. Pei. βλέπε νῦν ἄνω.  
Ep. βλέπω. Pei. περίαγε τὸν τράχηλον. Ep. νῆ Δία,  
ἀπολαύσομαί τι δ', εἰ διαστροφῆσομαι.

βλέπον κάτω has been cited as a strong argument that the actors were standing on a stage when these words were uttered (Müller, B.-A., S. 109). But the bushy hillside rising from the level of the orchestra offers practically as good an opportunity for looking down as does Müller's stage. The whole passage, however, is no more to be taken seriously than is the command to the sausage-seller (Knights, 169 ff.) to mount his dresser and take a look at the islands.

The first four birds (227 ff.) come apparently from different directions, for Peisth. says the second one comes from an unlucky quarter (275). The chorus proper appear in the parodos (296), and come slowly in, that their appearance may be duly appreciated. They are evidently at a distance when they ask (310) ποῦ μ' ἄρ' ὅς ἐκάλεσε; and they do not perceive the two strangers till after 326, when Epops calls their attention to the two mortals. In rage they exhort one another to attack the intruders (344). κύκλωσαι (345) implies that the birds can surround their enemies. The two men in terror seize on whatever comes to hand for protection (353, 357, 361), but the birds attack them at close quarters (364 ff.). Not till 480 does the Epops finally persuade them to retire. As in all the other scenes in which steps must be ascended to reach a stage, if a stage exists, there is no word of the text which signifies ascending. It is plain also that no impediment exists to the free intermingling of actors and chorus. The following scene, in which Peisth. explains his plans, gains

vastly when it is understood that the actor is not preaching to the birds from the top of a stage, but is talking to them as a sharer of the same scene with themselves.

The close (1720 ff.) but emphasizes the teaching of the earlier portions of the play. The chorus sings *ἀναγε, δίεχε, πάραγε, πάρεχε, περιπέτεσθε*, as Peisth. and his bride appear. The bridegroom, delighted with their hymn, invites them to follow in the marriage-train (1755); and, as he leads the way out dancing (1761) with his bride, the birds follow singing (1763 ff.).

### *Lysistrata.*

Though Lysistrata has sent the older women to seize the citadel, her purpose in calling the assembly of the women is to persuade them to join in the movement. The acropolis is the goal to which they are to move, and immediately after the assembly of women have sworn to follow the leadership of Lysistrata, the shout of those who have taken possession of the citadel is heard from within. On the deep stage of the modern opera-house a street scene in the foreground, with an acropolis in the distance, is easily represented, and the audience readily believes that the cry from behind the scenes comes from the citadel. Stage or no stage, such scenic effects were impossible in the Greek theatre. If the cry is to be understood as coming from the acropolis, then the propylaia must be represented before the eyes of the audience at the moment when the cry is heard. This view is supported by the words of Lysistrata (246): *ξυνεμβάλωμεν εισιῶσαι τοὺς μοχλοὺς*, words which imply entering the gates which are before them. No change of scene takes place then, and *ἐξέρχεται* (5), and *φερέτω κύλικά τις ἔνδοθεν καὶ σταμνίον* (199) imply actions which occurred before the acropolis entrance.

That the ascending road to the propylaia could not be represented on a 'stage' has been shown above. That it actually was represented we learn from 287 f.: *λοιπόν ἐστι χωρίον | τὸ πρὸς πόλιν, τὸ σιμόν, οἱ σπουδὴν ἔχω*. The scholion to τὸ σιμόν (Dübner, 288) explains τὸ σιμόν· ὄνομα χωρίου περὶ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ἀντὶ τοῦ πρόσσαντες. ἢ ὄνομα χωρίου (καὶ ἐν Βαβυλωνίους "μέσσην ἔρειδε πρὸς τὸ σιμόν"). καὶ Πλάτων ἐν Νίκαις τοῦτ' προσαναβῆναι τὸ σιμόν δεῖ. τὸ σιμόν not only means an ascent, then, but was the name of the ascent leading to the acropolis. The absurdity of making the words refer to a flight of steps is apparent. That an inclined plane led from the orchestra to a 'stage' is equally incredible. As in the similar



scenes already discussed, the ground rises from the orchestra level to the front of the proskenion, on which is represented the required scene. This ascent, enough to give the suggestion of reality to the spectators, was not sufficient to prevent the free movement of actors and chorus, nor to serve as a barrier between them.

In 829 ff. *Lysistrata*, *Myrrhina* and the day guards appear, move and act on the wall above the entrance (864 and schol., 873 and schol., 883). As often remarked in the foregoing pages, the *διστεγία*, as it was possible above a stage, could not have afforded room for so many people. They appear on the roof of the proskenion.

The four orchestric movements 256–265, 271–280, 286–295, 296–305, were of course executed in the orchestra. At 306 the chorus of men turn to the gates of the acropolis, and, their burdens being deposited on the ground (307, 314), they prepare to set fire to the gates (308, 311, 316). They are here close in front of the gates, on the stage, if stage there be. Therefore the chorus of women, as they enter with water to the rescue of their fellow-women (318, 334), do not reach the men till after the orchestric movement (321–334, 335–349) in the orchestra is ended. Not till 350 do they approach the men, who turn to face them (352). All are on the same level, for the talk is of beating (357, 364), of seizing (359), of striking (360, 366); the women invite the men to come forward (365); the men threaten to scorch the women (376) and to burn their hair (381). The women reply by drenching their opponents with the contents of their water-pots. In this connection the scholiast is cited to prove that the women were on a stage above the men.

Schol. in 321: πέτου, πέτου· νῦν ἐστὶν ἡμιχόριον τὸ λέγον ἐκ γυναικῶν εἰσερχομένων ἄνωθεν, ἵνα καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ αὐτῶν καταχέωσιν ἄνωθεν. τὸ δὲ ἄλλο ἡμιχόριον ἐξ ἀνδρῶν κάτωθεν ἐπερχομένων ταῖς ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει εἰς πολιορκίαν. The imagination of the scholiast has been caught by the drenching scene (381 ff.), and he wishes the effect of height for this. Hence arises his use of ἄνωθεν and κάτωθεν. We have noted above why the chorus of women came in on the level of the orchestra, it remains to give the reasons why they could not have entered on a 'stage.' The chorus of men has dragged their burden up the τὸ σιμόν (286, 287 ff.) and deposited it (306 ff.), so they can no longer be spoken of as coming up from below. Had the chorus of women entered on a 'stage,' their first orchestric movement<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Arnoldt, *Die Chorparteien bei Euripides*, S. 80 ff.

must have been performed there (321-349), and they must have remained till 541 ff. and performed this dance also on the 'stage.' For they are on the same level with the magistrate (386 ff.) Not till 539 do they announce that they leave their pitchers to engage in the dance.

But there are present on this 'stage' the chorus of women, the magistrate (387 ff.), the servants with the levers (424 ff.), Lysistrata (430 ff.), first woman (439 f.), second woman (443 f.), third woman (447 f.), at least four different policemen to contend with the four women (433 ff., 441 f., 445, 449, 451, 455, 462), and a crowd of women from the acropolis (456 ff.). That such numbers, in a scene of the liveliest possible action, could be accommodated on a Greek 'stage' is an utter impossibility, and we must simply infer that the scholiast to 321 had no better authority for his words than his own imagination.<sup>1</sup>

Though at the close of the play the text is very corrupt, and though many of the various readings have unquestionably been adapted with the view of making representation on a stage possible, it is yet clear that there is the easiest possible communication between the entrance to the acropolis and the orchestra. Actors and chorus, Spartans, Athenians, and the women all pass in and out with ease. Room for the dances of the Athenians and Spartans (1243, 1246, 1277, 1279, 1317) with their wives existed only in the orchestra, and therefore from the orchestra all departed at the end. In fact, for the Lysistrata the only means to avoid building the 'stage' on a level with the orchestra is to construct an orchestra on a level with the stage, which has been shown (Part I) to be an impossibility.

### *Thesmophoriazusae.*

The assembly scene alone need claim our attention. Mnesikles, dressed as a woman, with his servant Thratta, approaches the Thesmophorion (279). They sacrifice a cake to the goddesses (285). Mnesikles offers prayer at the altar (286), and seeks a good place among the seats where he may sit down and listen to the orators (292 f.). The herald proclaims silence (295 f.). The prayers customary in opening an assembly are offered (296 ff.), in which the chorus join (312 ff.). The *προβούλευμα* is read (372 ff.). The call for speakers is given (379). The speaker is crowned

<sup>1</sup> For the discussion of the entire play see White, p. 202 ff.

before addressing the assembly (380). Two of the women leave their seats and come forward and speak (380, 443), followed by Mnesikles (466). Kleisthenes brings news that an intruder is among them (573), and joins in the search which follows (598 ff.), and, with the assistance of the choreutae, discovers the culprit (628 ff.). The chorus kindles torches and searches through the entire precinct, and has an active part to perform with the herald (312 ff.), as well as with the speakers (434 ff., 459 ff., 520 ff.) and with Kleisthenes (582 ff.). Mnesikles seizes the child from its nurse (689) and flees to the altar (693). In response to the mother's call for assistance the chorus advise to set him on fire. Throughout the entire scene actor is distinguishable from the chorus in no way; all are together, and it need hardly be remarked that the orchestra alone affords the required space. As usual, we have emphatic testimony that actors and chorus must be together in important portions of the play, while no situation is discoverable which renders it either necessary or desirable that they be separated by a stage.

*Ecclesiazusae.*

The proskenion is most interesting because it must have represented several houses, before which, through the orchestra, ran a street of the city. Praxagora appears from her dwelling in the opening scene, as we learn from 310, when her husband enters under circumstances which render it necessary that he come directly from the house. At 491 also the chorus declares that they are again before the dwelling of their general. Later Praxagora wishes to creep in unobserved (511), but is prevented by the appearance of Blepyros (519). The greeting of the maid to the chorus and neighbors (1114 f.) testifies that the same house is visible to the end. The other dwellings are the house of the neighbor (34), of the first citizen (731 ff.), of the first old woman (977, 990, 997, 1005), of the young woman (962, 976, 989), of the second old woman (1093 ff.). Here are six dwellings mentioned as visible on the scene. It is about as hopeless to try and reconcile them with the three stage-doors of Pollux as it is to attempt to prove that they fronted on a narrow 'stage.'

The assembly scene is again interesting. The chorus enters at 30, the neighbor at 35, three others at 41 f., another 46, still another 49, two more at 51, and many at 52. All take seats (57), the rite of purification is travestied (128), the call for the speaker is given (130), and the orators are crowned (122, 131). Then the

leader instructs them what to do in the real assembly. Not only is the orchestra the only place large enough to contain such an assembly, but there is again absolutely no way of distinguishing actors, mates and chorus till Praxagora and her companions hasten forth (284), to be followed by the chorus singing the ode 289-310.

The chorus reappear at 477, but stop in the shelter of the parodos wall to remove their disguises (cf. Müller, B.-A., S. 135). Praxagoras arrives (503) while they are still busy with this work, and bids her servant (509 f.) put the clothing in order. This command cannot be meant for the choreutae, for they respond to the direction to lay aside their garments (514 ff.). Orders are constantly given without mention of names, as in the Peace 937, 956, 960 f., 1100, 1193, and the Birds 435, 947, 958, 1309 (White, p. 182). Mistress and servant are therefore in the orchestra with the chorus.

Of *καταβαίνεις* (1152) and the procession with which the play closes enough has already been said in connection with the discussion of the Knights 147 ff. It is sufficient here to call attention to the fact that, while the text contains no hint of a 'stage,' actors and chorus are in the orchestra together at the beginning, middle and end of the play.

#### *Ranae.*

Because of the extraordinary nature of the scenes pictured on earth, on the Lake of Acheron and in Hades, doubts must ever exist as to how much was actually represented and how much was left to the imagination of the audience. It is impossible to assign a separate portion of the theatre to each of the above-mentioned localities. Therefore, if the scenery did not actually change, it was assumed by the poet the spectators would conceive the location of the action altered as often as he invited them to do so.

Dionysos and Xanthias enter the orchestra, for the latter is mounted on an ass (23, 25, 27, 31 f., 35). The god approaches the house of Herakles and raps (36). The interview with the hero being ended, Charon's boat appears (182, 188, 190, 202), Dionysos embarks (188, 190), and the voyage begins. Knowledge of the later *λογεῖον* has confused the scholiast to 181, so that he is in doubt whether Acheron is on the *λογεῖον* or in the orchestra. Since the god entered the orchestra in the beginning, we could hardly expect him to mount to a 'stage' to find the stream of Acheron. The full proof that he continues in the orchestra is found in the scene just after his landing in the under world. Here Dionysos is thoroughly frightened by the monsters which

Xanthias describes as present. When the Empusa appears, the god, in mortal terror, rushes to his priest, who occupies the seat of honor in the middle of the row of *θρόνοι*, crying (297) *ἱερεὺ διαφύλαξόν μ' ἵν' ὦ σοι ξυμπότης*. Of the actual running Xanthias gives testimony (301 *ἴθ' ἥπερ ἔρχει. δεῦρο δεῦρ' ὦ δέσποτα*). The scholiast declares that he runs and hides behind the chair of his priest, a statement which we readily accept after a comparison with the action of Theoria (Peace 906-7) and with that of the slave throwing barley to the spectators (Peace 962).

As is the case so often in Aristophanes, the final scene strongly supports the testimony of the earlier portions of the play, that no stage could have existed. The trial scene is over, and Aischylos is to return to the upper world. The numbers present again demonstrate that this scene has been acted in the orchestra. Pluto gives the command to the chorus (1524 ff.) *φαίνετε τοῖνυν ὑμεῖς τούτῳ | λαμπάδας ἱεράς, χ' ἅμα προπέμπετε | τοῖσιν τούτου τοῦτον μέλεσιν | καὶ μολπαῖσιν κελαδοῦντες*. The chorus obeys, and moves with Dionysos, Aischylos and Xanthias from the theatre.

#### *Plutus.*

But two scenes need mention. Chremylos bids Kario (222 f.) go forth and summon *τοὺς ξυγγεώργους*, who form the chorus. The servant obeys, and appears with them in the parodos (253 ff.), urging them to hasten to reach the house of his master. They threaten to club him (271 f.) for humbugging them, and after a few lines he declares that he will lead them in the dance (290 f.) which follows. In this last play of our poet, then, we find this testimony, which puts beyond question that actor and chorus are together in the orchestra, and no reason anywhere appears for the existence of a stage. In 1208 ff. we learn that the chorus again goes from the theatre in procession with the actors. Thus, in his last words, Aristophanes puts the seal of his condemnation on any theory which shall separate actors and chorus by any artificial difference of level.

The same striving after realism appears in the scenery of some of the plays of Euripides as in the tattered garments of certain of his characters. Nowhere in the two older tragedians are there such indications of realism as we find in the description of the temple in *Iph. Taur.* 70 ff., and of the metopes in *Ion* 190 ff. Instead of the usual palace, a peasant's hut is shown in the

Electra. The palace shakes in the Bacchae, and falls partially in ruins in Hercules Furens. In Andromache two buildings, the shrine and the palace, are shown. The burning on the roof of the palace in Orestes and the burning pyre in the Suppliants are entirely new features.

In Aristophanes the innovations are yet more marked. Heaven and earth are represented in the Peace; earth, Hades, and the stream of Acheron in the Frogs. Not only are two buildings on the scene in the Clouds, three in the Acharnians, and several in the Ecclesiazusae, but such passages as those where the actor will climb from the chimney or through a window in the Wasps, and sits at a window in Eccl., and burns down the Phrontisterion in the Clouds, also show a striking advance in the construction of scenery. The *διστεγία* is used to an extraordinary extent in the Peace. All these indications give warrant for believing that in the Knights and in the Lysistrata the entrance to the acropolis is accurately represented. The testimony of the dramas themselves fully proves that the actors and the chorus can no more be separated from each other by the barrier of a stage in the dramas of Euripides and Aristophanes than in those of Aischylos.

To compare in a word the summaries of the three periods of the classic drama as they have been considered in the foregoing pages, from the earliest play of Aischylos to the latest of Aristophanes, there is apparent a steady development in the scenery used. No fixed *προσκήμιον* could have fulfilled the requirements of the plays of the V century. The scene appropriate for each drama was erected on the floor of the orchestra, in front of the *σκηνή*.

The argument that in the V century no stage existed, that there was but one entrance, the *πάροδος*, on each side of the scene, and that actors, chorus and mutes all performed their respective parts in the orchestra may be summarized as follows:

1. The few instances in the dramas which at first glance favor the idea that a stage existed admit of other and more logical explanations.

2. Although there are very many passages in which the chorus is bidden to advance to the position occupied by actors, or to retire from this, in none of these passages is an expression used which can be construed as a direction to ascend or descend. Had a stage existed, some command to the chorus indicating the difference of level between stage and orchestra must have found its way into the text of some one, at least, of these passages.

3. In situations where there is no call for them to be on a 'stage,' the choreutae make minute observations concerning actors or scenery, observations which they could not make from the orchestra over the edge of the so-called 'stage.' Cf. *Ajax* 346, 364, 911 f.; *Soph. Elect.* 818; *Trach.* 964 ff.; *Philoc.* 861; *Alcest.* 98 ff., 392; *Hec.* 486 f.; *Herc. Fur.* 748, 1029; *Orest.* 208 ff.

Actors, on entering, see and converse with the choreutae first, though actors are present and the situation demands that they be first addressed. Cf. *Persae* 249 ff.; *Oed. Rex* 924; *Soph. Elect.* 660 ff., 1098 ff.; *Philoc.* 219; *Eur. Elect.* 109 ff.; *Cyc.* 96.

4. Where no mention is made of actual personal contact, the relations between actors and chorus are of so intimate a character that no barrier could have existed between them. Cf. *Septem* 677 ff.; *Choeph.* 983; *Trach.* 141 ff., 531 ff., 663 ff.; *Oed. Rex* 327, 648, 1047, 1339, 1413; *Antig.* 160 ff., 940 ff., 988 ff., 1155; *Soph. Elect.* 121 ff., 824 ff.; *Philoc.* 581, 825, 887, 983; *Orest.* 132 ff.; *Eurip. Suppl.* 1114 ff.; *Phoeniss.* 293 ff.; *Ion* 1249 ff.; *Hecuba* 484 ff.; *Iph. Taur.* 1068 f.; *Cyc.* 451 ff.; *Aves* 431 ff.

Here may be mentioned: *a.* The scenes in which it is proposed that the chorus enter the σκηνή, or in which this action actually occurs. Cf. *Agamem.* 1343 ff.; *Ajax* 329; *Andromache* 817 f.; *Hecuba* 1042 f.; *Cyc.* 590 ff., 630 ff.; *Ion* 219; *Hippol.* 782 ff.; *Med.* 1275; *Hel.* 331 ff.

*b.* The 'libation scenes.' Cf. *Pers.* 597 ff.; *Choeph.* 16 ff., 100 ff.; *Iph. Taur.* 159 ff.; *Pax* 941 ff., 970.

*c.* Where the chorus stands by actors as a guard. Cf. *Ajax* 1182; *Oed. Col.* 638, 724, 803, 811, 815, 835; *Heracl.* 69 ff., 274; *Eq.* 246.

5. The choreutae actually engage in strife with actors or with each other in the immediate presence of actors. Cf. *Agamem.* 1650 ff.; *Oed. Col.* 857 ff.; *Philoc.* 1003 ff.; *Hel.* 1628 ff.; *Rhes.* 675 ff.; *Achar.* 280 ff., 564 ff.; *Eq.* 247 ff., 451; *Vesp.* 453 ff.; *Av.* 364 ff.

Blows are threatened in *Cyc.* 210 ff.; *Herc. Fur.* 254.

The choreutae hand objects to actors in *Eq.* 490 ff., 919 ff.

They 'pledge right hands' with mutes; *Heracl.* 305 ff.

They stand with actors, bidding them farewell: *Herc. Fur.* 522 ff.

They approach the proskenion in company with actors: *Herc. Fur.* 1109 f.; *Philoc.* 144 ff.

6. In 'search scenes' the chorus is on ground usually occupied by actors, with no suggestion in the text that the choreutae are in

an unusual position. Cf. Eumen. 255 ff.; Ajax 865 ff.; Oed. Col. 116 ff.; Thes. 655 ff.

7. Chorus and actors enter together, or by the same entrance, or to the same portion of the scene. Cf. Aesch. Suppl. 1; Prom. 127; Choeph. 20; Oed. Col. 116; Philoc. 1; Soph. Elect. 120; Ion 184; Eur. Elect. 167; Bac. 1; Troad. 153 ff.; Plut. 252.

8. It may almost be said to be customary for actors and chorus to leave the theatre together by the *parodos* at the end of the play. Cf. Aesch. Suppl. 980 ff.; Pers. 1000 ff.; Sept. 1068 ff.; Eum. 1003 ff.; Ajax 1403 ff.; Philoc. 1469 ff.; Trach. 1264 ff.; Troad. 1266 ff.; Eur. Suppl. 1232 ff.; Cyc. 702 ff.; Ion 1619 ff.; Pax 1333 ff.; Vesp. 1516 ff.; Achar. 1231 ff.; Eccl. 1165 ff.; Av. 1763 ff.; Lys. 1289 ff.; Ran. 1524 ff.; Plut. 1208 ff. Such a procession also occurs in Alc. 741, 861.

9. The 'stage' could not contain the actors, mutes and decorations in Aesch. Suppl. 218 ff., 463 ff., 755, 885; Septem 1 ff., 95 ff., 861 ff.; Eum. 480 ff.; Oed. Rex 1 ff.; Phoeniss. 1484 ff.; Eur. Suppl. 1 ff., 815 ff.; Cyc. 1 ff.; Hipp. 57 ff.; Iph. Aul. 1338 ff.; Achar. 42 ff.; Lysis. 456 ff.; Thes. 295 ff.; Eccl. 57 ff. Even if a 'stage' had existed, actors and mutes were in the orchestra in Eum. 1 ff.; Pax 462 ff., 906; Av. 1 ff.; Ran. 297; Achar. 1224 ff.

10. Certain plays could not have been 'set' on the so-called stage because—

*a.* A hillside was represented in Prom., Philoc., Eur. Elect. (489 ff.), Cyc., Lysist., Aves.

*b.* The altar, grove or shrine present required space, apart from the building in the background, only to be found in the orchestra in Choeph., Oed. Col., Heracl., Andr., Hel., Eur. Suppl.

*c.* The burning pyre (Eurip. Suppl. 1012 ff.) and the burning house (Nub. 1445 ff.) could not have been located on a stage.

*d.* Scenes with chariots and animals were possible only in the orchestra. Cf. Aesch. Suppl. 180 ff. (?); Pers. 149 (607), 1001; Agam. 782 ff.; Oed. Col. 312; Troad. 569 ff.; Eur. Elect. 987 ff.; Iph. Aul. 607 ff.; Vesp. 170 ff.; Ran. 23 ff.

JOHN PICKARD.



## II.—THE SATURNIAN METRE.

### SECOND PAPER.

#### §4. A MODIFIED ACCENTUAL THEORY PROPOSED.

The rule for the accentuation of Saturnian verse, with its three clauses—(a) *that the accent falls on the first syllable of each line*, (b) *that 4-syllabled words took a secondary accent at the beginning of the line, words of more than 4 syllables at any part of the line*, (c) *that exactly three accents are found in the first hemistich, exactly two in the second*—we have found to suit the actual accentuation of the extant lines, while the quantitative scheme broke down when tested by the actual quantities occurring in them. But does this rule comprise the whole scheme of Saturnian versification? Does the metre, the poetical element of the line, depend merely on there being three incidences of stress in one half, and two in the other, beginning with the first syllable of the line? If it does, what would prevent a large number of sentences in, let us say, Cicero's speeches from possessing Saturnian metre? The opening sentence of the First Philippic, for example: *Antequam dē-república, || pátres conscrípti, Dícam-ea quæ-dicēda || hoc-tēmpore árbitor!!* There must surely be some other factor beside this. I contend that there are two others, and that to these two no regard, or at least far too little regard, is generally paid by accentual theorists. One of these factors is the number of syllables in each hemistich. Syllable-counting is the main element in Aryan metre; it is one of the principal elements in modern Italian and Romance metres generally. It is only natural that it should have played a considerable part in the native metre of the Latins. To the rule of accent just mentioned we must add: (2) *the normal number of syllables is 7 in the first hemistich, 6 in the second*. To secure 7 syllables with three accents in the first hemistich, the constituents of the line will be (a) dissyllable + dissyllable + trisyllable, e. g. *Dábunt málum Mételli*, v. 47 *Fúndit, fúgat, próstérnit*, (b) quadrisyllable (with main and secondary accent) + trisyllable, e. g. v. 2 *Düönóro óptumo*, v. 53 *Argénteo polúbro*. Sometimes (c) dissyllable + quinqu-

syllable, e. g. 20 *Magna sapiëntia*. Or even (*d*) monosyllable + trisyllable + trisyllable, e. g. 66 *Mé carpénto uehente*, 68 *Nám diuina Monétas*. Of course these dissyllables, trisyllables, etc., may be not single words but word-groups, e. g. 84 *lámqu(e) eñus-méntem fortuna*, 110 *Éi uénit in-méntem*. The normal number of 6 syllables with two accents in the second hemistich is most naturally made up by (*a*) trisyllable + trisyllable, e. g. *Naéuio poétæ*, 21 *pósidet hoc-sáxsum*, 24 *is-loceis mandátus*, but occasionally by (*b*) quadrisyllable + dissyllable, e. g. 1 *coséntiont Rómâr*, 83 *Prosérpina púer*, 70 *inportúnae úndæ*. The second hemistich, however, occasionally appears with only 5 syllables, e. g. 2 *fuise uiro*. This normal number of syllables for the two hemistichs is apparently departed from in those cases where the poet avails himself of the license of substituting two short syllables for an accented syllable, e. g. in the first hemistich, 12 *Súbigit ómne Loucánam*, and sometimes in the second, e. g. 14 *cápítibus opértis*; though that the departure is more apparent than real we see from the fact that a short syllable after an accented syllable tended to suffer syncope in Latin, e. g. *surgit* from *surrigit*, *optimus* from *opitumus*, *caldus* from *calidus*, so that a short accented syllable followed by another short syllable would not fall on the ear with much more force than a single syllable. Similarly in v. 15 *ingenium* would not sound very differently from *ingentum* of three syllables. This 'resolution,' as we may call it, of a single syllable into two short syllables is also permitted in the pretonic syllable in the first hemistich, e. g. 103 *Plèriqu(e)-ómnès súbigúntur*, and in the second, e. g. 56 *fíliam Cálýpsónem*, to explain which we need only refer to such scansions in Plautus as *minisléríum*, or *minsteríum* (Pseud. 772), while v. 16 *licúset*, 8 *sápiénsque*, etc., would sound very like trisyllables. That this increase, real or apparent, of the normal number of syllables in a hemistich was recognized as a license, a permissible departure from the regular usage, is shown by the strict limits within which it is confined. In the first place, the extra syllable is always a short syllable, which is preceded by another short syllable belonging to the same word (see on vv. 13, 14, 37), and which either immediately follows or immediately precedes the main accent of the word. In the second place, two such 'resolutions' of syllables are not permitted in the same hemistich (see on vv. 17, 38, 62, 67, 133, 134, 137), and probably not in the same line (see on vv. 33, 38, 49, 63, 113, 133). In other cases where the line seems to exhibit

a redundancy of syllables, it will be found that elision, the laws for which, as well as for hiatus, are definite and easily ascertainable (see below), restrained it in pronunciation within the proper number, e. g. 91 *Prim(a) incēdit Cēreris*, so that Thurneysen's refusal to acknowledge the counting of syllables as a factor in Saturnian metre is really only justified by those second hemistichs with 5, instead of 6, syllables.

The other factor, to which I would give equal prominence, is the alternation of the accentual rhythm. Using the terms 'falling' accent, to describe the pronunciation of a word like *dābunt, mālum, Naēvio*, 'rising' accent, to describe that of *Metēlli, poētae*, we may state our rule thus: (3). *After the first two 'feet' of the line, a regular alternation of accentual rhythm is sought, a 'rising' accent being followed by a 'falling,' and vice versa.* An example or two will make my meaning clearer. The normal form of the first hemistich is *Dābunt mālum Metēlli*, with 'rising' accentual rhythm, *Metēlli* following on the 'falling' rhythm of the first two feet, *Dābunt mālum*. To a first hemistich of this normal form (the A-type, we may call it) is almost always joined a second hemistich of this form: *Naēvio poētae*, with 'falling' rhythm, *Naēvio*, followed by 'rising' rhythm, *poētae* (the normal form, or A-type, of the second hemistich). There is another form of the first hemistich found (the B-type, it may be called), where the third 'foot' exhibits, not 'rising' but 'falling' accentual rhythm, e. g. v. 1 *Hōnc oīno ploīrume*; to which is regularly joined a corresponding by-form (B-type) of second hemistich: *cosēntiunt Rōmāi*, with 'rising' followed by 'falling' rhythm, the aim of this combination evidently being to secure as far as possible a regular alternation of 'falling' and 'rising' rhythm throughout the line. Here are some more examples:

(a) A-type of both hemistichs. (So in the large majority of lines):—

45. Uīrum mīhi, Camēna, | īnsece uersūtum

58. Pārtim ērrant, nequīnont | Graēciam redīre, etc., etc.

When the second hemistich is made up of a quadrisyllable and dissyllable, its A-type is like this:

116. adlocūtus sūmmi.

117. regnatōrem mārūm.

(b) B-type of both:—

2. Dūdnōro óptumo | fūlse uīro

40. Ūno cōmplūrimae | consēntiunt gēntes

41. Pópuli prímárium | fússe uírum  
 47. Néqué tam té oblítus-sum, || Laértie nóster.  
 83. Prím(a) incédit Céreis | Prosérpina púer  
 111. Sín illos déserant | fortíssimos uíros,

while a line like v. 27 departs from the perfect B-type in the last foot of the line only:—

27. Mágna sàpiéntia | multásque uirtútes.

Here, apparently, is the explanation of these anomalous second hemistichs with 5, instead of 6, syllables, like v. 41 *fuisse uirum*. They were allowed by the writer because they satisfied this rule of alternation of accentual rhythm, although they were irregular in that other respect, in the same way as we see other departures from the normal form tolerated for the sake of securing some effect, such as alliteration or rhyme.

With regard to *alliteration*, it is plain that it does not play the part that it does in Early Teutonic verse, where it constitutes the chief element of the rhythm, the emphatic word of the first half-line alliterating in its first (i. e. its accented) syllable with the emphatic word of the second half-line. In the Latin Saturnian, alliteration is nothing but an ornament, used or not, as the caprice of the poet directs. And yet it must have bulked largely in Saturnian poetry, as we can see partly from the large number of instances of its occurrence in the few lines of Saturnian metre preserved to us, and quite as much from its prevalence in the older Latin poetry in other metres. It is a frequent ornament of the lines of Plautus, Ennius, Lucilius, and Lucretius, rarer in Terence, and still rarer in subsequent poets (Jordan, *Symb.*, p. 171 sqq.). In Ennius' *Annals* we have, according to Reichardt's statistics (in *Fleck. Jahrb.* 1887, p. 777 sqq.), no fewer than 45 examples of alliteration of two neighboring words in the first hemistich, 85 in the second, while the instances of three neighboring words alliterating are 7 (in first hemistich), 14 (in second), 7 (divided between first and second hemistich); in all there are 205 alliterations in 422 (complete) lines, of which 188 are cases of alliteration of consonants, 17 of vowels. In Saturnian poetry too the only designed alliteration seems to be that of neighboring words (see on vv. 11, 20, 49, 50, 97, 137), and consonants are far more frequently alliterative than vowels; it is not, as in Teutonic and Irish poetry, confined to accented syllables (e. g. 76 *fortúna || fícerat*), and can hardly be said to attach itself only to the two

most important words of the line, although it undoubtedly must have had the effect of giving prominence to the word whose first syllable showed its operation, e. g. 45 *cōmplūrimae* || *consentiunt*, 46 *Pōpuli primārium* (with secondary accent on the first syllable of these quadrisyllables in the middle of the line), 131 *Pātrēm sūm supremum* (not *Patrēm-suum*).

*Rhyme* was another ornament much sought after, in the final syllable of each hemistich, so that the regular structure of the line seems occasionally to be sacrificed for the sake of securing it, e. g. v. 101 :

Ūrit, populātur, uāstat || rem-hōstium concinnat,

instead of the usual rhythm: *Ūrit, uāstat, populātur*, like v. 47 *Fūndit, fugat, prostérnit*. (On the prevalence of rhyme and alliteration in Early Latin poetry see Buchold, *De paromoeoseos apud veteres Romanorum poetas usu*, Leipzig, 1883.)

Lastly falls to be mentioned a possible feature of Saturnian poetry, which the scantiness of our material does not allow us to posit with certainty, namely, the arrangement of lines, usually or occasionally, in distichs. It must have struck any one who read through the lists on pp. 144-156 that, when, as rarely happens, two neighboring lines from the *Odyssea* or the *Bellum Punicum* have been preserved to us, there is usually a correspondence of structure between the two, any peculiarity of rhythm in the first line being echoed by the rhythm of the second. This fact, if true, should be a strong argument against altering the text in the irregular first hemistichs of vv. 68-9 :

Námque nūllum péius || mácerat humánum,  
Quámde máre saeuom || uis-et-cui sunt-mágnæ,

and agrees with our reading in the second hemistichs of vv. 116-17 :

Sénex, frétus pietāti, || adlocútus sūmmi  
Régis frátre[m] Neptúnū, || regnatórem márum ;

but the number of quotations by the grammarians of more than a single Saturnian line are so few that we have not data enough to warrant a certain inference.

So much for the metrical structure and ornamentation of Saturnian verse. It only remains to determine the usage observed in it with regard to *elision* and *hiatus*. This is very simple, and very easily determined: (1). A final short vowel is elided before an initial vowel or *h*-; (2). A final long vowel, or vowel

preceding final *-m*, is normally not elided, but shortened. A monosyllabic enclitic like *te*, *si*, *qui* is, however, elided (vv. 16, 18, 30, 13). Instances of elision are: v. 83 *Prim(a) incēdit Cēreris*, v. 103 *Plēriq(u)e-ōmnes subigūntur*. Instances of hiatus (*hiatus prosodiacus*): v. 77 *Mūlti ālī e-Trōia*, v. 2 *Dūōnōrō ōptumo*. In the case of ablatives like v. 53 *aureo eclutro*, a line of Livius, the old final *-d* may play a part (cf. v. 123). Hiatus proper, i. e. the retention of a short vowel unelided, or of a long vowel or a syllable in *-m* unshortened, is probably allowed between the hemistichs (e. g. v. 50; cf. below vv. 169, 183, etc.), but the instances are too few to enable us to decide satisfactorily. The prevalence of 'hiatus prosodiacus' in Saturnian verse is in keeping with the use of elision and hiatus in all the older poetry. Hiatus was far commoner in Plautus than in Terence (Klotz, Altröm. Metrik, pp. 102 sqq.), in Naevius than in Ennius (if we may so construe the words of Cicero, Or. 45, 152 *saepe hiabant, ut Naevius . . . at Ennius semel* etc.). The usage of Saturnians gives us support for such lines of Ennius as Ann. 336 *militū octo*, 486 *dum quidē unus* (cf. Prisc. I, p. 30 K), not to mention 275 *inimiciā agitantes* (see above, p. 166), and also shows us that his *Scipiō inuicte* (Ann. 321) is not an imitation of Greek usage, but the native Latin treatment of a long vowel before another vowel (cf. *Chius*, *Pellaëus*).

We may now proceed to an application of our rules to the lines on pp. 144-156, and to a critical examination of those fragments and doubtful lines which we reserved for later discussion. Before doing so it will be well to refer to the subject of *caesura*, a feature to which I have intentionally refrained from giving the prominence usually attached to it; for, in my view, the rules of *caesura* which can be drawn up for Saturnian verse are dependent on the three main rules of accentuation, number of syllables, and alternation of accentual rhythm, and are implied by them. The only *caesura* that really formed of itself an element of Saturnian metre was the break between the two hemistichs; the others, viz. the occasional break between the first and second 'feet' of the first hemistich, and the usual breaks (1) between the second and third 'feet' of the first hemistich (*Caesura Korschiana*), (2) between the first and second 'feet' of the second hemistich, are merely the conditions under which a certain number and arrangement of accents, combined with a certain number of syllables, can be secured for the line.

### §5. THE CORRECT SCANSION AND READING OF THE FRAGMENTS.

The three main factors of Saturnian metre we have seen to be accentuation, counting of syllables, alternation of rhythm, the three rules which concern them being these:

(1). The accent must fall on the first syllable of each line. There must be three accents in the first hemistich; two must be reckoned in the latter hemistich. A secondary accent is taken into account, necessarily or optionally, according to its prominence in current pronunciation.

(2). The normal number of syllables is 7 in the first hemistich, 6 in the second. An extra short syllable in positions where in current pronunciation it would be completely, or partially, suppressed is occasionally allowed to count with a preceding short syllable as a single syllable.

(3). After the first two 'feet' an alternation of rhythm, between 'rising' and 'falling' accentuation, is aimed at throughout the line.

The ornaments of Saturnian verse for the sake of which these rules, especially (2) and (3), are occasionally relaxed in less artificial poetry are—1. Alliteration (of the initial syllables of neighboring words); 2. Rhyme (of the final syllable, or syllables, of each hemistich). There are also traces of an arrangement in distichs, the two lines of the stanza echoing each other's rhythm and structure.

Let us now use the extant fragments to exemplify and test these rules. I follow the order observed on pp. 144–156, and begin with the lines from inscriptions. These cannot be expected to be as regular as the lines of a poet like Livius Andronicus, no more than the hexameters on early inscriptions can bear comparison with the hexameters of Ennius.

By the A-type I mean this form of line:  $x'x(,) x'x, xx'x, || x'xx, xx'x$  (sometimes  $|| xxx'x, x'x$ ); e. g.

Dábunt málum Metélli | Naéuio poétae.

By the B-type:  $x'x(,) x'x, x'xx || xx'xx, x'x$  (with modifications of the second hemistich, e. g.  $|| xx'x, x'x$ ); e. g.

Prím(a) incédit Céreris | Prosérpina púer.

I indicate the quantity of doubtful syllables, and all cases of 'resolution' of syllables.

1. Hónc óíno ploírumē || coséntiont *Rómā*

With B-type of both hemistichs (which would be spoilt by reading *Romane*), and so perfectly regular, except that the first hemistich has 6 instead of 7 syllables. The first hemistich of v. 5 *Hec cepit Corsica*, and v. 121 *Sin illos deserant*, have the same defect, the first word in all three cases being a monosyllable which was originally a dissyllable, *honce*, *hece*, *sine*. The -ai of the locative cannot have been dissyllabic.

## 2. Dùñórō óptumo || fūíse úíro

Again with B-type of both hemistichs. The second hemistich has 5 instead of 6 syllables, but retains alternation of rhythm to the end of the line, along with rhyme. The word *duonos* seems to be trisyllabic in both instances of its occurrence in the Saturnian fragments (cf. v. 135, a line of Naevius), though *duellum* is, as always in Plautus, a dissyllable in v. 49 (from an inscription later than Livius and Naevius). *Duellum* is a trisyllable in Ennius, Ann. 168 M.: *pars occidit illa duellis*.

## 3. Lúciom Scípíone || fíliom Barbáti.

## 4. Cónsol, cénsōr, aídilis || híc-fūet apúd-uos.

The other possible accentuation, *hic-fūet*, would give type B of the second hemistich with type A of the first, an unusual combination.

## 5. Héc cépit Córšica || Alériaqu(e)-úrbe

On the defective number of syllables in the first hemistich, see the note on v. 1. The accentuation of *Aleriamque* is very difficult to determine. Standing alone it would be pronounced *Áleria* (cf. p. 162), or, if the Greek accent was followed, *Aleria* (cf. 'Αλαλία, 'Αλερία).

## 6. Dédet Tēmpestátebus || aíde mérétođ

The second hemistich is irregular, both in its rhythm (x'x, x'xx instead of a (modified) B-type xx'x, x'xx, e. g. *hec-aide mēretod*, and in lacking one from the usual number of syllables. *Merētođ* is of course impossible.

## 7. Còrnélius Lúcius || Scípío Barbátus

With the A-instead of the B-type, of second hemistich, owing to the exigencies of the proper name. *Lucius*, if permissible, would give the A-type to I, and harmonize I with II.

## 8. Gnaúođ pátre prognátus || fórtis-uir sáplēnsque

*Fortis-uir* makes a word-group like our 'gentleman,' *bone-vir* Plaut., etc.



9. Quo<sup>l</sup>ūs fórmă uirtútei || parísumă fđit

The B-type of hemistich II is not in keeping with the A-type of I. We cannot venture to substitute an A-type by scanning *párisuma* fuit, for superlatives do not seem to tolerate this shortening of the antepenultima, so that *simillumae-sunt* of Plaut. Asin. 241 is probably wrong (Class. Rev. VI, p. 242).

## 10. Cónsol, cénsör, aidílis || queí-fđit apúd-uos

More probably than *queí-fđit*, by note on v. 4. The natural order of the words 'aedile, consul, censor' (as in the prose epitaph, I 31) is transposed for the sake of getting an accented syllable at the beginning of the line; cf. v. 12.

## 11. Taúrásia, Cisaúna, || Sámniō cépit

The second hemistich is a syllable short. If the alliteration between *Cisauna* and *cepit* is designed, we have an example of alliteration of words not contiguous.

## 12. Súbigit ómne Loucánam, || ópsidesqu(e) abdoúcsit

*Súbigit* is used, not *subégit*, because the first syllable of the line must be accented (cf. v. 10). The versification of Plautus points to elided *-que* having been disregarded in accentuation, e. g. Pseud. 574 prósperěqu(e); Poen. 545 otiósequ(e); 763 aúrum-qu(e); 1101 surrúptasqu(e); 1218 líbertátiqu(e); 1345 ingénu-asqu(e).

## 13. Qu(ei)-ápí(c)e insigne Díális || fláminis gesístei

Or else *Queí-ápí(c)e*, which, however, makes the first hemistich too long. Both *-ei* and *-em* seem to be elided here.

## 14. Mórs perfécit tú(a)-ut-éssent || ómnia bréuia

Or *tú(a)-út-éssent* with resolution of the pretonic syllable. The rhythm in hem. II is unusual (cf. v. 18).

## 15. Hónos, fámă, uirtúsque, || glóri(a) atqu(e) ingyntum

The conjunction *atque* has no accent (cf. Prisc. Partit. IX 170, p. 500 K.), at least when its last syllable is elided. See instances of *atqu(e)* after a short syllable in Plautus: Müller, Plaut. Pros., p. 293.)

## 16. Quíbŭs s(ei)-in-lónga lícŭiset || tib(e) útier uíta

Irregular, with two resolutions of syllables in the same hemistich (an irregularity which would have been removed by the use of *Queis* for *Quibus*); also with type B of second and type A of first hemistich. The unemphatic *tibē* has no accent, but is necessary to give 6 syllables to the hemistich.

## 17. Fácile fácteis sŭpĕrâses || glóriam maiórum

Echoes the irregularity of the preceding line, with two resolutions in the first hem., a fact which points against the supposition that *facile* was pronounced here *facul* (cf. Fest. 266, 20 Th.), or *superases* like \**suprasses*. *Facile factis*, e. g. Plaut. Poen. 307 (with 3-syll. *facile*), Merc. 855.

## 18. Quá-re lúbens t(e)-in-grémŭ, || Scípio, récipit

*Recĕpĭt* or *recĭpĭet* would be a more regular ending, giving the usual A-type to hem. II (but cf. v. 14).

## 19. Térră, Públi, prognátum || Públio, Cornéli

## 20. Mágnă sâpiéntia, || multásque uirtútes,

If the alliteration between *magna* and *multasque* be designed, we have an example of alliteration between words which are not contiguous.

## 21. Aetàte quom-párua, || pósidet hoc-sáxsum

Though spelt by the graver *aetate*, the usual spelling of the time, the word has the scansion of *aeuitate*, the older form, used in the XII Tables, etc. Similarly *aeuitermus* occurs for *aeternus* in Varro, Sat. Men. 437 B., and elsewhere; cf. Prisc. I, p. 81 K. We have *aeterni*, scanned as *aeuitermi*, on an iambic epitaph of Diocletian's time (Orell. 6017): *divini vis est aeterni témporis*.

## 22. Quoíei uítă defécit || nón-honos honóre

The accentuation *nón-honos* seems justified by the ictus in Plautus' lines, e. g. Amph. 379 *égo sum, nón tu, Sósia*; Rud. 136 *Veneri paráui . . . nón mihi*, etc.

## 23. Ís hic sítus, quei núnquam || uíctus-est uirtútei

*Is* emphatic, *hic* subordinate; cf. Plaut. Truc. 335 *Sed quíd haęc*, Poen. 619 *Sed quíd hęc*, etc., Klotz, p. 70.

## 24. Ánnos gnátus uigínti || ís-loceis mandátus

*Is-loceis*, of doubtful reading and sense, I make dat. pl. of *is locus*, like *ilico*, abl. sg. (= *eo loco*), v. 106, with that confusion of *is* and *hic* which is found in writers contemporary with this inscription, c. 130 B. C., on which see Bach in Studem. Stud. 2, 361 (cf. note on v. 57 above). *Is-loceis* can hardly be abl. pl. with the sense of *ilico* 'forthwith,' *mandatus* governing *honore* in next line, though it might be a graver's error for *his* (rather *heis*) *loceis*; or, as it is generally construed, *is* may be nom. sg., leaving *loceis* rather difficult to explain.

25. Nē-quairátis honóre || queí-minūs-sit mandátus

Or *Nē-quairátis*; cf. Bücheler, *Umbrica*, p. 171.

With almost entire suppression of the subst. verb *sit*. The line is, like the preceding, difficult to construe, and therefore difficult to accentuate. I understand it so: ne quaeratis quí minus honos sit mandatus. But it may mean: ne quaeratis honorem, qui non sit (est?) mandatus, a rendering which would probably require the accentuation *quei-minūs-sit* (echoing an *is lóceis* or *is díueis* in the preceding line?), if we may judge from the dramatist's usage as shown in lines like *Amph.* 986 quí minus?, *Pseud.* 160 Numquí mínus ea grátia?, *Rud.* 218 quí mínus séruio?, etc., with interrogative *quí*, but *Andr.* 700 quo mínus haec fierent nuptiae, *Phorm.* 41 éi qui minus habent, etc., with relative *qui*, *quo*. This is perhaps favored by the alliteration of *minūs-sit* with *mandatus*.

26. Quód ré-sua díseídens || áspere áfleícta

Or *Quód*.

27. Párens tímens heic-uóuit || uóðo-hoc solúto

28. Dēcūma fácta, poloúcta, || leíbereis lubéntes

29. Dónu dánunt Hércolei || máxsume mérëto

Not quite type B of II.

30. Sémöl tē-órant se uóti || crébro condémnes

Or *Sémöl t(e)-órant*.

31. Dúctu, àuspicio, || impérioqu(e) eíus

The double accentuation of *auspicio* is strange. For the single of 4-syllabled *imperioqu(e)* cf. vv. 5, 12.

32. Àcháia cápta, || Corínto deléto

33. Rómam rēdëit triúmphans. || ob-hásce-res bënë-géstas

Or *ob-hásc(e)-res*.

*Bene-gerere* is a word-group like *bene volo*, *benevolens*. So *bène-rém-geras* v. 38, *bène-iouent* v. 44. The line seems to suffer from a redundancy of syllables, with its double resolution. Should we pronounce *redit* or *ben(e) gestas*? cf. below v. 38.

34. Quód in-béllo uóuerat || hanc-aédëm et sígnu

35. Hérculis-Uictóris || imperátor dédicat

A questionable accentuation of I and a syllable too many in II.

36. Hóc est-fáctum mōnüméntum || Máarco Caicílio

37. Hóspes, grát(um)-est qu(om) apúd-mēas || restitístei seédes

Or *quóm apúd-mēas*.

38. Bënë-rém-geras et uálëas; || dórmias sínë-qúra

Or *Bën(e)-rém-geras*.

On *bene-rem-gerere* see note on v. 33, and cf. *Plaut. Aul.* 248 male rém gerat, *Stich.* 402 béne re gésta, *Trin.* 901 bene rém

gerébat, 1182 béne re gésta, etc. The double resolution in the first hemistich would be avoided by pronouncing *ben(e)-rem-geras* (cf. *beneficium*, *malficium*, etc.) in the line by substituting *se-qúra* for *sine-qúra*.

39. Gònlégium [quod est] acíptum || aetátei agédái

Perhaps *aétat(ei)-agédai*. For the word-group *aetatem-agere* cf. Plaut. Trin. 229. 232; Enn. Trag. 221 R.

40. Óp̄par(um) ad-ueítam quolúndam || festósque díes

41. Quei soúeis-astútíeis || opídque Uolgáni

Or *Quei soúeis astútíeis*.

42. Gòndécòrant saipíssume || comúuā loidósque

43. Qúquei húc-dedérunt || imperatóribus súmme

*Huc*, i. e. *hoc*, is scanned like *hocce*. See on v. 1.

44. Útei sésed lubéntes || bēñē-iouent optántis

*Beneiouent* is written on the inscription as one word.

In this inartistic inscription of the Faliscan cooks, vv. 39-44, I take *quod est* to be an insertion like *ad laevam* in the so-called 'iambics' of C. I. L. I 1027. *Saipissume*, *imperatoribus*, and perhaps *astutíeis*, have only one accent.

45. Úno còmplúrimae || conséntiunt géntes

46. Pópuli primárium || fússe úrum

I give a double accentuation to (alliterative) *complurimae* and *primarium*, but not to *consentiunt*. The reading *complurimae* is favored both by the alliteration and by the 'echo' of the other line of the distich.

47. Fúndit, fúgat, prostérnit || máxumas lēgiónes

48. Mágnum núm̄erum triúmp̄hat || hóstibus deufctis

49. Dúello mágno dirím̄endo, || régibus súb̄igendis

The alliteration (if *dw*-alliterates with *d*-, cf. Plaut. *domi dúel-lique*) would almost require *Mágno dúello dirím̄endo*. The double resolution of syllables in the same line is perhaps allowed for the sake of the rhyme.

50. Úrum m̄ihi, Caména, || ínsecē uersútum

With hiatus between first and second hemistich. *Mihi* must here have a certain amount of stress. Is the alliteration between *uirum* and *uersutum* designed?

51. Mēa-púēra quid-uérbi || ex-tu(o)-óre súpra

Or *ex-tuō-óre*.

52. Nēquē tam tē-oblītūs-sum, || Laértie nóster

53. Àrgénteo polúb̄ro, || aúreō eclútro

Notice the dissyllabic rhyme. Cf. v. 49.

54. Tú-quae mīhi-narráto || ómnīā disértim

55. Mátrem próci procítum || plúrimi uenérunt

*Proci* suits the line of Homer as well as *meam*, would be as easily omitted by a careless scribe, and, besides, enhances the alliteration. Even reading *meam*, the natural accentuation would be *Mátrem méam*, for the possessive would gain some stress from the alliteration. See on v. 131.

56. Quándo díes aduéniet || quem-profáta Mórt(a) est

Or *Mórtast*.

59. Ībídémque uir-súmumus || ádprimus Patróclus

*Uir-súmumus* is a word-group like *fortis-uir* v. 8. *Ádprimus*, as remarked above (p. 150), is doubtful. In Plaut. and Ter. we have incidence of ictus sometimes on the first, sometimes on the second syllable. *Pátricoles* (the form used by Ennius, Trag. 314 R.) *ádprimus* would save both the rhyme and the A-type.

60. Pártim érrant, nequínont || Graéciam redíre

61. Àpud-nýmphām, Atlántis || fíliam Cālŷpsónem

62. Ígitur démum Ūlxi-cor || prae-pauóre fríxit

I transpose the MS text: *fríxit prae pauore*, because a quadri-syllable of the form — ∪ — ∪ seems never to end a line (p. 168). *Ūlxi-cor* is a strange word-group, and the double resolution in hem. I is irregular.

64. Útrum génu(a) amplóctens || uírginēm oráret

65. Ībi mánens sedéto || dónicum uidébis

66. Mè carpénto uehénte || meām-domum uenísse

67. Símūl ac dācrūmas dē-óre || noégeo detérsit

The irregularity of a double resolution in I suggests that the *ac* may be a dittography (MSS *simul ac lacrimas*). For *dē ore* cf. Plaut. Asin. 706 dē hórdeo (Klotz, Altröm. Metr., p. 139).

68. Námque núllum péius || mácerat humánum

69. Quámde máre saéuom || uís-et-cui sunt-mágnæ

The echoing rhythm of these two lines favors *uis-et-cui* rather than *uis-et-cui-sunt*.

71. Mèrcúrius cumqu(e)-éo || fílius Latónas

73. Nām diuínā Monétas || fíliā me-dócūit

75. Tópper fácit hómines || ut príus fuérunt

Or *fuérunt*? Hardly *fuérunt*. Cf. Kühner, Lat. Gram. I, p. 439.

*Homónes út-prius fuérunt* would give the A-type to both hemistichs.

76. Tópper cítt ad-aédis || uénimus Círcae

*Circāi* will give 6 syllables to II and preserve the A-type pure. It is a perfectly justifiable alteration.

80. Sánc̃ta púer, Satúrni || fflíā, regína

81. Eórum séctam sequóntur || múlti mórtales

The proper number of syllables in II is sacrificed for the sake of the alliteration.

82. Ûbi fóras cūm-aúro || illfc exíbant

On *cūm-auro* see Klotz, p. 139. *Ílico*, or *illic* (*exibat*) would give the normal A-type of II.

83. Múlti áliti e-Tróia || strénui uíri

With 5-syllabled second hemistich. It would become 6-syllabled if we read *strenuosí*. So in Plaut. Trin. 1036 Löwe changed *strenuos* of the MSS to *strenuosos*, and saved the metre.

84. Iámqu(e) eiūs-méntem fortúna || fécerat quiétem

85. Ínerant sígn(a) exprésa || quómodo Titáni

86. Bícórpores Gígántes || mágniqu(e) Atlántes

87. Rúncus àtque Porpúrēus, || fflíi Térras

Or *àtqu(e) Porpúreus*.

*Terras* is attested by Priscian, but cannot be said to be vindicated by the rhyme. *Terrái* would make the second hemistich normal.

89. Silvícolaē hómīnes || bellíqu(e) inértes

Or *Siluícolaē*, cf. *siluae*, a trisyllable, Hor. C. 1. 23. 4, Epod. 13. 2.

If we read *homónes*, then accentuate *bellíqu(e)*, which is the normal accentuation. (See on v. 12.)

90. Blánd(e) et dócte percóntat || Aénēam quo-pácto

Tróiãm úrbem liquísset.

*Blánd(e) et* (or should *et* be removed from the text?) with elision of long vowel before a similar short vowel; cf. *magnopere*. *Quo-pacto* is a word-group like *quomodo*. *Reliquisset* could stand only if we admit the shortening of a naturally long vowel in a polysyllable by the 'breves brevians' law (see Engl. Journ. Phil. 1893).

91. Prím(a) incédit Cérēris || Prosérpina púer

Alliteration with the first syllable of the second element of a prepositional compound, when that first syllable is accented, seems established for Plautus by the instances given in Buchhold, Parom., p. 47, e. g. Merc. 384 solus se in consilium seuocat, as

contrasted with Epid. 256 calidi conducibilis consili. It seems to occur in this line, incēdit Cereris, and possibly in v. 28 poľoŭcta leibereis, and v. 15 glori(a) atqu(e) ingénium.

92. Dēinde pólens sagíttis || ínclutus Arquítēnens

93. Sáncťus Dēlphís prognátus || Pýthius Apóllo

94. Ísque súsum ad-caélum || sústulit suás-res

96. Póstquām áuēm aspéxit || in-téplō Anchísa

*Témpulo*, for *in-témplo*, would give the A-type to II, like I.

97. Sácr(a) in-ménsa Penátium || órđinē ponúntur

*Penátium* would give a syllable too many to I, besides approximating awkwardly to the B-type. The alliteration between *Penatium* and *ponuntur* is probably not designed.

98. Ímmolábat áuream || uíctimam púlcrām

*Aurátam* would give the normal A-type to I. Or *hic uíctimam* or *piaculum* to II.

99. Símul àtrócia || porrícerent éxta

If we may give *atrocia* two accents. The rhyme favors this arrangement, but the defective number of syllables in I is suspicious. The true reading may have been *Símul* <atque> *atrocia*.

100. Tránsit Mēlītām Románuš, || ínsulām intégřam

101. Úrit, pōpŭlátur, uástat || řēm-hóstium concínnat

Or řēm-hóstium?

Some irregularities are condoned for the sake of the rhyme.

102. Úírum praétōr aduēneit, || áuspícat auspíctum

103. Cénsent èo uentúrum || óbuíam Poénium

Or éo.

105. Sùpérbiter contémťim || cónterit lěgťónes

106. Sèptimum-děcímŭm-ánnum || flico séđent

Priscian, de Fig. Num. 21, p. 413, 11 K., says of *septimus decimus* and similar compound numerals: sub uno accentu (i. e. main accent) proferuntur, so the main accent, if the word were not joined with *annus*, would fall on the first syllable of *decimus*. The change to *sederent* or *sedentes* would give the usual A-type to II, but I has not the usual A-type.

109. Sícilíensis pacíscit || óbsides ut-réđđant

110. Éí uénit in-méntem || hómínium fortúnas

111. Ōńěráriaě onústae || stábant in-flústris

Or Ōńěrdríāě.

115. Řēs-diúfnas edícit, || praédícit cástus

The contrast between two compounds of the same verb would

divert the stress of the voice to the first syllable of *praedicit*. Cf. Ter. Andr. 777 *provólvam . . . pérvolvam*.

116. Sénex frētūs plētāti || adlocūtūs sūmmi

117. Régis frátrem Neptúnū || regnatórem mārū

118. Súmme déū regnátor || quānam gēnūisti

119. Sésequ(e) ì períre || máuolunt ibídem

120. Quàm cum-stúpro redíre || ád-suos pōpúláris

Or *poplāris*, as Fleckeisen would read in Plaut. Rud. 740. Cf. Ποπ-  
λάρης (Arch. Ep. Mitth. I, p. 7).

The noun *stupro* would have some emphasis in pronunciation here, so that the accentuation *cúm-stupro*, like *ób-viam*, is impossible.

121. Sín illos déserant || fortíssimos uíros

Or *Sin*, or *illos*. On the defective number of syllables in the first hemistich, see the note on v. 1.

122. Mágnum stúprum pópulo || per-géntis fferi

I transpose the MS reading in II, both to secure alliteration of neighboring words and to give B-rhythm. But the true reading may be *Romano*, the *populo* being a gloss. Then read *Romāno* || *fieri per-géntis*, with A-rhythm in both hemistichs.

123. Nóctu Tróiad exíbant || cápitibus opértis

124. Fléntes ámbaë, ábēúntes || lácrumis cum-múltis

Or *ambae*, in hiatus before the pause.

128. Férunt púlcras cratéras || áureas lepístas

129. Mágnae métus tumúltus || péctorā possídít (-et)

130. Nóuem Ióulis concórdes || fíliae soróres

131. Pátrēm sūm supréum || óptumūm appéllat

The alliteration gives a certain prominence to *suum*, and prevents the accentuation *Patrém-suum*.

132. Scópas áttque uerbénas || ságminā sumpsérunt

133. Símul áltus áltúnde || rúmitant intér-se

*Inter sese* of the MSS may stand, if we may scan *inter sēse* (cf. Plaut. Epid. 238; but see Thielmann in A. L. L. 7. 353), but would give double 'resolution' in the same line. The close connection of *altus* with *aliunde* favors the shortened form *alis* (see Thielmann in A. L. L. 7. 373) (though Plautus has *alius alium*, Stich. 370, Curc. 378; cf. Ter. Phorm. 333), which would remove the double resolution from I.

135. Símul dúōn(a) eórum || pórtant ad-náuis

136. Millí(a) áli(a) in-isdem || inserínúntur

With 5-syllabled second hemistich echoing v. 135.



138. Dábunt málum Metélli || Naéuio poétae

139. Ímmortáles mortáles || si-forét-fas flére

*Fas-est* would naturally be a word-group like Greek *χρη'σται*. I have given to the first syllable of *immortales* the mark of the main accent to indicate that the antithesis with *mortales* would throw on it more stress than usual. So in Plaut. Amph. prol. 36 the MS arrangement should be retained: *Iusta aútem ab íniustís petere*, etc. Cf. *certa . . . íncerta út sient*, Ter. Andr. 390.

140. Flérent díuae Caménæ || Naéuium poétam

141. Ítāque póstquā est Órcho || tráditūs thesaúro

142. Obliti-sunt Romæ loquier Latina lingua

Will not scan, as a genuine accentual Saturnian, for the second hemistich has three main accents. We may either suppose the line to be a late imitation of the obsolete metre, or we may change the reading, which depends on the sole authority of Gellius, into

Oblití-sunt Románe | lóquier Latíne

or

Lóquier língua Latína | obliti-sunt Rómæ.

143. Súmmas ópes qui régum || réguas refrégit

Or *Súmmas ópés-qui?*

144. Òccursátrix artíficū || pérditā spintúrnix

We are now in a position to discuss the fragmentary lines, and those lines in the list on pp. 144–156 whose text or metre is doubtful. To take the latter first:

57. <Aút> in-Pýlum deuéníens || aut-íbī omméntans

The B-type of II does not suit the A-type of I. But the true accentuation may be *Aút . . . aút ibi*; cf. *ét . . . ét*, Ter. Andr. 536, etc.

58. Tūncque rémos iússit || deligáre strúppis

The dissyllabic third foot is suspicious; but cf. 68–9.

63. Might conceivably scan as a Saturnian, thus:

Célsosqu(e) ócris árúāque | pútri(a) et mārē-mágnum

but the alliterative word-group *mare magnum* is suspicious; also the double 'resolution' in the same line. For the accent of *aruāque* cf. Servius ad Aen. 3. 91 *limināque* (Class. Rev. V, p. 376). *Aruos* adj., Plaut. Truc. 1. 2. 47, is contrasted with *pascuōs*.

70. The simplest change would be *cōnfringerent*. But this would give B-type of I with A-type of II. So a dissyllable must

be added to I, e. g. *Tópper <corpus> confringent*, unless we read *Tópper confringent-im* (cf. Paul. Fest. 73 Th. 'im' pro eum dicebant), which echoes the rhythm of the first hemistich of 69 and 68.

72. Néxerant múlt(a) inté-r-se || néxu nodórum

Or *nèxeránt-mult(a)*, with subordination of adverbial *multa* like that of adverbs of degree, e. g. 'much, very' in Old Teutonic poetry (Sievers in Paul's Grundriss, II, p. 874).

79. Cárnis autem uinúmque || quod líbant anclátur

*Anclabatur* would be, perhaps, a unique instance of a quadrisyllable of the form  $-\text{u}-\text{u}$  at the end of the line. The further change to *quód-bibant* would give the line the normal A-form. An easier change, however, would be to make *quod libabant* (*libant*) a gloss, and allow 5-syllabled *ānculab-átur* to comprise in itself the second hemistich; cf. v. 136.

88. Márcus Válërius cónsul || exérciti pártē

Will scan as a Saturnian, of a sort, by transposing the last two words.

95. Àmúlius <ac múltis> || gratulábat díuis

Suits the rhyme. Or transpose *diuis* and *gratulabatur*, which, however, would give us a line of 11 syllables instead of 13.

107. Íd quòque paciscúntur || moénia síquae

Gives a very doubtful Saturnian. *Ídēm-quoque paciscunt* (or *pāciscúntur*) would give a better parallel to the rhythm of v. 108, but enclitic *quoque* is perhaps not justified by Plautine versification. At the end of the line *súique* or *síbique* or *simúlque*, or any word of this form, would give the normal rhythm.

108. Lútátium concíliant || captíuos plúrimos

The usual rhythm would be given by *plurimos captiuos*, but the alliteration seems to require the MS order. *Reconciliant*, which would spoil the alliteration, would require two accents, if our law about 5-syllabled words is true, and so is inadmissible. A word like *plurimos* ( $-\text{u}-\text{u}$ ) at the end of a line is unusual, so that the whole line is very doubtful.

113. Plèriqu(e)-ómnes súbígúntur || súb-tuum iudíciū

The double resolution is suspicious. If we read *sub-ínūm* we should expect B-rhythm in I, e. g. *Plérosqu(e)-ómnes súbigunt* or *Plèriqu(e)-ómnes súbeunt*. The verb *subeo* is rare in Old Latin (Langen, Beiträge, p. 218).

114. Púlcrā <uás(a)> ex-aúro || uestémque citrósam

Either *citrosámque uéstem* or *uesteque citrósa* would give the suitable A-type of II.

125. Àtque priús páriet || lucústa lúcam.

Would scan, with reservation of *bouem* for next line. This gives B-type to both. A-type would be given by *paribit* || *lúca-bos lucústam*. Cf. *luca bos*, Plaut. Cas. 4. 4. 20. For *paribit* see Kühner, Lat. Gram. I, p. 480, §179. 3; and for the spelling *lucusta* cf. Plaut. Men. 925.

126. Could be scanned as Saturnian lines of a sort by transposing *eunt* in the last line. *Fodantes* will rhyme with *sudantes*:

conférre  
Quéant rátém aerátam | qui per-líquidum  
Éunt máre sudántes | àtque fodántes.

127. Cùm tu, déa, | arqutēnens || ságittis póllens

If we allow the scansion *ságitta* in Plautus (see C. F. Müller, Plaut. Pros., p. 253). Perhaps *sagittipollens* should be read like *vinipollens*, Plaut. Curc. 114.

134. Āpūd-empōrīūm in-cámpo || hóstium pro-móene

The double resolution in I would be avoided by trisyllabic *empōrīūm*.

137. Rēdēunt réfērunt petíta || rumóre secúndo

Would make a bad Saturnian with double resolution in I, and unsuitable B-type in II. Besides, the alliteration favors the transposition *rumore petita*.

I now take the fragmentary lines ascribed to Livius Andronicus and Naevius, in the order in which they are given in Havet, De Saturnio Versu, pp. 425 sqq.

#### A. From Livius Andronicus.

145. Páter nóster Satúrni || fílie xx'x

Quoted by Prisc. I, p. 305 H., for *filie*, voc. sg.

146. Quae haec dáps-est? qui-léstus || xxx'x díes?

Quoted by Prisc. I, p. 321, for *daps*. Translates Hom. Od. i. 225, and possibly follows immediately on v. 54, above. For the accentuation *quae haec . . . est* cf. the scansion, invariable in Plautus, *quis hic homóst* (Seyff. in Berl. Phil. Woch. 1891, p. 108).

147. Ātqu(e) éscas habémus || mentiōnem x'x

Quoted by Prisc. I, p. 198, for *escas*, gen. sg. One MS has *mentionem habemus*.

Or *Áiqu(e) éscas habéamus*, if *Atque* 'thereupon' is meant as a translation of *ἐξαῦρις*, Od. 4. 213 *δόπρον δ' ἐξαῦρις μνησώμεθα*.

148. *Iám in-áltüm expúlſa || lñtre . . .*

Quoted by Prisc. I, p. 151, for *linter*, fem.

[149. sic quoque fitum est]

Ap. Non. s. v. *fit*, 475 M.

Looks more like the ending of a dactylic hexameter than anything else.

150. . . . *parcéntes || praémódum . . .*

Ap. Gell. 6. 7. 11, who quotes the words as an instance of *praemodum* used for *admodum*, and adds: in quo scilicet prima syllaba acui debet.

[151. *affatim edi, bibi, lusi*]

Ap. Paul. Fest. 8 Th. Not assigned to the *Odyssea*, and so quite possibly from a drama. On the accentuation of *affatim* see Gell. 6. 7.

152. *x'x quónlām audíui || paúcis gauísi*

Quoted by Prisc. I, p. 482, for *gavisi*. One MS has *audíui*, so Reichardt proposes *audíui it* (later *id*; cf. Neue, II<sup>3</sup>, p. 375). With that reading I should prefer *audíi*, to give the B-type to the line.

[153. <Uacerra> corde et malefica uecordia]

Ap. Fest. 570 Th., s. v. *vacerra*. An iambic senarius.

154. *Uéstis púlla purpúřea || xxx'x ámpla*

Ap. Non. 368 M., s. v. *pullus*. Probably from Livius.

[155. *dusmo in loco*]

Ap. Paul. Fest., p. 47 Th.

156. *Dèque-mánĩbus dextrábus || . . .*

Ap. Non. 493 M., s. v. *dextrabus*.

#### B. From Naevius.

157. *Éam cárnem x'xx || uictóribus dánunt*

Ap. Non. 97 M., s. v. *danunt*.

158. *Vĩcissátim vólvier || victóriam x'x*

Ap. Non. 183 M., s. v. *vicissatim*. MSS *volvi*.

159. *Fámes ácer augéscit || hóstibus xx'x*

Quoted by Prisc. I, p. 153, for *acer*, fem.

160. *x'x x'x quod brúti || néc-satis sardáre*

Queunt.

Ap. Fest. 472 Th.; Paul. Fest. 473 Th.; Varro, L. L. 7. 107. Were the missing words *Díctus Brúti*? Here *nec* is the same particle as in *neglegens*, *necullus*, etc. The alliteration may require *nec-sdtis*.

161. <Tópper> *saéui capéssset || flámmam Uolcáni*

Ap. Fest. 532 Th., s. v. *topper*. MS *sic C. Naevicapéssset*, etc. Reichardt omits *saevi*, a very doubtful word. The normal form of II would

be given by *flamm(a) cum*. Notice that the regularity of I is not disturbed for the sake of the rhyme by putting *sæui* last.

The solitary line which we possess of the *Carmen Priami* (?) :

[162. [ueteres] Casmenas cascām rem uolo profariet]

Ap. Varr. L. L. 7. 28, who explains *cascus* by *vetus*. Spengel brackets *ueteres* as a gloss. MS *profari et*. The line is to all appearance an iambic senarius. It might scan as a Saturnian, thus :

x'x cāscām Casménas | rém uolo profárei.

Havet attributes to the same poem a line quoted by Marius Victorinus (VI 138 K.) in his account of Saturnian metre :

[163. cum uictor Lemno classem Doricām appulisset,]

which looks suspiciously like a late quantitative imitation of the old accentual Saturnian. The line just quoted will scan in the same quantitative fashion (as an iambic dimeter catalectic followed by a trochaic tripod), if we do not bracket *ueteres* :

ueterés Casmenas cāscām | rém uolo profárei.

Of the early hymns, proverbs, etc., mentioned by Havet, only a few could possibly be claimed for the Saturnian metre. The line of the *Carmen Saliare* ap. Ter. Scaur. 28, 6 K. (MSS *cuine ponas Leucesiae praetexere monti*), quoted for *cume*, the old form of *cum*, seems rather to have only two accents in each hemistich :

[164. cúme-tonas, Leucésie, || praí-ted tremónti,]

(if anything can be stated about a text so doubtful), like the line (?) quoted by Varro, L. L. 7. 26 :

dúonus Cérus-es | dúonus Ianúsque.

A charm mentioned by Varro, R. R. 1. 2. 27, runs :

165. Térra péstem tenéto || sálus hic-manéto,

where *Pestem Terra teneto* would be the order usually required by alliteration, and *hic-manéto sálus* the more regular form of the second hemistich, a form which might be sacrificed here for the sake of the rhyme.

We have now nothing remaining but the most difficult part of our task, the examination of the Saturnian lines embedded in prose passages of Livy. I follow still the order of Havet.

The oracle in Livy 5. 16. 8 seems to contain echoes of Saturnian lines, possibly of some form like this:

166. *Āquām-Albánam, Románe, || cauē lācu tenéri,*

Livy: Romane, aquam Albanam . . . contineri.

Or: *Āquām Albánam cauēto || continéri lācu.*

167. *Cāuē in-māre manāre || sūō-flúmine sīnas.*

*Mare* will have the stress, probably. A better rhythm would be given by *sūō-fluēnto*.

168. *Mīssam pēr-āgros rigābis, || dissipātam rīuis*

Livy: emissam . . . dissipatamque rivis extingues.

169. *Tūm tū aúðax insīste || hóstium mūris*

Livy: insiste audax.

170. *Mémor quàm per-tot-ānnos || óbsides úrbem*

The remaining half of the passage is even more doubtful.

The first oracle of Marcius in Livy 25. 12 seems to be in dactylic hexameters; but the second, which is also paraphrased by Macrobius 1. 17. 28, may be broken up into tentative Saturnians:

171. *Pèrduéllis, Románi || pèllere si-ex-āgro*

Livy and Macr.: Hostem(-is), Romani, si (ex)agro expellere vultis, which reads like a dactylic hexameter.

172. *Uóltis uómīcam quae géntiūm || grassátur lónge*

173. *Āpóllini uouéndos || cénseo lúdos*

174. *Qui quotānnis cómiter || Apóllini fīant*

175. *Cūm-dēderit (? Quādo dēdērit) pópulus || ex-público pártē*

Liv. Macr.: Cum populus dederit.

176. *Príui ūti-cónferant || pro-séd atque súis*

Liv. Macr.: Privati(s) uti. For *privi* cf. Paul. Fest., p. 282, 22 Th.; Plaut. Pseud. 865.

177. *Īis lúdis fáciúndis || praéerit is-praétor*

178. *Iús-qui pópulo plebeíque || xxx'x súmmum*

(iudicábit ?)

Liv. Macr.: Qui jus . . . dabit summum.

179. *Dècémui ri Graecátim || hóstiis rem-fáciant*

Liv. Macr.: graeco ritu hostiis sacra faciant.

180. *Hóc-si récte fáciétis || gaudébitis sémper*

(? fáxitis)

? 181. *Fīet mélior res-uóstra || nām-is-díuos exstínguet*

Liv. Macr.: fiet que res (publica) (vestra) melior nam is divus extinguet (-it).

182. *Uóstros cámpos qui plácide || perduéllis páscunt*

Liv. Macr.: Perduellis vestros qui vestros campos pascunt (-it) placide.

From the dedicatory tablet in Liv. 40. 52. 4 we have already quoted the first line:

Dúello mágno díríméndo, | régibus súbígéndis.

Another seems to be:

183. Uícta, fúsa, contúsa || et fugáta fúit.

Liv. *fugataque est* (see Neue Formenl. II<sup>2</sup>, p. 355).

The two last possibly:

184. Éa púgna pugnáta || Antföchus regnúmque  
(réx-fúit?)

Liv. *rex Antiochus*.

185. Eíús-r(ei)-erg(o) aédem Láribus || permarínis uóuit

With the accentuation of the opening words of v. 185 cf. *ēi-r(ei)-operám-dare*, the invariable ictus in Plautus' verses (Seyffert, Stud. Plaut., p. 25, *n*).

A few of the lines unearthed from Livy's prose go smoothly enough, such as v. 174, but most of the others lack the true ring of Saturnians. Jingling prophecies, however, are not to be expected to show correct rhythm, and we might cap these halting Saturnians with equally bad hexameters from the *Sortes* in C. I. L. I 1438 sqq., e. g.

I 1438 conrigi uix tandem quod curuom est factum crede.

I 1448 laetus lubens petito [quod] dabitur gaudebis semper,

or from the dactylic Carmen Marcianum (Liv. 25. 12. 2), of which the last line seems to be

Is fuât esca caro tua ; nam mi[hi] ita Iuppitēr fatust.

Festus quotes a line from another prophecy of the same Marcius which seems to be a Saturnian:

186. Quámuis nõuéntium || dúõnum nõgũmáte

Ap. Fest. 164 Th., s. v. *negumate*.

but both the words and the accentuation are in the highest degree doubtful. The 4-syllabled *nõuéntium* is uncertain; the alliteration would require *negumate duonum*, and so on.

A fragment from another exists both in Festus and his epitomator Paulus Diaconus:

187. Nè níngulus medéri || xxx'x quéat

Ap. Fest. 188 Th.; Paul. 189 Th.

Whether Festus' quotation from the *Sententiae Appii* is in this metre is doubtful :

188. Néquid fráúdis stupríque || ferócia páriat

Ap. Fest. 460 Th., s. v. *stuprum*. MS *pareat*.

Perhaps *paret*. The line is preceded by the words *qui animi compotem esse*, which Havet tries to fit into a Saturnian line.

Another old proverb preserved by Festus reads more like a trochaic tetrameter :

Quasi messor per messim unumquemque spicum colligit,

Ap. Fest. 492 Th., s. v. *spicus*.

and the same may be said of a quotation of Priscian (8. 18) from the *Sententiae Appii*, which is difficult to scan in any metre :  
Amicum cum uides obliuiscere miserias. Inimicus si es (? sies) commentus [nec libens aequae]. The last three words are omitted by all but one MS. *Commentus* is glossed by *σεσοφισμένος* :

≈ amicum cum uides obliuiscere miserias ;

Inimicus si es commentus, nec-libens aequae <face>.

#### §6. DEVELOPMENT OF SATURNIAN FROM INDO-EUROPEAN METRE.—A SUGGESTION.

A detailed comparison of the Saturnian metre with the metre of other Indo-European nations, and a full account of its historical development from the original Indo-European metre, lie outside of the province of this article. My only aim has been to detect the laws which governed Livius and Naevius in framing their lines, not the laws which were observed by their remote predecessors. To determine these earlier laws it would first be necessary to determine the scheme of that primitive Indo-European metre, which seems to have been the parent, not only of the Latin accentual Saturnian, but also of the syllabic metre of the Avesta, of the syllabic (partly quantitative) metre of the Vedas, of the Teutonic alliterative verse, and perhaps even of the Greek hexameter (see Allen in Kuhn's *Zeitschr.* 1879, p. 559 ; Westphal, *Allgem. Metrik*). And this, I believe, cannot be rightly done until we have received from specialists a reliable account of all the native metres of Indo-European peoples. The Celtic metres especially may be expected to throw light on the prehistoric Italic metre, but of these at present hardly anything has been



ascertained.<sup>1</sup> The two metres which have been most fully studied, the Early Indian (see Oldenberg, *Hymnen des Rig-Veda*, Berl. 1888) and the Early Teutonic (see Sievers, *Altgerm. Metrik*, Leipz. 1892), suggest a few considerations about the history of the Latin Saturnian, which may be worth mentioning in lieu of a more ambitious treatment.

The Gâyatrî pāda of the Vedas, apparently the best representative of that primitive metre from which the Saturnian hemistich was derived, consists of eight syllables, of which the first four may be of any quantity, the last four are normally  $\cup - \cup \simeq$ , e. g.

Agnim ilê pūrōhītām  
yajñasya devām řitvījām  
hōtāram ratnādhātāmām

This regard for quantity at the end, though not at the beginning of the line, suggests the possibility of combining the quantitative and accentual schemes of Saturnian metre. According to such a combined scheme, the first two feet would show no regard for quantity, e. g. *dābunt mālūm* or *Rūncūs ātquē*, but the end of the hemistich would be quantitative, and would be properly expressed  $\simeq - \simeq$ , e. g. *Mētēlli*. Instead of the normal A-type, given above (p. 311), viz.  $x'x x'x xx'x$ , we should have to substitute

$x'x x'x \simeq - \simeq$ .

Such a scheme would undoubtedly suit every hemistich of the normal A-type, e. g.

Dābunt mālūm Mētēlli  
Fūndit fūgat prōstērnīt  
Uīrum mīhi Cāmēnā.

- For all that, I do not believe that it is the scheme which was present to the mind of Livius and Naevius. By the law of Latin

<sup>1</sup> Prof. Thurneysen has furnished strong grounds for believing that the metre of the Old Irish hymns, etc., is not the native Irish metre (which must be sought elsewhere), but an imitation of the late Latin ecclesiastical metres. So that the comparison of Latin Saturnians with, let us say, the opening line of the hymn to St. Patrick is, however tempting, quite useless:

Dabunt malum Metelli | Naeuio poetae  
| cosentiont Romai  
Génair Pátraice in Némthur | is éd atfét hi scélaib.

I fancy that it will be found that the Celtic nations took rhyme (or rather assonance) for the leading feature of their poetry, as the Teutonic nations took alliteration.

accentuation which prevailed in their time, as well as after them, the penultimate syllable of a word, if long, was accented; and so, in ninety-nine out of every hundred lines, a hemistich with accented penultima will naturally have a long penultima. But that this apparent observance of quantity is merely the result of an actual observance of accent is shown by two things: first, by the rule of Saturnian metre that the first syllable of the line must be an accented syllable (a rule which indicates the accentual nature of the metre); and second, by that principle of alternation of accentual rhythm which we have found to underlie Saturnian versification. That principle, however, could plainly not have existed in the earlier period, when the accent attached itself to the first syllable of every word; and its existence in the literary period is no proof that quantity had not at an earlier time played any part in the metre. That quantity alone, or accent alone, or quantity and accent combined, supplied the rhythm to the earlier Saturnians—all these are hypotheses which it is equally impossible to affirm or to deny with certainty. There is another possibility, that neither quantity nor accent, but merely the counting of syllables, was the sole or leading rhythmical factor until the change from the old monotony of accentuation brought with it the possibility of a new rhythmical effect, the alternation of accentual rhythm, of the 'falling' with the 'rising' accentuation. That this alternation, which seems to be the rhythmical factor with Livius and Naevius, was the direct outcome of the change from the old to the new accent law is probable enough in itself, and has analogies in the history of the development of Teutonic metre.

Prof. Sievers, who claims five types for the Early Teutonic alliterative verse, the most frequent type being  $x'x\ x'x$ , e. g. *hyran scolde*, gives a most ingenious account of how these five may have been evolved at different stages by gradual development from a primitive type like that of the Gâyatrî pâda. We may here, for the sake of simplicity, confine ourselves to the most frequent type, just mentioned, viz.  $x'x\ x'x$ .

The primitive metre he makes  $xx'\ xx'\ xx'\ xx'$  (cf. the Gâyatrî pâda of the Vedas), or, admitting secondary as well as main accents,  $xx'\ xx'\ xx'\ xx'$ . How would this type be changed by the working of the phonetic laws of the Teutonic languages themselves? In the first place, the Teutonic accent (like the Latin accent) shifted, at an early period, to the first syllable of each

word. The result of this change of pronunciation on the metre would be that this verse-type would lose its first syllable and become  $x'x\ x'x\ x'xx'$ . Next, the operation of those stringent laws of syncope of the unaccented vowel which transformed the whole aspect of the Teutonic vocabulary would efface the unaccented syllables and reduce the line to  $x'x'\ x'x'$ . From this to the normal type  $x'x\ x'x$  is but a step, and this step, the reduction of a syllable with secondary accent to the position of an unaccented syllable, Prof. Sievers explains as a result of the change from the use of the metre for song to its use for recitation.

All this suggests that the Latin Saturnian may have passed through somewhat similar stages. If we suppose as starting-point a type like  $xx'\ xx'\ xx'\ xx'$ , the shifting of the accent to the first syllable of each word would produce the new type  $x'x, x'x, x'x\ x$ , e. g. (1) *hónce oino ploírume*, or (I use the early accentuation) *dábunt málum Metélli*. Or else, supposing the second accent to be subordinate,  $x'xx'x, x'xx$ , e. g. (2) *diònòro óptumo*, or *grátulàbat dìuiti*, or *immolàbat aúratam*. Or with still further subordination of the second accent, e. g. (3) *Naéuio poétæ*. A new type might be evolved by the occasional suppression, through syncope, of a syllable following the accent,  $x'xx'x, x'x$ , e. g. (4) *grátulàbat dtti*. Similarly *còsèntiont Római* and *fuisse úirum*. When, at a later time, the penultima law of accentuation came in, No. 1 would remain, e. g. *hónce oino ploírume*, or would become  $x'x, x'x, xx'x$ , e. g. (5) *dábunt málum Metélli*; No. 2 would be slightly changed to  $x'xx'x, x'xx$ , e. g. *diònóro óptumo*, or would become  $x'xx'x, xx'x$ , e. g. (6) *immolàbat aurátam*; No. 3 would become  $x'xx, xx'x$ , e. g. (7) *Naéuio poétæ*; No. 4 would remain, with slight change,  $x'xx'x, x'x$ , e. g. *grátulàbat diti, còsèntiont Római*, or would become  $xx'x, x'x$ , e. g. (8) *fuisse úirum*. The difference between 'falling' and 'rising' accentuation, according to the new penultima law, was seized on as a means of eliciting rhythmical effect, just as the Teutonic race selected alliteration for the same purpose; and certain of these types were reserved for one or other hemistich, with the object of securing, as far as possible, this alternation of accentual rhythm for the whole line. Thus a first hemistich of type No. 5, our 'normal A-type,' e. g. *Dábunt málum Metélli*, which ended with 'rising' accentuation, would take as second hemistich the type numbered 7, e. g. *Naéuio poétæ*, which began with 'falling' and ended with 'rising' accentuation. This was preferred to the other similar type, No. 3, e. g.



I would render them in Peligno-Latin :

No. 13. . . . uxor(ě)s praestabulatric(ě)s, Prima Pet(t)iedya  
ib(i) viyam-do, Vib(e)dya Omnita Uranias ec(c)uc imperatis  
vectast, Cerforum sacratrix Sēmōnum ; suā aetate finitā (?) fertili,  
regnum-in Proserpinae ab(i)yit. Itē vos praeterum-in pācres qui  
ec(c)idc(e) lexe. Libar (i. e. affluentiam?) det vobis dei(ve)te  
(acc. sg. neut.) honesta Herentas : i. e. . . . priestesses, Pettiedia  
Prima there to the roadside (*sc.* was carried for burial), Vibidia  
Omnita by the commands of Urania was carried hither, the  
priestess of the Cerfi Semones ; her fruitful life ended, she  
departed to the realm of Proserpine. Go on in peace (or good-  
will), you who have read this. May beauteous Venus give you  
rich abundance.

No. 14. ped(ě)s p(a)ros (?) ec(c)ub(i) incubat cānār(is), usā  
aetate, Kaeso Annaeus, sollis dei(ve)s, Forte faber : i. e. a few  
feet (?) (*sc.* of ground) here an old man lies upon, his life com-  
pleted, Kaeso Annaeus, enriched with all things, fostered (favored)  
by Fortune. (For a detailed discussion of these inscriptions see  
my article in the Classical Review, March, 1893.)

I would arrange them in Saturnian lines as follows :

No. 13. úsur prístafalác(i)rix, || Prísmu Petiédú  
íp uídádu, Uíbdú || Omnítu Uránias  
écuc emprátois clísuíst, Cérfum || sácárác(i)rix Semúnu ;  
Or *écuc*, giving 8 full sylls. to hem. I.  
súad-aetátu firáta fértlid, || praícíme Persépōnas  
Or *fírāta* (? *f(i)rāta*), giving 8 full sylls. to hem. I.  
áfíded. Eít(e)-uus prítrom-e || pácris, puus éíc  
léxe. Lífar didá-uus || déti hanúst(u) Heréntas  
Or *dèt(i)-hanúst(u) Heréntas* 'loaded with riches.' Or *dídā-uus-  
dèt(i) | hanúst(u) Heréntas*, echoing the rhythm of the preced-  
ing line. For *cit(e)* cf. Plaut. Poen. 1237 *it(e)*.

No. 14. pés-pros écuí incubat || cásnar oís(a) aetáte,  
Or *oís(a)-aetáte*. Or *incubat*, if there is alliteration with *casnar*.  
Caéso Anáes, sólois || dés, Fórtē fáber  
Or *solóis- | -des*.

The accentuation of the Pelignian language is, with the meagre evidence at our disposal, quite uncertain. I suppose it to follow the penultima law ; while another theory makes the first syllable of each word accented. But leaving the accentuation aside as too doubtful for argument, we may perhaps see in the lines a

regard for the numbering of syllables, the normal amount being 7 for hem. I, 6 for hem. II. There appears also to be correspondence of rhythm between adjacent lines, e. g. vv. 3-4 of No. 13 with extra-long first hemistich. And alliteration plays a leading part in the metre, whereas rhyme is found only once, in No. 13, v. 3. So that, if the accentuation of Latin Saturnian verse is not reproduced in the Pelignian lines, they retain at least the characteristics of what I have mentioned as a possible earlier stage of the Latin metre, viz. counting of syllables, arrangement in distichs (or, at any rate, correspondence of rhythm between adjacent lines), and alliteration. They are interesting, because they are apparently the only examples preserved to us of dialectal Saturnians. The Marsic inscription (Zvet. No. 45), which I would read: *Caso Cantovios Aprufclano ceip. apur finem Esalicom enurbid Casontoni socieque donom atolerō Actia. Pro l[ecio]nibus Martses*, has only slight alliteration, which can hardly be designed (unless in *atolerō Actia* = *attulere Angitiaē*), and is quite unlikely to be metrical. And the Oscan inscription in Greek characters (Zvet. No. 232) seems to be a very prosaic notice about the ownership of a burying-place. I read: *πωτ πολλοφωμ σοροφωμ εινκαπιδιτωμ Καφας λεικειτ κωαχερη λιοκακειτ σφα[ε] . . . εσοτ βρωτωμ μειαι ανα-* (some verb; cf. *ανασακετ*, No. 247), and render in Osco-Latin: *quod volvum* ('round' or 'walled round'; cf. Lat. *vulva*, and perhaps Ir. *falbach* 'rampart' = I.-Eur. *\*wolwāco-*) *sorvum incapiditum Gavas* (cf. *Gava*, C. I. L. I 1097) *licitus est coegre* (meaning *cum agro*; cf. *peregre*) . . . *suae . . . id bratum meae* (donavit).

In the last number of Gröber's *Grundriss der romanischen Philologie*, Professor Stengel derives the ordinary hendecasyllable of the Romance languages from the Latin Saturnian. Could his theory be established, the Saturnian metre would indeed be able to boast of a long existence. But a grave objection seems to me the absence of the metre from the epitaphs of the poor in the Imperial Age. The Iambic Senarius and Trochaic Septenarius appear to have been the popular metres of the Empire, not the Saturnian.]

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### III.—A COLLATION OF THE OLD ARMENIAN VERSION OF PLATO'S LAWS, BOOK IV.<sup>1</sup>

In the remaining books (IV–XII) of the Laws it will not be necessary to point out in detail the many points of identity between the text of the great Paris MS and that of the Armenian translator. In our examination of books I–III we have shown that the Armenian adheres to the text of the Paris Codex 1807 in almost all cases where other MSS, really apographs of it, show deviations. When the Armenian really departs from the Paris text, it is often but to agree with other genuinely independent and old sources, such as Ficino's Latin rendering or the citations of Eusebius and Stobaeus.

In book IV of the Laws the following passages may be noticed. Where the Armenian seems to yield a sound reading I have prefixed an asterisk. The collation is with the text of Schanz all through.

St. 704 B, Sch. 98. 8 πόλις, ἥς πέρι τὰ νυνδὴ λεχθέντα ἡμῖν. The Arm. implies τὰ νῦν διαλεχθέντα. Cp. Theat. 158 C ἃ τε γὰρ νῦν διειλέγμεθα. But the received text is satisfactory, and all that can be here said of the Armenian reading is that it is equally satisfactory.

\*St. 704 B, Sch. 98. 10. Schanz reads: τί δέ; λιμένες ἄρ' εἰσὶν κατὰ ταῦτα αὐτῆς, ἢ τὸ παράπαν ἀλίμενος; This is the reading of the Paris MS. Eusebius, in citing the passage, has εἰσὶν κατ' αὐτῆς, ἢ κ. τ. λ., which is also implied by the Arm. Ficino renders: "Portus uero suntne prope? An mare illud penitus importuosum"; which agrees better with the reading of Eusebius than with that of the Paris MS.

\*St. 704 B, Sch. 98. 12. Sch. reads with the Paris MS: εὐλίμενος μὲν οὖν ταύτῃ γε ὡς δυνατόν, and does not notice the variant οὖν αὐτῇ given in Eusebius and, furthermore, implied by the Armenian. The agreement throughout this passage of the Armenian with Eusebius' citation is important, for it proves (1) that these variants are not due to citation, but were in the text itself which Eusebius had, and (2) that a genuinely old text underlies the Armenian.

<sup>1</sup> See A. J. P. XII 193–210.

St. 704 C, Sch. 98. 15, 16. Perhaps the translator read *ἐπιδεήσει* for *ἐπιδείης* in both sentences.

\*St. 704 C, Sch. 98. 21. The Version adds *πάσης*, so as to read : *τί δέ; πεδίων τε καὶ ὀρῶν καὶ ὕλης πάσης πῶς μέρος ἐκάστων ἡμῖν εἴληχεν*; The sense would be "wood of all sorts." As introductory to the exception he means to make of ship-building wood, Plato may well have written *πάσης* here; and the fact of *πῶς* following after it may explain its absence from the Paris MS.

St. 704 D, Sch. 98. 25 *πάνυ μὲν οὖν*]. The Version adds *ἐκάτερα*, which seems the addition of one who missed the sense of the passage.

\*St. 704 D, Sch. 98. 29 *μεγάλου τινὸς ἔδει σωτήρός τε αὐτῇ*. The Arm. has *αὐτῇ*, which Ficino also implies: "maximo sibi salutis fundatore opus esset."

St. 704 D, Sch. 99. 3. The Arm. translator renders as if *σχεδόν* came after *δέοντος*. Perhaps, however, he merely read the comma after, instead of before, *σχεδόν*.

\*St. 705 A, Sch. 99. 4, 5 *πρόσοικος γὰρ θάλαττα χώρα τὸ μὲν παρ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν ἡδύ*. This is the reading of the Paris MS. Stobaeus, in citing the passage, reads *θαλάττη χώρα*, which is also involved by the Armenian. Schanz omits to notice this variant, which has at least as much authority as that of the Paris MS.

\*St. 705 A, Sch. 99. 7 *ἐμπιπλάσα αὐτήν*. The Version has *αὐτήν*, which is also read in early editions of Stobaeus, and must be accepted, if just before *θαλάττη χώρα* be read.

\*St. 705 B, Sch. 99. 12 *τραχεία δὲ οὖσα δῆλον ὡς οὐκ ἂν πολύφορος ἄμα*. Schanz notes that *πάμφορος* is read in the Paris MS, but that the letters *ἀμ* are written over an erasure of *πολύφορος*, while a manus recentior adds before *πάμφορος* and outside the line the words *πολύφορος τε εἶη καὶ*. Eusebius has *πολύφορός τ' εἶη καὶ πάμφορος*, which Stobaeus also gives, only reading *τις* for *τ'*. The Armenian, like Eusebius, adds *καὶ παμφ.*, but omits *εἶη* and favors *γε* instead of *τ'*. Ficino also had the reading of Eusebius, and well brings out its meaning: "Cumque silvosa sit et aspera, licet omnia ferat, non tamen abunde omnia." The reading of Schanz comes to the same thing, but the weight of the evidence is in favor of adding the words *καὶ πάμφορος*.

St. 705 B, Sch. 99. 19 *συχχωρούμεν τότε λέγειν ἡμᾶς ὀρθῶς καὶ τὰ νῦν*. The Arm. involves *ὑμᾶς*, which Ficino perhaps read, for he renders: "et illa tunc, et nunc *ista* recte dicta concedimus."

\*St. 705 D, Sch. 100. 5. Schanz reads: *τὸ δὲ ὅτι πρὸς μέρος ἀλλ' οὐ πρὸς πᾶσαν σχεδόν, οὐ πάνυ ξυνεχώρουν*. The Arm. places the



comma before, not after, *σχεδόν*, with a gain to the sense. Ficino renders: "quoniam vero non ad universam, sed ad virtutis partem ferme equidem non valde laudabam," which perhaps points to similar punctuation in his Greek. Stephanus takes it in the same way.

\*St. 706 A, Sch. 100. 8-11. Schanz reads: *τοῦτον γὰρ δὴ τίθεσθαι τὸν νόμον ὀρθῶς ὑποτίθεμαι μόνον, ὃς ἂν δίκην τοξότου ἐκάστοτε στοχάζεται τούτου ὅτῃ ἂν συνεχῶς τῶν ἀεὶ καλῶν τι ξυνέπηται μόνον, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα ξύμπαντα παραλείπη.* In this passage the Paris MS reads *τοῦ τῶν* after *συνεχῶς* and *μόνοι* (sic), *μόνον* being written in margin in late hand. The Armenian confirms Schanz in omitting *τοῦ* after *συνεχῶς*, and also omits *μόνον*, which Ficino also omits: "qui veluti sagittarius illuc animum semper intendit, unde continuo aliquid semperque sequatur eorum quae bona sunt."

St. 706 A, Sch. 100. 12 *ἐάν τε ἄρα τι τῶν ἄλλων*. Here the Version has *ἄλλο* instead of *ἄρα*.

St. 706 C, Sch. 100. 25. The Version unaccountably omits *μονίμων* after *ὀπλιτῶν* in l. 25, and *μένοντας* just below after *ἀποθνήσκειν*. The double omission has a purposive air. But *μονίμων* has not only the authority of the Paris Codex and of Ficino, but of Plutarch as well (vit. Philopoem., p. 363 F). It is to be remarked that Stephanus read *νομίμων* from some bad MS.

St. 707 A, Sch. 101. 19. Schanz reads: *πρὸς δὲ τούτοις αἱ διὰ τὰ ναυτικά πόλεων δυνάμεις ἅμιν σωτηρίας τιμὰς οὐ τῇ καλλίστῃ τῶν πολεμικῶν ἀποδιδόασιν. διὰ κυβερνητικῆς γὰρ καὶ πεντηκονταρχίας καὶ ἐρετικῆς [καὶ] παντοδαπῶν καὶ οὐ πάντῃ σπουδαίων ἀνθρώπων γιγνομένης, τὰς τιμὰς ἐκάστοις οὐκ ἂν δύναιτο ὀρθῶς ἀποδιδόναι τις.*

In the above the Paris Codex has *ἐρετρικῆς* and *ἅμιν σωτηρία*. Badham conjectured *σωτηρίας*. Ast would remove *διὰ* before *κυβερνητικῆς*. Schanz brackets *καὶ* before *παντοδαπῶν*, and the apographa omit it. Ast conjectured *διὰ παντοδαπῶν*. The Armenian does little to remove the difficulties of the passage. It gives the following sense: "Praeterea et civitatum quae per navalia et vires simul salutis, et honores non optimae parti rerum bellicarum retribuerunt. Et enim per artem gubernatoriam, L virorum principatu, et principatu variorum quae (or ? qui) est hominum et non specialiter optimorum, honores singulis non possit quispiam retribuere recte." From which it appears that the Armenian read *\*ἀρχικῆς* or *ἡγεμονικῆς* instead of *ἐρετρικῆς*, and, with the apographa, omitted *καὶ* before *παντοδαπῶν*. It is also almost certain that the Armenian translator read *καὶ* after *σωτηρίας*. He seems to

have understood the whole passage as follows: "Moreover, of cities, those which depend on fleets apportion the forces of safety, as well as the honors, not to the best of the warlike elements," etc.

St. 708 D, Sch. 102. 7 οὐ τὸ σφῆζεσθαι τε καὶ οὐκ εἶναι μόνον ἀνθρώποις τιμωτάτων ἡγούμενοι. The Arm. renders in the sense τὸ οὕτω σφῆζεσθαι καὶ οὐ τὸ εἶναι μόνον κ. τ. λ. It is more probable that this is an ingenious misreading of the text we have, than that the Armenian actually found the above reading in his MS. οὕτω, of course, meant 'by means of political virtue.'

\*St. 709 C, Sch. 103. 4. The Version adds the words τε καὶ νομοθετεῖσθαι, which in the Paris MS are added in the margin by a second hand, with the remark ἐν ἄλλῳ εὖρον. Ficino translates these words, and all the editions add them. Just below St. 709 C, Sch. 103. 8 the Armenian suggests ἐνδέχεται instead of ἀνέχεται. Ficino also renders 'suscipit.' In the next line the Arm. omits διὰ συνήθειαν.

St. 709 D, Sch. 103. 14 omits μάλλον. The words which follow τὸ δὲ συμπνεῦσαι καὶ καθάπερ ἵππων ζεύγος καθ' ἐν εἰς ταυτόν, τὸ λεγόμενον, συμψυῆσαι have given rise to some discussion. For the Paris MS reads καθ' εἶνα. Whether the Armenian translator read καθ' εἶνα or καθ' ἐν cannot be decided; but he removes καὶ after συμπνεῦσαι and sets it after καθ' ἐν. Immediately below the Version retains ὄντως and τελεωτάτων, which are read in the text of the Paris MS.

\*St. 708 E, Sch. 103. 21 'Αγαθὲ, ἔοικα περὶ νομοθετῶν ἐπαινῶν καὶ σκοπῶν ἅμα ἐρεῖν τι καὶ φαῦλον.' Ficino renders: "Dum et considerare legum latores et laudare vellem, ad vile quid dictu videor lapsus." Perhaps we may infer that he read ἐπαινῶν for ἐπαινίων. The Version omits καὶ σκοπῶν, but retains ἐπαινίων. Perhaps καὶ σκοπῶν was added by one who read ἐπαινῶν but was puzzled by the construction περὶ νομοθετῶν ἐπαινῶν.

St. 709 A, Sch. 103. 30. The Version gives instead of ἀνέτρεψε the bad reading ἀνέστρεψε, also given in Stobaeus.

\*St. 709 A, Sch. 104. 1. For λοιμῶν the Version has σεισμῶν, after which it retains τε, but omitting καὶ after ἐμπιπτόντων and reading ἀκαιρία. Assuming that ἀκαιρία really stood in his text, the translator read as follows: σεισμῶν τε ἐμπιπτόντων χρόνον ἐπὶ πολλὴν ἐνιαυτῶν πολλῶν πολλὰκις ἀκαιρία. This is a better reading than the other texts yield, for in them λοιμῶν is superfluous after νόσοι, and τε after λοιμῶν. After σεισμῶν, however, τε is in place, and need not be any more bracketed, as it is by Schanz. The only word which the Arm. removes is καὶ, which may have been inserted by one

who rightly failed to see the connection between human disease (λοιμός) and bad harvests (ἀκαιρίαι). The latter might ensue as the result of earthquakes.

St. 709 A, Sch. 103. 3. ἀξείεν, the reading of the Paris MS, is given in the Version. Stob.: ἄρξειεν. Just below in 709 B the Arm. agrees with the Paris Codex and Stobaeus in reading ὅμως, against ὁμοίως of the Apogr. Vatic. In the next line Stobaeus has εὖ λέγοντα λέγειν, but the Version agrees with the Paris MS in giving λεγ. εὖ λέγ.

\*St. 709 C, Sch. 104. 14. The Version, literally rendered = nam in hiemali tempore comprehendere gubernatoriam maxima efficit, necne et hoc magnum aliquid lucrum ponam artis? We see that it at least retains after κυβερνητικὴν the words ἡ μὴ, given in the Paris Codex, but rejected by Schanz, in spite of similar uses, like Laws 888 B μέγιστον δέ, ὃ νῦν οὐδὲν ἡγεί σὺ, τὸ περὶ τοὺς θεοὺς ὀρθῶς διανοηθέντα ζῆν καλῶς ἡ μὴ.

\*St. 709 C, Sch. 104. 15, 16. The Version gives the words ἡ πῶς to Klinias and omits οὕτως. Badham felt ἡ πῶς to be awkward at the end of the speech of the Athenians, and conjectured σὺ δὲ πῶς. Stobaeus confirms the Armenian in rejecting οὕτως.

St. 709 C, Sch. 104. 17. The Version implies \*καὶ ἐν or κἀν, which Ast conjectured. At the end of the speech it omits δεῖν in l. 22. Just before, in line 20, the Arm. has μάλλει, with Stobaeus, against μέλλοι of the Paris MS.

St. 709 D, Sch. 104. 24-105. 2. Schanz in this difficult passage reads ὀρθῶς τι παρὸν and ἐπιδέον. His app. crit. summarizes the various conjectures of scholars. Adopting his reading, the sense is as follows: "Then will not one who has art in one of the directions mentioned (viz. as pilot or physician or legislator) be rightly able to pray for something given him by fortune and only requiring art in addition?" That is, the artist's prayer will be for those conditions to be given by good fortune under which his art will be able to work and produce what is wanted. The paraphrase of the Armenian translator misses the sense: "Will not, then, one who has art in one of the directions mentioned also pray that he may be able to adjust rightly, by means of his art, that which comes by chance?"

\*St. 709 D, 105. 5. For τὴν αὐτῶν εὐχὴν the Armenian has τὴν αὐτὴν εὐχὴν, which gives a better sense. Just below the Paris Codex has δὴ, for which Sch. substitutes ἀν. The Armenian implies δὴ. After that, in l. 10, the Arm. has \*φέρει δὴ, ὥ νομοθέτα

κ. τ. λ. Here  $\omega$  is absent from the Paris Codex, but is conjectured by Schanz, Ficino rendering "O legislator."

\*St. 709 E. In the next line the Paris text has  $\delta$  λαβὼν  $\xi\zeta\epsilon\iota\varsigma$   $\omega\sigma\tau'$   $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa$  τῶν λοιπῶν αὐτὸς τὴν πόλιν  $\acute{\iota}\kappa\alpha\nu\omega\varsigma$  διοικῆσαι; Here  $\omega\sigma\tau'$  gives offence, for, though examples are to hand of its redundant use with the infinitive after  $\delta\acute{\upsilon}\nu\alpha\mu\alpha\iota$ ,  $\acute{\iota}\kappa\alpha\nu\omega\varsigma$ , etc., none are adducible of such a use after  $\xi\chi\omega$ . The Armenian involves  $\sigma\acute{\upsilon}\gamma'$ , which must be the true reading.

\*St. 709 E, Sch. 105. 11-16. The passage which follows is also remedied by the Armenian. Schanz' reading departs from the Paris Codex more widely and gives a less satisfactory sense. He reads: ΑΘ. . . . τί μετὰ τοῦτ' εἰπεῖν ὀρθῶς ἔστιν; ἄρα τοῦ νομοθέτου φράζωμεν τοῦτο; ΚΛ. τί γάρ; ΑΘ. [Ναί] τόδε τυραννουμένην μοι δότε τὴν πόλιν φήσει. Here the Paris Codex has  $\eta$  γάρ, not  $\tau\acute{\iota}$  γάρ, and also ναί, which "delevit Stallbaum." The Arm. testifies to the following reading of the passage: ΑΘ. . . . τί μετὰ τοῦτ' εἰπεῖν ὀρθῶς ἔστιν τὸ τοῦ νομοθέτου; ἄρα φράζωμεν τοῦτο;  $\eta$  γάρ; ΚΛ. Ναί. ΑΘ. τόδε κ. τ. λ. "*Ath.* What shall we rightly set down after this as *the* answer of the legislator? Shall we indicate this answer? *Klin.* Yes. *Ath.* This he will say," etc. Thus the Armenian only involves the transposition of  $\acute{\alpha}\rho\alpha$  and the addition of  $\tau\acute{o}$  before τοῦ νομοθέτου. To this addition Ficino also testifies, for he renders: "Quid recte deinde dicitur? An legum latoris responsio afferri debet? *Clin.* Utique," etc. Ast conjectured  $\tau\acute{o}$  before τοῦ νομοθέτου.

\*St. 710 A, Sch. 105. 19 καὶ νῦν τῇ τυραννουμένη ψυχῇ τοῦτο ξυνεπέσθω is the reading of the Paris MS; but it is the πόλις which three lines before was τυραννουμένη, and not the ψυχή of the τύραννος. "Affertur alia lectio τῇ τοῦ τυράννου ψυχῇ," notes Stephanus. The Arm. = "et nunc huic quae a tyranno regitur civitati sequatur anima talis." Therefore read  $\psi\upsilon\chi\eta\varsigma$  τοῦτο 'the despotically ruled city must have, along with the rest, this element of the soul (in its ruler), if it is to profit by the other qualities (of youth, memory, etc.) which he has already got.' That this is the true sense is clear from the words just below in 710 B: ταύτην τοίνυν ἡμῖν κ. τ. λ. Even if τυραννουμένη be middle, it is still the πόλις, and not the ψυχή, of the ruler which may be said to govern itself despotically or to have despotical institutions.

\*St. 710 C, Sch. 106. 10. The Armenian includes εὐτυχίης in the speech of Klinias, and instead of πρόσθε, μὴ κατ' ἄλλο implies πρόσθε μὴ τι ἄλλο. Therefore the Armenian had the same text as Ficino,

who renders: "*Clī. . . fortis, magnificus atque felix? Athen. Adde nihil aliud, nisi ut,*" etc. Stephanus would give *εὐτυχής* to Clinias.

St. 710 E, Sch. 106. 27. The Arm. implies *λέγομεν δὲ ταῦτα* where the Greek MSS have *δὴ*.

\*St. 711 A, Sch. 106. 32 *ταύτη καὶ τότε τάχος καὶ ῥαστώνη κ. τ. λ.* Schanz writes: "in verbis καὶ τότε haereo." The Armenian omits *τότε*. So does Ficino: "ibi celer et facilis fieri mutatio solet."

\*St. 711 A, Sch. 107. 2 *οὐχ ἀπαξ ἀλλ' οἶμαι πολλάκις*. The Arm. involves *οὐχ ἀπ. ἀλλὰ καὶ πολ.*

St. 711 B, Sch. 107. 11 *πορεύεσθαι δὲ αὐτὸν δέῃ πρῶτον ταύτη*. The Arm. reads *δὴ* for *δεῖ*. The same reading is in one of Bekker's codd. α.

St. 711 C, Sch. 107. 17. The Arm. agrees with the Paris MS in reading *καὶ πῶς οἴομεθα* without *οὐκ*.

\*St. 711 C, Sch. 107. 32 *ἢ τὴν Νέστορος εἰάν ποτέ τις ἐπανενέγκῃ φύσιν*. The verb *ἐπαναφέρω* is used in three other passages in the Laws, viz. I 631 A, III 680 D, V 742 C, and always in the sense of 'to refer or trace a thing back to its source or centre.' In the *Politeia* and *Cratylus*, 434 E and 425 D, it has the same sense; also in *Lysis* 219 C. Thus the sense of 'to bring up again or restore what is past,' which the context requires, is a sense in which *ἐπαναφέρω* is never used in Plato. On the other hand, the sense of 'refer back,' in which he always uses it, is here impossible. The Armenian gives this sense: "vel eam quae Nestoris si quando quis renovaverit naturam." Ficino renders: "aut si quando naturam Nestoris quis reduxerit." It is clear that the Arm. translator read *ἐπανανέωσται* or *ἀνανέωσται*. Cp. *Pol.* II 358 B *ἐπανανέωσομαι τὸν θρασυμάχου λόγον*. Ast in his lexicon renders *ἐπαναφέρω* by *refero*, and gives no reference to this passage in the Laws. The active *ἐπανανέωσις* would involve less change in the text, but it has a post-classical air. The uncials ΩC might easily have been confused by a copyist with ΓΚ. Then *ἐπανανέγκηται* would have given way to the more usual form *ἐπανανέγκη*. The change would also be explained if we supposed that the termination *ηται* was written as a compendium in some MS of which the Paris MS is a more or less direct copy, and that this compendium was wrongly copied. Badham suggested such a theory in explanation of most of the bad readings of the Paris MS.

\*St. 711 E, Sch. 107. 34. In the next line the Arm. omits *ἀνθρώπων*. As it is not necessary to the sense and is also omitted

in Ficino's version: "quem . . . multo magis omnibus excelluisse ferunt," we can infer that it was not in the Greek texts used by Ficino and by the Armenian translator.

\*St. 711 E, Sch. 108. 4. For *ιόντων λόγων* the Arm. has *ρέόντων λόγων*, which Ficino also read, for he renders: "et illi quoque beati sunt, qui *fluentia* ex ore modesto audiunt verba."

St. 712 B, Sch. 108. 14, 15. The Armenian translator renders: "conemur accommodantes te civitate, seniores tanquam pueri oratione confingere leges." He misunderstood *σοι*.

\*St. 712 D, Sch. 109. 2, 3 *καί τις ἐνίοτε μοι φαίνεται πασῶν τῶν πόλεων δημοκρατουμένη μάλιστ' εἰκέναι* is the reading of the Paris MS. Stephanus, following Ficino's version, which has "nonnunquam tamen," conjectured *καί τοι*, which Sch. adopts. The Arm. retains *τις*, but for *δημοκρατουμένη* has *τυραννουμένη* or *τυραννίδι*. The substitution is probably right, since it agrees better with what precedes and renders *τις* more tolerable. The sense may be 'and in a way (or under some aspects *τις*) it sometimes appears to me of all states most to resemble a tyranny.' Just below, in l. 7, the Armenian retains the reading of the Paris Codex: *ἂν ἐρωτηθεῖς*.

\*St. 712 E, Sch. 109. 10. Sch. reads *κἀγὼ φαίνομαι* where the Paris MS has *καταφαίνομαι*. Ficino has "mihi quoque, Megille, perinde ac tibi contigisse videtur." The Arm. translator probably read *κἀγὼ*, for he renders: "Eadem ista affectione, Megille, videor ego affici."

St. 712 E, Sch. 109. 16 *τὸ τοῦ δεσπότου δὲ ἐκάστη προσαγορεύεται κράτος*. The Armenian translator reads *ἐκάστης*, a vicious reading, if it was really in his text.

St. 712 E. The speech *ταῦτόν σοι πάθος* is in the Arm. given to the Athenian. Then the speech *ὄντως γὰρ κ. τ. λ.* to Megillus and *τίς δ' ὁ θεός* to the Athenian. Then *ἄρ' οὖν*, etc., to Megillus. Then the words *οὐκοῦν*—*δρᾶν* to the Athenian, the words *πάνν μὲν οὖν* to Megillus. The Athenian resumes *τῶν γὰρ δὴ* down to *οἰκείται*, and Megillus has the words *σφόδρ' ἂν ὥς*, etc. Comp. the editors.

St. 713 A, Sch. 109. 17, 18. The Armenian involves *χρῆν δ' εἴπερ τοιοῦτον τινὸς τὴν πόλιν ἔδει ἐπονομάζεσθαι*, \**τὸ τοῦ τῶν ἀληθῶς νοῦν ἐχόντων δεσπίζοντος κ. τ. λ.* Just below the Arm. has *γέ τι*, with the Paris Codex, which Sch. corrects to *γ' ἔτι*.

\*St. 713 B, Sch. 109. 25 *ἔτι προτέρα τούτων*. The Arm. omits *τούτων*, which is redundant, and not translated by Ficino.

St. 713 C, Sch. 110. 4 *τῆς τῶν τότε μακαρίας ζωῆς*. The Arm. omits *τῶν*. Perhaps Ficino did so also, for he renders: "beatae

illius vitae." Just below, in l. 9, the Arm., along with Ficino and the Paris MS, omits τότε, which Schanz introduces from Julian's citation.

\*St. 713 D, Sch. 110. 11 γένους θειοτέρου τε καὶ ἀμείνονος. For τε the Armenian has τινος. Ficino and Julian omit τε. Just below, l. 14, the Arm. retains αὐτοῖσί τινας, which Ficino omits.

St. 713, Sch. 110. 15. The Arm. retains ἄρα after θεός, which Sch. omits, following Julian's citation. The Paris Codex has ἄρα καί. In the next line, instead of τὸ γένος, the Armenian has \*τοῦ γένους, which Ficino also no doubt read: "similiter deus, homines amans, genus daemonum *generi* nostro praestantius nobis prae-fecit." Schanz brackets τὸ, for which Hermann conjectured τότε.

\*St. 713 E, Sch. 110. 18. The Arm. has εἰρήνην τε καὶ αἰδῶ καὶ ἐλευθερίαν καὶ ἀφθονίαν. Schanz adopts the reading of Julian's citation: εἰρ. τε κ. αἰδῶ καὶ δὴ ἀρθ. The Paris Codex has εἰρ. τε κ. αἰδῶ καὶ εὐνομίαν (γρ. ἐλευθερίαν) καὶ ἀφθονίαν. Ficino agrees with the Armenian: "pacemque et pudicitiam, libertatem et iustitiae copiam proebens."

\*St. 713 E, Sch. 110. 22. The Arm. omits οὐδὲ πόνων, which Ficino retains, but, with Ficino, renders ἀνάψυξις in sense of 'quies.' Both these authorities therefore read ἀνάψυξις, which is also Julian's reading. This is the only one of Julian's divergences from the Paris MS which is reflected in the Armenian. \*In the same line the Armenian omits οἷεται, which is not wanted, and perhaps read δεῖ. In the next line, for τὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ Κρόνου λεγόμενον βίον the Arm. has \*τ. ε. τ. Κρ. γεγόμενον β., which Ficino also read: "imitari nos iubet vitam quae sub saturno fuit."

\*St. 714 B, Sch. 111. 10 μὴ δὴ φαύλου πέρι. The Arm. has δὲ for δὴ. So also Ficino: "neque de re vili," etc.

\*St. 714 C, Sch. 111. 13 ff. οὔτε γὰρ πρὸς κ. τ. λ. The Arm. gives the sense as follows: οὔτε γὰρ . . . τοὺς νόμους, ἀλλ' ὅ τι ἂν καθεστηκυῖα ἢ πολιτεία ξυμφέρον ἢ, ὅπως ἄρξει τε αἰεὶ καὶ μὴ καταλυθῇσεται, τὸν φύσει ὄρον, etc. Perhaps the true reading may be καθεστηκυῖα ἢ πολιτεία ξυμφέρον, ὅπως, etc. The sense of the whole clause would be: "for they say the laws ought to regard not war nor excellence all round, but whatsoever is expedient to the established constitution; namely, that it may always prevail and never be dissolved, thus (they say) is the natural definition of the just best stated." The Armenian has rendered the dative καθεστηκυῖα πολιτεία as if it were nominative and ἢ as if it were ἡ. In a MS in which no iota subscript was given, such a blunder was natural enough. The

words ταύτη δεῖν, which the Paris Codex adds before τὸ ξυμφέρον, are omitted in the Armenian. Critics have replaced them by all sorts of conjectures, and all are agreed that they are wrong. Ficino's rendering supports in a marvellous way this explanation: "nec enim ad bellum, nec ad omnem virtutem referri leges debere aiunt: sed ad illud potius, quod constitutae reipublicae conferat, quaecunque illa sit, ut dominetur semper nec pereat: iusti que definitionem sic natura optime se habere contendunt." This would be in Greek: ἀλλ' ὃ τι ἂν καθεστηκυῖα ἦτις ἂν ἡ πολιτεία ἢ ξυμφέρον, ὅπως κ. τ. λ. Supposing this to be the true text, we may suppose that a copyist who did not see that καθεστηκυῖα and πολιτεία were datives, left out ὃ τι ἂν and wrote ἦτις ἂν instead. Then the introduction of ταύτη δεῖν (or ἰδεῖν) would be necessary in order to make sense.

St. 714 C, Sch. 111. 20 λέγ' ἔτι σαφέστερον. Arm. has λέγε τι σαφ.

St. 714 D, Sch. 111. 24. The Arm. adds \*ἦ before δῆμον, and just below paraphrases in the following sense: ἡ πρὸς τὸ συμφέρον ἑαυτῷ (or ἑαυτοῦ) καὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς τοῦ μένειν.

St. 714 E, Sch. 112. 1. The Arm. has ἀδικημάτων, which is read in the Paris Codex.

St. 715 A, Sch. 112. 12. The Arm. seems to have omitted ἦδη. Also Ficino: "millies namque in civitatibus nonnullis id contigit."

\*St. 715 A, Sch. 112. 15 τὰ τε πράγματα κατὰ τὴν πόλιν οὕτως ἐσφετέρισαν σφόδρα. There follows no καὶ to answer τε, and so Stephanus read γε conjecturally. The Arm. involves τὰ τε πράγματα καὶ τὰ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν. οὕ. ἐσφ. and omits σφόδρα. Ficino renders: "adeo ad se solos rem contraxerunt."

St. 715 A, Sch. 112. 18. Is it a mere coincidence by which the Arm. and Ficino both render μήτε αὐτοῖς μήτε ἐκγόνοις as if it were μήτε αὐτῶν τοῖς ἐκγόνοις? Ficino, e. g., has: "ut nullum victis eorumque posteris magistratum concesserint."

St. 715 B, Sch. 112. 23. The Arm. retains στασιώτας . . . πολίτας, read in the Paris MS, but for τούτους, which follows, implies ὁ or οὗς, which gives no sense. In the next line it adds \*οἰόμεθα, or a word of the same meaning, before μάτην. So also Ficino: "et iura sua frustra sic ab eis vocari censemus."

St. 715 C, Sch. 112. 30 νόμων ὑπηρεσίαν. For νόμων, which is a conjecture, the Arm. retains θεῶν or θεοῦ of the Paris MS; but in the next line the Version implies δ. εἶναι τὴν μεγίστην τὴν μεγίστην τῷ πρώτῳ. Ficino renders: "deorum quoque cultum et ministerium dabimus; maximum quidem primo."



\*St. 715 D, Sch. 113. 9 ὅσα θεοί. The Arm. has ὅσα οἱ θεοί, which Stobaeus also read.

\*St. 715 E, Sch. 113. 20. The Arm. has ὧνδρες, which Sch. adopts. Ficino: "O viri." Codex Paris. has ἄνδρες.

\*St. 716 A, Sch. 113. 22. The Arm. has εὐθείᾳ περαίνει πάντα κατὰ φύσιν περιφερόμενος. Schelling, Diar. Antiq. 1843, Nr. 88, p. 704, conjectured περιφερόμενος. The Paris MS has περιπορευόμενος and omits πάντα.

\*St. 716 A, Sch. 113. 25 ταπεινὸς καὶ κεκοσμημένος. Schanz brackets the last two words, which are 'extra versum' in the Paris MS. Arm. has ταπεινότητι κεκοσμημένος, with which cp. Xenoph. 'Απ. 2, 1, 22 κεκοσμημένην τὸ μὲν σῶμα καθαρότητι, τὰ δὲ δμματα αἰδοῖ. In the same line the Arm. implies ὅστις δέ, or less probably εἰ δέ τις, where the Paris MS has ὁ δέ τις. Just below the Arm. implies ἀνοία φλέγεται, with the Paris MS.

St. 716 B, Sch. 114. 2. For πάντα ἅμα the Arm. has, with Theodoret, citing this passage, ἅμα πάντα.

St. 716 B, Sch. 114. 7. The Arm. has as follows: Δῆλον δὲ τοῦτό γε, ὡς τῶν ξυνακολουθησόντων τῷ θεῷ, εἰς τὸ μέλλον δεῖ διανοηθῆναι πάντα ἄνδρα. "This much, then, is clear, that we must for the future conceive of every man among those who shall follow along with God." But this is not satisfactory, and ὅτι, which Schanz conjectures before ὡς, is still required. Of course, εἰς τὸ μέλλον may easily have been corrupted into ἐσόμενον, but it seems otiose. The phrase used in the Version, and which I render by εἰς τὸ μέλλον, admits of being put into Greek quite literally by the phrase εἰς τὸν ἔπειτα χρόνον. In the long speech of the Athenian which follows, the Armenian reflects the Paris MS in the following readings, which Schanz or others find unsatisfactory, viz. St. 716 D, Sch. 114. 18 καὶ ἄδικος. Just below, l. 22, δεῖ where Sch. writes ἀεὶ. In St. 717 A, Sch. 114. 30 the Arm. has ἐγκαίρως. Then Sch. 115, l. 1 ἔφεσις and λεγόμενα, l. 4 ἀρίστεια or ἀριστεία. Then in St. 718 A, Sch. 116, l. 4 Arm. has δαπάνης τε, in l. 6 of same page it has ἄν, which Stobaeus omits. Just below, in l. 10, πρὸς θεῶν. In l. 12, lastly, it has the same lacuna after διέξοδος as the Paris MS. In the following passages, however, in this speech it varies from the Paris Codex:

St. 716 D, Sch. 114. 22. The Arm. has εὐχαῖς καὶ ξύμπασιν ἀναθήμασιν καὶ θεραπείᾳ θεῖα ὃ καὶ κάλλιστον. Here θεῖα may be right.

St. 716 E, Sch. 114. 27 omits δῶρα after μισροῦ. Just below, in l. 29, it renders τοῖς ἀνοσίοις in the sense of τοῖς ἀδίκοις, and in the

next line *δοίοις* in the sense of *καθαροῖς*. \*In the same line it has for *ἅπασιν* the nom. sing. *ἅπας*, which is certainly right, the sense being that, for the unholy, all their arduous and ample labor is in vain, but for the pure in heart *every* service (*ἅπας*), however humble, is in season, even if it be not *ὁ πολὺς*. Ficino: "quod opportune faciunt omnes sancti"; so he read *ἅπασιν*.

\*St. 717 A, Sch. 114. 31 *βελῆ δὲ αὐτ.* Here the Paris MS has *β. δὲ αὐτοῦ*, which is impossible. The Arm. has *αὐτὰ* or *ταῦτα*. The Basle edition already had *αὐτὰ*. Ficino: "sagittae vero ad illud quatenam?"

St. 717 B, Sch. 115. 6, 7 *τοῖς δὲ τούτων ἄνωθεν* down to *νυνδῆ*. The Arm. omits, but since these words are glanced at in Plutarch, de Iside, p. 361 A, they can hardly be a gloss. Ficino renders them.

\*St. 717 B, Sch. 115. 13 *νομίζειν δέ*. The Arm. adds *δεῖ*. This must have stood in the original Greek, for Ficino also adds it: "putare enim quisque debet omnia quae possideat eorum esse."

\*St. 717 C, Sch. 115. 17. The Armenian reads *καὶ* after instead of before *ὑπερπονούντων*, and in l. 19 *δὴ παλαιοῖς* for *δὲ παλαιοῖς*. These very insignificant changes make the Greek text to run more smoothly. Ficino's text also must have transposed the *καὶ*: "haec omnia videlicet mutuo data persolvens, et pro curis doloribusque priscis parentum, in senecta recentes reddens, quando maxime indigent."

St. 717 E, Sch. 115. 29 *τῶν εἰθισμένων ὄγκον* is Schanz' reading. The Paris MS has *ὄγκων*, but *τῶν εἰθισμένων*. Stobaeus has *τὸν εἰθισμένον ὄγκον*. The Arm. has *τὸν εἰθισμένον νόμον*. Ficino: "consuetam magnitudinem." Here *νόμον* might be right, but *ὄγκον* is more graphic.

\*St. 717 E, Sch. 115. 30. The Paris Codex and Stobaeus share the vicious reading *τοὺς αὐτῶν γεννήτας*. Schanz conjectures and reads *τοῖς αὐτῶν γεννηταῖς*, which is actually involved by the Armenian and was also read by Ficino: "quae maiores genitoribus suis struebant."

St. 717 E, Sch. 116. 1. For *ἐπιμελείας* the Armenian Version has *μνήμας*, which is inept. Just below it omits *παρεχόμενον*, and translates the entire clause as if it were *τῷ* (or *τὸ*) *δὲ μὴ παραλείπειν μνήμην ἐνδελεχῇ αὐτῶν ἀλλὰ τούτῳ μάλιστα ἂν πρεσβεύειν, δαπάνης τε κ. τ. λ.*

St. 718 B, Sch. 116. 13. For *βίᾳ καὶ* the Arm. has *βιαιᾷ*. In reading an old text a translator might confuse *καὶ* with *και*.

\*St. 718 B, Sch. 116. 18. The Arm. has *παράδειγμα προενεγκόντα*, which Ficino also read: "horum exemplum." The Paris MS has *δείγμα*.

St. 718 D, Sch. 116. 30. After *λεχθέντα* the Arm. introduces this gloss: *περὶ θυσιῶν καὶ γονέων*. In the next line it omits *εἰς τὸ*, but in the rest of this hard speech it faithfully reflects the readings of the Paris Codex.

St. 719 A, Sch. 117. 13. The Armenian read *φέρειν*, with the Paris Codex. Cp. Hesiod, op. 213, for a similar use. Why does Schanz in his text adopt the insipid reading *πέλει* of the editions of Hesiod? Plato certainly read *φέρειν*.

\*St. 719 A, Sch. 117. 16 *εἰ τὸ μέσον αὐτὸ θεῖναι* is read in the Paris MS. Badham conjectured *αὐ* for *αὐτὸ*, which Schanz adopts. The Arm. omits *αὐτὸ*. In the preceding line, for *ὃ γέ μοι* it implies *ὥς γέ μοι*. Ficino: "verum quo sermonis spectabat progressio, volo in medio vobis proponere." The Armenian also assigns *πάνυ μὲν οὖν* to Clinias.

St. 719 B, Sch. 117. 20. The Arm. omits *οὐ* before *δῆλον*, and after it reads *ὃ τι*.

St. 719 D, Sch. 118. 8. The Arm. omits *δεῖ* after *αἰεῖ*.

\*St. 719 D, Sch. 118. 13. The Arm. has *θάπτειν αὐτήν* 'and if it were commanded to bury her in poetry.' This is better than *αὐτήν*, read in the Paris MS and implied by Ficino's rendering.

\*St. 720 A, Sch. 118. 30. After *πρώτατον* the Arm. omits *αὐτόν*, which "delevit Badham." Just before, after *ἀναμνησκόμεθα*, in l. 28, the Armenian omits *δέ*.

\*St. 720 C, Sch. 119. 16. The Paris MS has *ἐκάστου πέρι νοσήματος ἐκάστου τῶν οἰκετῶν*. Schanz notes thus: "unum alterumne ἐκάστου delendum esse videtur." The Arm. has *ἐκάστω περὶ νοσήματος ἐκάστου τ. οἰκ.*, which may be right.

\*St. 720 E, Sch. 120. 2, 3. The Paris MS, which Schanz follows, has *τὴν ἄρα πρῶτον νόμον θεῖν' ἂν ὁ νομοθέτης; ἄρ' οὐ κατὰ φύσιν τὴν περὶ γενέσεως ἀρχὴν πρῶτην πόλεων πέρι κατακοσμήσει ταῖς τάξεσιν*; Badham felt this text to be wrong, and conjectured *τὸν περὶ γένεσιν*, ὡς ἀρχὴν πρῶτην πόλεων, πρὶν κατακοσμήσαι ταῖς τάξεσι. For *περὶ* Stephanus conjectured *παρὰ*. The Arm. involves *ἄρ' οὐ τὸν κατὰ φύσιν, τὴν περὶ γεν. ἀρ. πόλ. πέρι πρῶτην κατακ. ταῖς πράξεσιν*; which, however, is not quite satisfactory. Ficino adheres to the text of the Paris MS.

\*St. 721 A, Sch. 120. 7 *καὶ ἡ κοινωνία* is read in the Arm., as also in Codex A Stobaei. Just below the Arm. involves *γαμικοὶ δὲ δὴ*

νόμοι. The Paris Codex has δὴ and omits δέ. The codices of Stobaeus have some δὴ and some δέ, some neither.

\*St. 721 A, Sch. 120. 12 ἔχοι δ' ἂν πῶς; ἴσως ᾧδε. The Arm. has ἔχοι δ' ἂν ἴσως ᾧδε. Badham conjectured πῶς ἴσως. Ficino: "quae sic se forsan habebit." In next line, for γαμείν δέ the Arm. perhaps implies γαμείν γε or γ. δὴ, but hardly γ. δέ.

\*St. 721 B, Sch. 120. 15, 16. The Arm. has χρήμασι μὲν τόσοις καὶ τοῖς, τῇδε δὲ καὶ τῇ ἀτιμίᾳ. Heindorf conjectured τῇδε δὲ καὶ τῇ ἀτ., of which reading there are traces in the Paris MS and in the MSS of Stobaeus. Ficino: "dedecore autem tali quodam vel tali."

St. 721 B, Sch. 120. 19 διανοηθέντα ὡς ἔστιν ἢ κ. τ. λ. The Arm. = cogitantem quia sit veritabiliter humanum genus et natura quadam particeps est immortalitatis, which is a bungle.

\*St. 721 D, Sch. 120. 31 τόσῳ καὶ τόσῳ. Arm. = τόσῳ καὶ τῷ.

St. 721 D, Sch. 121. 5 πότερον αὐτοὺς διπλοῦς]. The Arm. adds αὐτῶν. αὐτῶν would not be amiss. Just below it retains τῷ μήκει τὸ μικρότατον.

\*St. 722 A, Sch. 121. 14. The Arm. has αἰροίμην, with the Apographum Marcianum. The Paris Codex has ἐροίμην. Lower down in the same speech, l. 29, the Arm. reads μάχην, with the Paris MS.

\*St. 722 C, Sch. 121. 33 ἐξ αὐτῶν ὧν νῦν διελέγμεθα. The Arm. = ex iis etiam nunc a nobis selectis, which corresponds to ἐξ αὐτῶν ὧν νυνδὴ εἰλόμεθα (or ἡρήμεθα). Schanz notes: "νυνδὴ scribendum videtur." Just below, Sch. 122. 1, for τινα γεγονός the Arm. has \*τι γεγονός, which must be right. Ficino read τινα and διελέγμεθα: "quod per ea, de quibus disseruimus, nobis Deo quodam adspiciente factum est."

St. 723 D, Sch. 123. 11 οὐδὲ περὶ ᾄσματος. The Arm. has οὐδὲ γὰρ ᾄσματος, with the Paris Codex. Ficino seems to have had οὐδὲ γὰρ περὶ ᾄσμ., for he renders: "non enim in cantu neque in omni sermone."

\*St. 723 E, Sch. 123. 25 μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο. The Arm. involves μ. δὲ τοῦτο δὴ. The second hand adds ἥδη in margin of the Paris Codex.

\*St. 724 A, Sch. 123. 34. The Arm. omits αὐτῶν before ψυχὰς. So also Ficino: "Post illa vero quae ad animos, quae ad corpora," etc. Just below, in l. 35, for προσῆκόν τ' the Arm. has προσῆκον δ'.

The above exhausts, for the IVth book of the Laws, the readings in respect of which the Greek text of the Armenian translator differed from that of the celebrated Paris Codex. Hitherto we

have had but two witnesses to the text of the Laws, to wit, (1) the Paris Codex, of which all our other MSS are copies, more or less remote, and (2) the Latin Version of Ficino, representing an independent Greek text which must have perished towards the beginning of the XVIth century; and we may rank the ancient authors, chiefly Eusebius and Stobaeus, who have handed us down citations of the Laws, as a third source of testimony. But the variants either implied by Ficino or given in the Florilegists were always liable to doubt, so long as they stood alone. There was no certainty, for example, that an omission or addition or other change in Ficino's Version was more than a device of translation. In Eusebius or Stobaeus similarly they might be due to careless citation. It may be claimed for a version like the Armenian that in scores of passages it removes this uncertainty, which especially attaches to omissions and additions. For wherever it supports a various reading found either in Ficino or the excerptors, we are at once certain that that variant was actually in the Greek text used. In this IVth book there are many passages in which Ficino and the excerptors win such support. In every such case a variant, if it really mends the text, is doubly confirmed; while, in case it does not mend the text, the mere participation in error proves that we have in the Armenian a text which has *pro tanto* had the same history and comes from the same hands as that whose errors it shares. When our collation of the whole of the Armenian Version is concluded, we shall try to exhibit in a summary the new evidence which the Armenian and Latin Versions, in conjunction with one another, afford in respect of the families of the texts of the Laws used by the various excerptors of antiquity, by Stobaeus in particular.

FRED. C. CONYBEARE.

#### IV.—SUGGESTIONS ON SOME EPIGRAMS OF THE THIRD VOLUME OF DIDOT'S EDITION OF THE ANTHOLOGIA PALATINA.

This work, which appeared in 1890, has elicited a considerable amount of criticism. In particular, van Herwerden, in his *Studia Critica in Epigrammata Graeca* (Leiden, 1891), has pointed out the insufficiency of the editor, Cougny, and has made many most excellent corrections of the text of the Epigrams. A large number of these have had the advantage of being previously edited by Prof. Kaibel, whose widely known *Epigrammata Graeca ex lapidibus collecta* was published as far back as 1878. The suggestions which I offered in *Hermes* (1879, pp. 258–62) after a perusal of Kaibel's volume, I wish now to supplement, after a renewed examination of his views and with the extra light supplied by Cougny.

I 328. 5, 6 C [907 Kaibel]:

Δέρκεό μοι, φίλος, ὧδε νοήμονα τέκτονα χαλκοῦ  
Ἡφαίστου σοφίῃ σῶμα μιμησάμενον.

The original gives *σοφίης σωμα*, and Kaibel states that this is attested by no less than three copies. Cougny prints *σοφίῃ*, from Kaibel; yet it seems possible that *σόφίης σῶμα* should mean 'a form embodying the skill.' For *μιμησάμενον*, an almost inconceivable false quantity, the author of the epigram may have written *τι μιησάμενον*.

II 117, on Paris:

Ἐνθάδε πῦρ τὸ Τρώων Ἑλλάδος ἄλγος ἀπάσης  
ὁ Πριάμοιο Πάρις ψύχονται ἀκρολόφοις.

Herw. suggests *Ἐνθάδε πῦρ Τρώων, [τῆς] Ἑλλάδος ἀ. ἀπ.*; possibly *Ἐνθάδ' ἐγὼ Τρώων πῦρ*. The v. can hardly be without caesura, though the instances quoted by Herwerden show that this sometimes happened in late writers.

170:

Μικκὸς Μυρσινῶν, παῖς Μυρσίνου, Ἀστακίδου δὲ  
χρηστοῦ γραμματικοῦ θρέμμα ποθεινότατον.

Rather perhaps *Μυρσινίων*.

172. 4 [96 K.]:

ἀλλὰ φίλοι τ' ἤμυναν καί μοι κτέρισαν τάφον οὔτῃ.

The writer of the inscription may have intended ἐπὶ κτέρισαν τε μοι οὔτ.

174. 3-6 [190 K.]:

Ἐννεακαιδέκτης γὰρ ὑπὸ στυγερῆς ἑδαμάσθη  
νοῦσου, καὶ λείπω τὸν γλυκὺν ἀέλιον  
ἀνί' ἔδει με γονεῦσι τίνειν χάριν· ἡ δὲ συνήμων  
ΛΛΘΔ εἰς ἀφανῇ τόνδε.

In v. 6 Böckh conj. Λάθα εἰς ἀφανῇ τόνδε [μ' ἔκρυψε τάφον], a quite uncertain restoration, which Kaibel rejects. No one has objected to the rare word συνήμων. It looks to me wrong; συναίμων was probably the word written by the composer of the epigram. So 231. 5 φιλίοις τε συναίμοις, 7 δισσω δὲ συναίμων.

224. 2, 3 [627 K.]:

μὴ δέομαι γελάσης εἰ κυνὺς ἐστι τάφος.  
Ἐκλαύσθη

ΕΥΛΑΥCOHN points rather to Εὐ 'κλαύσθη.

229. 12, 13:

τῶν ἐπ' ἀτρεκέες  
δῆθ' ἐξ ἀπάντων τ' ἐσθλὸν ἄρατο κλέος.

Coungy seems rightly to dis sever τῶν from the preceding καὶ μῆνις ΑΚΑΡΝΙΑ, whatever may lurk in these letters, at present impossibly supposed to represent ΑΙΑΚΙΔΑΟ.<sup>1</sup> But δῆθ' cannot begin a verse, and it seems probable that ΔΑΘΕ Γ or ΔΑΘΕΞ was ἦλθ' ἐξ.

231. 3, 4 [413 K.]:

ὃ γόνιν οὐχ ὑμέναιον ἐδαδουχίσατο μήτηρ  
οἰκτρὰ σὺν γενέτῃ Χρυσίον ΩΔΕΞΑΤΟΞ.

Kaibel thinks the last word here contains some lost superlative like οἰκτροτάτω. Herwerden conj. ὦλετ' Ἄτος. It looks to me like a real name, a mere mistake for Ὀδισάτω. The father, Odesatus, and the mother, Chryson, would naturally be mentioned together as mourning for their child.

<sup>1</sup> It is more likely to have been a fem. in -ειᾶ, like Ἐκτόρεια Rhcs. 762, Διομήδεια Eccles. 1029, Πολυδεύκεια Ἀγαμεμνόνεια.

236. 7, 8 [547 K.]:

Ἦδε γάρ, ἥνικα πνεῦμα μελῶν ἀπέλυε Φίλιππος  
 ]ν ἀκροτάτοις χεῖλεσι προσπελάσας,  
 στᾶσα λιποψυχούντος ὑπὲρ γαμέτου Πώμπιλλα  
 τὴν κείνου ζωὴν ἀντέλαβεν θανάτου.

Lebas, whose restoration of this epigram is generally satisfactory, does not seem to me right in his *λοιίσθιον*, at the beginning of 8. Cougny prints *σιγὴν*: this too is unlikely. Perhaps the word was *ψυχὴν*. Philippus was on the point of death: his life hung on his lips, ready to be dismissed.

268. 5, 6 [570 K.]:

Ἄλλ' ἄγ' Ἀλεξάνδρα κὰν φίλατο, μηκέτ' ὄδυρμούς  
 ἱμερτῇ κούρῃ σπένδετε μυρόμενοι.

This must have been

Ἄλλ' ἄγ' Ἀλεξάνδραν κεί ἐφίλατε, μηκέτ' ὄδυρμούς κτλ.

D'Orville thought this was the sense required: 'sed age, licet Alexandra amata fuerit, ne amplius lamenta desiderabili puellae libate querentes.' He, however, reads Ἀλεξάνδρα κὰν φίλατο, taking φίλατο as passive. My emendation does less violence to Greek, and might explain the errors of the inscription. There must have been a transference of the ν from Ἀλεξάνδραν, which caused κεί to be changed to κὰν.

If the above view is right, the name added in prose at the end of the inscription cannot be the name of the girl. D'Orville prints *Τιθήνη Υγεία*; Kaibel prints *Τινηρία Υγεία*.

300 [636 K.]:

Εὔρεσιν ἐνθάδε γῇ κατέχει θανάτοιο λαχοῦσαν  
 μητέρα τὴν εὐτεκνον· εὐδαίμονες παροδίται.

This epigr. was so restored by Hermann from the Latin letters of the original. The second v. might be *ἰὸν δαίμων, παροδίται*; or, less probably, *ἴθ' εὐδαίμων, παροδίται*; cf. 325. 1.

322 [592 K.]:

Ὡδ' Ἐπάφου γέννημα, σοφοῖς ἐπιείκελος ἀνὴρ  
 κείμει, Ῥωμαίων σπέρμα πολυκτεάνων  
 Κληζόμενος Δέκμος Σερουίλιος, εἰς ἔτη ἑλθὼν  
 ἐννέα πού δεκάδων καὶ τρία, ὥς ἔλεγον.

As Kaibel observes, Decimus Servilius seems to have been an



astrologer, who predicted rightly the exact amount of his own life. *ἔλεγον* is thus 1st person: for *ὥς* I suggest *ὅσ' οὖν*.

333. 2 [261δ K.]:

τῇ ψυχῇ μεταδὸς καλῶν ΤΕΧΘΕΙΞ  
καὶ τὸν βίον τρυφῇ παρηγόρησον  
εἰδὼς ἣν καταβῆς ἐς πῶμα λήθης  
5 οὐχ ἐν τῶν ἐπάνω κάτω που ὕψει  
ψυχῆς ἐκ μελέων ἀποπταθείσης.

2. *ὁ τεχθεῖς*, Böckh; *τεχθείση* vel *δοθείση* vel *τραφείση*, Kaibel; *καλῶν τεχνῶν σῇ*, Herwerden. *τάχιστα* ego. 3. *καὶ τρυφῇ βίοντον* π., Böckh, uix probabiliter: fort. *τὸν ζῶντα*. 4. *πόμε' ἐς τὸ Λήθης*, Böckh; cf. 559. 10. Num *σὺ δῶμα*?

*τάχιστα* seems quite in keeping with the apolaustic tone of the hendecasyllables. In 3 *βιοτήν* would be a better word than *βίοντον*; but I think the original may have been *τὸν ζῶντα* 'thy living self.' Again, I doubt Böckh's *πόμε' ἐς τὸ Λήθης*; the corruption is more easily explained by *σὺ δῶμα* Δ., a perfectly intelligible combination.

340. 1, 2 [222 K.]:

τὸν δ' ἀρετὰν ἀμείψασα Λεοντία Εὐρυδίκαιο  
τίμησεν πάτρα γυμνάδος ἐν τεμένει.

Kaibel gives *ἀρετᾷ λάμψαντα*, which appears to me an unnecessary and not very probable change. The easiest emendation is *τόνδ' ἀρετᾷ 'μείψασα* 'requiting with kindness' or 'goodness' for his good service to the city.

346. 3, 4 [\*663 K.]:

Λεὶ δὲ μνήμη σε φυλάξομεν ὡς παρεόντα  
εἵνεκεν ἡείας εἵνεκα τ' ἀγλαΐης.

Herwerden has restored this most convincingly *εἵνεκ' ἐνῆείας*.

348. 8 [566α K.]:

]ηλεόθυμε Χάρων τί σε τόσσον ἐνῆης  
]ὑψε λιποῦσα πατρὶ πένθος ἀπειρίσιον;

None of the supplements mentioned by Böckh, nor yet that of Kaibel, satisfy. The first of the two verses, I imagine, began with an interjection, *οἶμοι*, or something similar. If *ὑψε* is rightly reported in the second, *κρύψε* might be the word. *Eheu inmitis Charon, cur tam bona te celauit quod relinqueret patri dolorem inmensum?*

361. 3, 4 [329 K.], over a dog:

Δουλίδα καὶ σύμπλουν πολλῆς ἀλὸς· ἧ κε παράσχοις  
ἀνθρώποις ἀλόγοις ταῦτὰ χαριζομένη.

So Cougny, after Aeneas Piccolomini; the original gives ΤΙΝ καὶ παράσχοις. Is not ἀλόγοις an error for ἀλόγῳ 'a brute'? E. L. Hicks conj. ἄν, i. e. ἃ ἄν.

386. 1 [299 K.]:

Εὐσεβὲς εἰς θρέψασαν, Διοκλῆ, ὁσιώτατε πάντων  
Κουφοτάτης φίλτρον ἃ λίθος . . .

As the name Diocles is prefixed to the inscr., Διοκλῆ seems to have supplanted a word, possibly ἔδρας. The other v. may have ended εἰ κόνιος: I do not understand εἰ φιλῆς.

395. 2 [265 K.]:

ὡς κλέος ἐν Κρήτᾳ μίμνεται ἀθάνατον.

Herwerden reasonably objects to μίμνεται, offering instead λείπεται or γίγνεται. It might be μίμνει ἔτ'.

426. 9, 10 [615 K.]:

Κεύθει γαῖα φίλῃ με. τί δ' ἀγνὸν ὅμως ὀνομ'; ἤμην  
πάσι Φίλητος ἀνὴρ τῆς Λυκίης Λιμύρων.

This is the correction of Wilamowitz. The letters of the original, as reported by Kaibel, are ONO/NHΛH or ONO/MAMHN. I doubt ὅμως, which seems to have little meaning, and offer τί δ' ἀγνὸν ὅπως ὀνομίμνης, 'what does it matter how you name (what name you give to) a righteous man?' Then φιλητός will be a mere adj.: 'I was a man well loved by all, of Lycian Limyra.'

453. 13, 14 [646 K.]:

τοῦτ' ἔσομαι γὰρ ἐγὼ· σὺ δὲ τοῦτοις γῆν ἐπιχώσας  
ΕΙΤΕ . ΟΤΕ . ΟΥΚΗΝ τοῦτο πάλιν γέγονα.

Such is Kaibel's report; Orelli gives ΕΙΤΕΟΙΕΟΥΚΗΝ. The passage has been dealt with by Hecker in Anth. Graec. I, p. 196, and Meineke, Callim., p. 298. The former edits εἰφ' ὅτι οὐκ ἂν ἦ τοῦτο πάλιν γέγονα; and so Meineke, except that he writes δ, τε, altering besides σὺ δὲ τοῦτοις into σὺ δ' ἐπ' ὅστοις or σὺ δὲ γ' ὅστοις. A relative<sup>1</sup> seems required to correspond to τοῦτο, but the tradition of the letters is not quite certain. Possibly they point to

<sup>1</sup> Orelli, however, conj. εἰπέ· πότ' οὐκ ἤμην· τοῦτο π. γέγονα. [Cougny.]

EITETOΓΩΝΟΥΚΗΝ 'dic, id quod cum essem, nondum eram, iterum me hoc factum esse.' Say 'that I have returned to that, at the time of being which I had as yet no existence.'

459. 4 [587 K.]:

Ἐπτά μόνους λυκάβαντας δύο καὶ μῆνας ἔζησα

If we compare 505. 1, 2 Εἰκοσιέξ λυκάβασιν ἐγὼ ζήσασα Σαβίνα καὶ μῆσιν τέτρασιν, εἰθ' ἐνδέκατον πάλιν ἡμαρ, we may believe that μόνους λυκάβαντας is an error for μόνους λυκάβασι.

514. 3 [604 K.]:

Μαρκιανὸς δέ μ' ἔθαψε καὶ ἐκήδευσεν ὁδίται.

'ἐκήδευσεν augmenti syllaba male producta,' Kaibel. Yet τε might easily fall out when the epigram was engraved; and nothing proves careless metre on the part of the epigrammatist.

520. 3 [608 K.]:

Συμπάσων κείνοις οἷσπερ κινεῖτο προσώποις.

Manil. V 479:

Externis tamen aptus erit nunc uoce poetis,  
Nunc tacito gestu, referetque affectibus ora,  
Et sua dicendo faciet, solusque per omnis  
Ibit personas et turbam reddet in uno.

531. 1 [\*266 K.]:

Κοινὸν φῶς ἰδοῦσα τὸ κοινὸν ἔχω τέλος αἰεί.

Add πρὶν after φῶς.

548. 1, 2:

ὥς ῥόδον εἰαρινόν σε βροτοφθόρος ἤρπασεν Ἀΐδης  
Σέμνην· τλητὰ θεὸς ζωῆς †ἀφίλαμεν αὐτῇ.

Couigny corrects τλητὰ θεὸς ζωῆς †ἀφείλε μ' ἐν αὐτῇ. Following in his footsteps, I would write Σέμνη (vocative)· ἄτλητα θεὸς ζωῆς ὅς' ἀφείλε μ' ἐν αὐτῇ. ζωῆς might depend on ἄτλητα, or perhaps on ὅς'. 'Unendurable is the loss to my life that the God brought me in her dying.'

555. 2 [1051 K.]. The word ζοι in this inscript. should not be altered to ἔφν, which in no way suits it.

564. 6 [395 K.]:

καὶ κατέθηκεν [ἄγων] ἔνθα περ οἱ πρόγονοι.

ἄγων is a possible supplement.

566. 4 [373 K.]:<sup>1</sup>

Κεῖμαι ἐρῶν πολλῶν, ἐράμενος πλεόνων.

The monument gives ε . . . μενος, which Welcker would retain as ἐράμενος. Wilamowitz conj. ἐσσόμενος, with ἔρως for ἐρῶν. The antithesis of the two clauses in this way perhaps becomes more pointed; but the space, as given by Le Bas, leaves room only for two letters. Le Bas' conj., ἡράμενος, appears to me worth consideration: it might be a passive participle fluctuating in form between a strict perfect ἡρασμένος and an aorist with passive meaning; so οὐτασμένος, οὐτάμενος. The meaning, if ἐρῶν is right (E' is all that remains), must be 'loved by more.'

III 171. 5, 6. These verses I would write thus, as formerly conjectured in the Cambridge Journal of Philology for 1877, p. 259:

τοῦτο καὶ αὐτὸ καθ' αὐτὸ κακὸν μέγα σύμβολον ἄλλων  
'Εστὶ τόσον τούτῳ τῷ πυρὶ πῦρ ἕτερον.

'This, in itself a great evil, is a sign of others to come: there is a second fire as great to complete this fire': unless it seems preferable to punctuate ἄλλων. "Εστὶ τόσον.

175. This epigram is to be explained, not of night-watchmen patrolling the streets with torches, but of men moving round in a mill by moonlight. The moon speaks.

Εἷς τινες νυκτὸς ἀλοῶντας, ὥς ἀπὸ τῆς Σελήνης.  
'Αρματος ἡμετέρου τίς ἔβησεν ἐλάστορας ἄλλους,  
δῖνον ἀειστρεφέα παντός' ἐλαυνομένους;  
'Ἥλιε, τεθρίπποις νεμεσῆσης μηκέτι μούνοισ.  
οἷδ' ἐπιτολμῶσιν ἡμετέροις τε δίφροις.

These men of the mill, thus moving round in the moonlight, are fancifully represented as driving the moon's chariot. The sun is therefore told that his anger at Phaethon's usurping his horses and chariot has found a parallel in the usurpation of the moon's chariot by the νυκτὸς ἀλοῶντες. I cannot understand how these words can refer to ἀλᾶσθαι; or how the dative τεθρίπποις can mean 'propter quadrigas tuas' (Herwerden). The single point of language which calls for remark is the use of τε, which here corresponds closely to Latin *que* = *quoque* in *hodieque*, and similar cases cited in my Catullus, CII 3.

<sup>1</sup> The actual remaining letters of the inscription are given in *Revue de Philologie*, 1845, p. 334, by Le Bas.

197. This epigram is clearly in scazons. It may, with no great deviation from its recorded form, be thus restored:

ὁ γαυριῶν μέγιστα Περσικῶ στίφει,  
καὶ Βόσπορον πλοῦν ξηρὸν ὥσπερ εἰ δείξας,  
Ξέρξης ὁ βασιλεὺς, Δαρίου παῖς κατόσσης.  
Ἰαόνων ἄθυρμα δέικνυται θραυσθεῖς.

IV 49 [1029 K.]:

Οὐρανίων πάντων βασιλεὺ χαῖρ', ἄφθιτ' Ἄνουρι,  
σὸς τε πατήρ χρυσοστέφανος πολύσεμος Ὀσειρις,  
αὐτὸς Ζεὺς Κρονίδης, αὐτὸς μέγας ὄβριμος Ἄμμων,  
κοίρανος ἀθανάτων ΠΡΟΤΕΤΙΜΗΤΑΙΞΕ Σέραπιδι,  
σὴ τε, μάκαιρα θεά, μήτηρ, πολυνύμμος Ἰσις.

If Cougny has rightly recorded the capitals, they would more naturally be an error for *προτετίμῃσαι τε* than for *προτετίμῃται δέ*. A similar displacement of syllables perhaps exists in 1015. 2 K. *φεισάμενοι χώρης ΤΥΡΙΔΑΜΑΖΟΜΕΝΗΣ*, where I suggested that the right reading was *πυραμίδ' ἄζομένης* (Hermes for 1879, p. 260), and in VI 261. 8, where *ἥς ὑπερῴρησαι ὀρίνων φωτὶ σεαυτὸν* may be a mistake for *ἥσπερ ὕπ' ἡώρησαι* (Herwerden *ἥ* or *ἡ γ'* ὑπερ.).

92. 5, 6:

Γαῖα βροτὸς καὶ ὕδωρ\* τὰ ἀπ' αὐτόφιν εἰς τὰδε δύνει.  
ᾧστε μάτην ὁ βίος καὶ ὅσα τις πονέει.

Rather *χῶσα τις ἐκπονέει*.

VI 8:

Εἰς πόλιν ἣν κτίσῃτε (κτίξῃσθα Bücheler and Kiessling,  
κτίζει most MSS) θεοῖς σέβας ἄφθιτον αἰεὶ  
θεῖναι καὶ φυλακαῖς τε σέβειν θυσίαις τε χοροῖς τε.

This is from an oracle which Dionysius of Halicarnassus cites (Antiqq. I 68) as given to Dardanus, when he transferred his home, with the Palladia and images of the gods, from Samothrace to Asia. The historian introduces the oracle with these words: *διαμαντευόμενον δὲ περὶ τῆς οἰκίσεως τά τε ἄλλα μαθεῖν καὶ περὶ τῶν ἱερῶν τῆς φυλακῆς τόνδε τὸν χρησμὸν λαβεῖν*. In c. 69 he says *ποιήσασθαι τοὺς Ἰλιδίς νεῶν τε καὶ ἄδυτον αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ τῆς ἄκρας καὶ φυλάττειν δι' ἐπιμελείας ἥς ἐδύναντο πλείσσης*. Hence it would seem that there is ground for defending *φυλακαῖς*. But Herwerden justly calls attention to the combination *φυλακαῖς σέβειν* as odd, and conj. either *καὶ σφραῖς αἰεὶ σέβειν* or *καὶ τελεταῖς τε σέβειν*. After reading his note (Stud. Critic.

in Epigr. Graec., p. 84) it occurred to me that the word which had been supplanted by φυλακαῖς might be φιάλαις: libations would be a natural adjunct of sacrifice and dancing.

31. 4:

καί τε χορῶν στεφάνωμα πικροὺς οἰκήτορας ἔξει.

Neither Schubart, in his edition of Pausanias, nor Cougny remarks on this extraordinary χορῶν. I cannot but believe it to be a mere error for καί τ' ἐχυρὸν. The word στεφάνωμα has the same meaning in Sophocles, Antig. 122 στ. πύργων.

81. 16:

Ἐν πυρὶ βάλλε δέμας θύσας ζωοῖο ποτηνοῦ  
καὶ μέλι φινήσας †δηίῳ ἀλφίτῳ ἔνθεν  
ἀτμούς τε λιβάνοιο καὶ οὐλοχύτας ἐπίβαλλε.

δηίῳ seems to be a corruption of Δηωίῳ, from Δηώ: 124. 7 Cougny λήια δ' εὐαλδῇ κομέειν σταχυιτρίφα Δηοῖ. The adj. recurs, I think, in 196. 4 εἰς χθόν' ἐπειγομένως Δηώιον αἴσσουσι.

92. 3, 4, oracle on Alexander the Great:

ὃν Ζεὺς †ἀρίσταισι γοναῖς ἔσπειρεν ἄρωγόν  
εὐνομίης θνητοῖσιν Ἀλέξανδρον βασιλῆα.

Cougny gives ἀρρήταισι, surely a strange form: possibly ῥήισταισι or ῥαίσταισι.

94. 1 [Suidas, s. v. Τόνος]:

Αἰακίδη προφύλαξαι μολεῖν Ἀχερούσιον ὕδωρ.

προφύλαξο Gaisford, after Toup and Valckenaer: possibly πεφύλαξο, as in 205. 4 Cougny.

102. 7-9 [1037 K.]:

Δίψη δ' εἴμ' αὔη καὶ ἀπόλλυμαι· ἀλλὰ δότ' αἶψα  
ψυχρὸν ὕδωρ προρέειν τῆς Μνημοσύνης ἀπὸ λίμνης.

These vv. strangely recall Propertius' elegy on the thirst of Hercules, IV 12. 8.

172. 10 [1035 K.]:

φαῖν κ' ἀτρεκέως ἀψεύδεσιν ΑΛΚΑΙΞΙΟΜΟ  
ὥς μὴ δηρὸν ὑπ' ἀργαλήϊ τρύοιτό γε νόσφω  
Αἰακίδης λαός.

Böckh conj. ἀψεύδεσι νόμασιν ὀμφῆς, Kaibel ἀψεύδεσιν ἄλκαρ ἐπ' ὀμφαῖς, which he calls 'certa coniectura.' Cougny gives ἀ. ἄσμασιν ὀμφῆς. The suggestion of Kaibel is in my opinion right, but not

the words, which may more plausibly be restored ἀψεύδεσιν ἄρκεσιν ὁμφαῖς. ἄρκεσις = ἐπάρκεσις is found in Sophocles.

188. These vv., which are cited in a prose abridgment, except v. 1, by Cedrenus, Histor. Compend. I 20, and Suidas, s. v. Θούλις, I would write conjecturally thus, slightly otherwise than as Herwerden, p. 87 :

πρῶτα θεός, μετέπειτα λόγος, καὶ πνεῦμα σὺν αὐτοῖς.  
σύμφυτα ταῦτα δὲ πάντα καὶ εἰς ἐν ἰόντα τέτυκται.  
οὐδ' κρείτος εἰς αἰῶνα· σὺ δ' ὡκέσι ποσσὶ βάδιζε  
θνητέ,

The rest of v. 4 is hardly recoverable from the words ἀδελον διανύων βίον of both Cedrenus and Suidas.

193. 1, spoken of Hecate :

Ἦδ' ἐγὼ εἰμι κόρη πολυφάσματος οὐρανόφοιτος.

Rather οὐρεσίφοιτος, Catullus' *cultrix montibus*. Christod. Ecphr. 306 Φοίβου οὐρεσίφοιτος ὁμόγνιος ἴστατο κούρη. Orph. hymn. I 7, to Hecate, 'Ἠγεμόνην, νύμφην, κουροτρόφον, οὐρεσιφοῖτιν.

194 (Euseb. Praep. Evang. V 7) :

οὐδὲν ἐν ἀθανάτοις θεοῖς ποτ' ἴδδείμενον  
οὐδ' ἀκράαντον ἔλεξε σοφοῖς Ἑκάτη θεοφήταις.

Coungy prints the usually received ποτε δια μάταιον, which is found in several MSS. I should prefer ποτε δείμα μάταιον.

200. 1, 2 (Euseb. Praep. Evang. V 15) :

τίς βροτὸς οὐ πεπόθηκε χαρακτῆρας ἀπάσασθαι  
χρυσοῦ καὶ χαλκοῦ καὶ ἀργύρου αἰγλήεντος ;

Herwerden conj. πάσασθαι = κτήσασθαι. I think it may be χαρακτῆρ' ἀπάσασθαι.

202. 1 (Philopon. de Creat. Mundi, IV 20) :

Λυέσθω φύσεως δεσμὰ ἵνα σοῖσι πίθωμαι

The balance of clauses points to ἐμὰ δέσμ' ἵνα σοῖσι π.

203 (Euseb. Demonstr. Evang. III 7). Gaisford has admirably restored this from the Paris MS, as follows :

ὅτι μὲν ἀθανάτη ψυχὴ μετὰ σῶμα προβαίνει  
γιγνώσκεις· σοφίης τετμημένη αἰὲν ἀλᾶται.  
ἀνερὸς εὐσεβίῃ προφερεστάτου ἐστὶν ἐκείνη  
ψυχή.

It is inexcusable in Coungy not to have examined Gaisford's edition (Oxford, 1852).

216. 26, oracle ap. Phlegon. Mirabil. X :

σεμνήν Πλουτωνίδα παντοδίδακτοι  
ἐν πάτρῃ εὐχέσθων μέμνεν.

παντοδίδακτοι should not be altered to παντοδίδακτον, an epithet not specially suited to Persephone. It refers to the careful training of the ministering priests in all the details of the cultus.

29-31 :

θησαυρὸν δ' ἕτεροι καὶ παρθένοι ἔνθα φερόντων  
ιστῷ θειοπαγεί νυμφάσματα ποικίλα σεμνήν  
Πλούτωνι κοσμεῖτο ὅπως σχεσίησι κακοῖσι.

29. *an* θησαυρόνδε? κόροι *pro* ἕτεροι *Emper*. 30. νυμφάσματα *in* καὶ ὑφάσματα *mutauit Emper* : *potest esse* ἑνυφάσματα. 31. *an* κοσμοῖντο *uel* κοσμοῖεν Πλουτωνίδ'? σχίσις ἦσι *Xylander*. κακοῖο *ex* 49 ὅπως λύσις ἦσι κακοῖο *reponendum erat*.

I make ἑνυφάσματα depend on ἰστῷ θειοπαγεί, and suppose an asyndeton after ποικίλα. But the passage is very doubtful. Yet the pause after the fifth foot, ποικίλα, recurs in 38 λαμπροῖς εἵμασι κοσμητοῦ μετὰ ποιμένος, ὅστις.

47, 48 :

ἀτὰρ οἴδατε πάντες  
λίσσέσθω Φοῖβον Παίονα.

Cougny translates οἴδατε as an imperative. Surely it is indic.: 'you all know' = 'as you all know.'

50 sqq.:

ὑμνεῖν αἶ κε γένοι προφερέστεραι ὦσ' ἐνὶ λαοῖς  
καὶ νήσων ναέται τὴν ἀντιπάλων ὅταν αἶαν  
οὐ δόλφ' ἀλλὰ βία Κυμαῖδα πρόφρονες αὐται (?)  
νάσσονται σεμνῆς βασιληίδος οἷσσι τίθενται  
55 ἐν πατρίοισι νόμοις Ἦρας ξοανόν τε κατ' οἶκον.  
ἴξι δ' ἂν μύθοισιν ἐμοῖς τάδε πάντα τίθηνται  
σεμνοτάτην βασιλίσσαν ἐπέλθης ἐν θυσίαισιν.

Though the exact allusion in 51-3 is uncertain, it seems dangerous to alter the words τὴν ἀντιπάλων ὅταν αἶαν to τῶν ἀγχιάλων ὅταν εἶεν, as C. Müller suggested, *Fragm. Hist. Graec.* III, p. 620; for the construction of the words given in the MS tradition is at least coherent, καὶ νήσων ναέται ὅταν νάσσονται τὴν ἀντ. αἶαν, whereas, if Müller's conj. be received, it is difficult to see why εἶεν should be substituted for ὦσι, and not easy to elicit any quite satisfactory meaning from the verses following. Cougny seems to me to be



right here in his retention of the MS reading. But in the next vv. emendation is easier and comparatively sure. I would write οἷσι τιθῆται 'Ἐν πατρίοισι νόμοις Ἦρας ξόανόν τι κατ' οἶκον. And if οἷσι is right, it is probable that v. 52 ended with οὔτοι.

In 55 Emper altered τίθηνται to πίθηναι, which is printed by Otto Keller in his edition of the *Paradoxographi* (1877, Teubner). This cannot be considered certain: τιθῆται might mean 'is instituted,' and is very much nearer τίθηνται. But σεμνοτάτην must contain something which connects with the v. preceding and gives a construction to ἐπέλθης: this is, I believe, Σεμνά τε τήν. The whole passage, then, I would write thus:

ὑμνεῖν αἶ κε γένει προφερέστεραι ὥσ' ἐνὶ λαοῖς,  
καὶ νήσων ναίεται, τήν ἀντιπάλων ὅταν αἶαν,  
οὐ δόλω ἀλλὰ βία Κυμαῖδα, πρόφρονες οὔτοι  
νάσσωνται, σεμνῆς βασιληίδος οἷσι τιθῆται  
ἐν πατρίοισι νόμοις Ἦρας ξόανόν τι κατ' οἶκον.  
ἵξει δ', ἂν μύθοισιν ἐμοῖς τάδε πάντα τιθῆται,  
σεμνά τε τήν βασιλίσσαν ἐπέλθης ὣν θυσiaisιν.

The words οὐ δόλω ἀλλὰ βία Κυμαῖδα seem to imply that the territory had been violently seized by the Cumaeans, and that they had subsequently been dispossessed by the islanders (οὔτοι).

62 sqq.:

νηφαλίμων ἄρνᾶν τε ταμῶν χθονίοις τάδε ῥέξον  
ἦμος ἂν ἦδη ἔχοις μεγαλήτην οὐκ ἄπαντη  
ξεστοδύταν ξοάνησιν καὶ τᾶλλ' ὅσ' ἔλεξα σαφί  
65 ἐν πετάλοισιν ἐμοῖς· ὑπὸ κερκίδος ἀμφὶ καλύπτρας  
ἱμερτός σε βάλεν γλαυκῆς ἐλάας πολυκάρπου  
ἀγλαὰ φύλλα λαβοῦσα λύσιν κακοῦ.

In 63 μεγαλήτην can hardly be μεγάλην θεόν: it should contain αἰλοῖτ- or αἰλειτ- (αἰλιτεῖν): possibly the dative plur. μεγαλοῖτισιν 'great sinners,' viz. females, who had violated the laws of chastity or marriage, and to whom Hera would be hostile (ἀνάνη), and therefore requiring propitiation (οὐκέτ'). The following v. may easily be restored: ξεστὰ δ' ὅταν ξόαν' ἦσι καὶ ἄλλ' ὅτ' ἔλεξα σαφηνῇ (σαφηνῇ, Alexander). 65, 66 are more doubtful, possibly ὑπὸ κερκίδος ἀμφὶ καλύπτραις ἱμερτοῖσι βαλεῖν κτλ. In this way the difficulty of λαβοῦσα is avoided: it could hardly be λαβόντα. βαλεῖν is the infinitive used for the imperative.

ROBINSON ELLIS.

## NOTE.

### SOME ERRORS IN HARPERS' LATIN DICTIONARY.

The following collection of errors in our standard Latin lexicon owes its origin to similar notes published by Prof. Humphreys in this Journal (VIII, p. 344). None of the errors mentioned below have been sought for; they have all been stumbled on, and some of them have been first noticed by keen-eyed pupils. It might be well if other teachers of the Classics would make public their lists of marginal corrections, for the sake of a future edition.

#### I.—*Misprints.*

1) Wrong quantities: *caveo* is marked 3d conjugation instead of 2d; the past participle of *confido* is given as *confisus* instead of *confisus*; *fortē* for *forte*; *quandocumquē* for *quandocumque*; *quandoquē* for *quandoque*; *temporē* for *tempore*.

2) Wrong references: Under *animadverto*, the last example is quoted Cic. Or. 3. 12, instead of de Or. 3. 12. 44; under *carrus*, reference is made to Caesar, B. G. 3. 51, though there are only 29 chapters in Book III; as the passage is not quoted, the true reference cannot be given; under *flexus*, I, the expression *flexus metæ* is quoted from Pers. 3. 63 instead of 3. 68; under I. *intentus*, A, *arcus intentus* is quoted from Cic. Sen. 10. 37 instead of 11. 37; under *irritamentum* the expression *irritamentum Veneris languescitis* is quoted from Juv. 11. 16 instead of 11. 167; under *jam*, I D, the quotation accredited to Caes. B. G. 2. 21 should be 2. 20.

3) Miscellaneous misprints: *elaborare* (s. v. I δ) is said to take an acc. and inf. as object in Quint. 3. 8. 58. The word accusative should be omitted from this statement; in the passage quoted, however, the preferred reading is now *laborarunt*, not *elaborarunt*. In the list of Abbreviations (p. ix) Lampridius is said to have died 300 B. C., instead of A. D. *rescisco* is marked neuter instead of active. Under *spes*, I A, δ, a passage is quoted from Cic. Off. 2. 15. 53 reading *ut . . . putaris* instead of *putares*.

## II.—Other Errors.

1) *Apotheca* is not the source from which French *boutique*, German *Bude*, English *booth* are derived.

2) *constituo* is cited as governing an acc. and inf. in Cic. ad Att. 7. 7. 4. This is a mistake; the passage gives an example of the simple infinitive after *constituo*.

3) *Davus* as a slave's name is said to be frequent in Plautus and Terence. It is mentioned only once in Plautus, and that incidentally, viz. Amph. 361.

4) *ductant* occurs in Plautus, Mil. Glor. 93, with the meaning *make fun of*, which is rightly given to it under *labia*; under *ducto* the meaning is wrongly given as *charm, allure*.

5) Under *expello* the phrase *a patria expellere* is cited from Cic. Sest. 13. 30, where the proper reading is *ex patria*.

6) In Livy 28. 35. 8 *frater* means *brother-in-law*, i. e. *a sister's husband*, but it is not correct to say that it is there used for *levir* (see under *frater*, II C, 2), inasmuch as *levir* only means *a husband's brother*.

7) Juvenal's famous *manum ferulae subducere* (I. 15) is, explained (under *manus*, I) not as meaning *to flinch from*, but *to be too old for the rod*.

8) *meta* does not mean *goal* in either of the two examples cited, viz. Hor. A. P. 412 and Verg. Aen. 5. 159. Nor does it have that meaning in the example quoted by Wilkins, in his note on the Horatian passage, from Varro, L. L. 8. 16. 31.

9) *praetextus* is illustrated by a reference to Tac. Hist. 1. 76; but the reading there is *praetexto*, so that this reference should be under *praetextum*.

10) In defining *quadra* a special heading is set aside for the meaning *dining-table*, a meaning that the word nowhere has, at least certainly not in the two examples cited for it. Round loaves of bread were marked off into *quadrae* by depressions starting from the centre of the upper surface and carried in straight lines to the edge of the loaf. In Vergil, Aen. 7. 115, the term is applied to such cakes used as plates to lay the rest of the food on. Juvenal's (5. 2) *aliena vivere quadra* is *to live off another's loaf*, rather than *table*.

11) Under *quamquam*, γ, is cited an example from Cic. Fam. 2. 7. 3, where the approved reading now is *quamque*.

12) *rhelor* in Hor. Sat. 1. 10. 12 has the meaning of *orator*; hence remove the star before this definition.

13) Under *tego* the adverb derived from the past participle should be given as *tecte*, not *tecto*.

14) *forset* seems well enough established in Hor. Od. 1. 28. 31, and *transmineret* in Plaut. Mil. Glor. 30 to find a place in the Lexicon.

15) A number of other errors have been corrected by Wilkins in his notes on the Epistles of Horace. See note on *curare*, Ep. 2. 2. 151; *furnus*, Ep. 1. 11. 13; *mango*, Ep. 2. 2. 13; *miluus*, Ep. 1. 16. 50; *platea*, Ep. 2. 2. 71. Also for *sibilare* see note of Palmer on Hor. Sat. 1. 1. 66.

J. H. KIRKLAND.

## REVIEWS AND BOOK NOTICES.

Ethical Teachings in Old English Literature. By THEODORE W. HUNT, Ph.D., Litt.D., Professor of English in the College of New Jersey. Funk & Wagnalls Company, New York, 1892. 384 pp.

There is an ambiguity in the title of Professor Hunt's work. We must examine the table of contents in order to ascertain what is meant by "Old English Literature." We there find that the work is divided into two parts: I, from Caedmon to Chaucer (650-1350 A. D.); and II, from Chaucer to Ascham (1350-1550 A. D.). The literature of these two periods—not all, but much of it—is described, twelve chapters being devoted to each period, and it is criticised from an ethical point of view. In accordance with modern terminology, a title more exactly descriptive of the work would be "Old and Middle English Literature, viewed from an ethical standpoint." As to the general method, suffice it to say that, after a brief description of the particular work in hand, its moral and religious tone is pointed out and illustrated. As most of the works treated are distinctively religious, this results in giving examples of their contents and in commenting upon them. But Professor Hunt takes up also some secular works, as the 'Beowulf' and Layamon's 'Brut' in the first period, and the works of Chaucer, Gower, Caxton and Ascham in the second period, and points out the moral tendency of these works even when not treating a specifically moral or religious subject. His thesis is well and sufficiently substantiated, that "Old English Literature" is marked by an ethical tone which makes it wholesome reading. At the same time it must be added that the book is not exhaustive, and works have been omitted that are companion-pieces to Chaucer's Miller's and Reeve's Tales, the moral teaching of which it would be hard to defend. However, it cannot be denied that by far the greater part of Old and Middle English literature that has come down to us is permeated by a moral and religious tone that testifies to the healthy moral nature of our English ancestors.

There is here and there throughout the work a lack of accuracy, especially in the quotations, that calls for correction. Misprints are quite numerous, but there are more serious faults, some of which will be pointed out. Among minor inaccuracies, on the first page we meet with the statement that "the three centuries from Spenser to Tennyson are more than trebled by the ten centuries from Caedmon to Spenser." It happens to be just *nine* centuries from the death of Caedmon to The Shepherd's Calendar. On p. 46, in the lines from Caedmon, we find 'guardians' for 'guardian'; on p. 47 Professor Hunt remarks: "Such coincidences may be fully accepted, and yet not be regarded as proving identity or even imitation of plan and process." While it is impossible to *prove* Milton's indebtedness to Caedmon, probability seems to me to favor it, for Milton might easily have learnt the contents of the

so-called poems of Caedmon from his friend Junius, who published the first edition of these poems in 1655, and who may have communicated to Milton their contents. I should prefer 'should' for 'would' in lines 12, 13, 14, p. 50; *gastlice*, p. 58, lacks marks of quantity; p. 72, line 9, 'aught' should be 'aright'; p. 74, line 2, I should read 'Anglian' for 'Anglo-Danish,' as the 'Beowulf' doubtless existed in its present form before the Danes settled in England. Ettmüller calls the paraphrast, or interpolator, a "West-Saxon monk," and Professor Earle has fixed upon "Hygeberht, the man chosen by Offa to be Archbishop of Lichfield," a Mercian then, as the identical man; p. 100, line 3, the quantity of *Scop* is now considered short; p. 110, line 6 from bottom, 599 should be 597; p. 113 we find 'Odericus Vitalus' for 'Ordericus Vitalis'; p. 20 'Arely,' p. 113 'Ernley,' p. 120 'Ernely or Arely,' and p. 123 'Areley'; consistency would require the one or the other form for each word; p. 121, 'Goeffrey' (*bis*); p. 138, in the second quotation from the *Ormulum*, *acre* is translated 'reverence'; it should be 'ear,' for it represents A. S. *ære*, not *ār*; p. 139, *gg* is not a good representative of Early English *ȝ*, *yy* would be better; p. 142, lines 7 and 8, 'fourteenth' and 'thirteenth' should be 'fifteenth' and 'fourteenth'; so p. 144, line 3, 'thirteenth' should be 'fourteenth'; pp. 147-8, 'Latinic' does not seem to be an authorized word; p. 157, line 7 from bottom, 'The Ayenbite of Inwyt' is called a 'poem'; p. 170, line 11 from bottom, we find 'rythmical,' and in the stanzas from the 'Proverbs of Hendyng' (pp. 170-1) are several misprints (compare the text in Morris and Skeat, Part II); in the selection (pp. 176-7) it would be better to give the exact text and translate obsolete words, and to insert marks of omission between the stanzas; in stanza 2, line 5, 'had' should be 'hath'; in stanza 5, line 3, 'when it would up swell' is not exact for 'þer hit vp swal,' and 'overall' should be translated. Some of these may seem small matters, but it is well to be accurate even in small matters.

In the first chapter of Part II Professor Hunt brings out well "the ethical spirit of Chaucer's writings," but I cannot approve the liberties taken with the text. Surely the general reader has a right to the best attainable text, even in a short quotation, and he should not be put off with a paraphrase, or translation, that utterly destroys Chaucer's exquisite rhythm. Here, too, marks of omission should show when lines are left out, and the reader should not be led to infer that he has the passage as Chaucer wrote it. It would take too long to point out the numerous instances of this injustice to Chaucer; in the extracts from 'The Former Age,' 'Truth' and the 'Parliament of Birds' (pp. 189-90), the lines are run together in such a way as to destroy all semblance of poetry. Also, when Chaucer's spelling is used, as in 'The Clerkes Tale,' etc., the apostrophe should not be written, as there is nothing omitted, and it was not used to denote the possessive case in Chaucer's day. It is time people were learning to read Chaucer's writings as he wrote them, and all attempts at modernizing the language are misdirected; it is no wonder that some people think Chaucer unrhythmical when they have to put up with paraphrases of his genuine text. In the selection on p. 193, l. 19, 'foul' does not mean 'idle,' even though spoken of a priest, and in the line following 'lewèd' is the opposite of 'learned.'

In the chapter on 'Sir John Mandeville,' Professor Hunt does not state the doubts that have been cast upon his reliability, and the later date that has

been assigned to the English version of his so-called 'Travels.' Maetzner long since showed that the same man who made the French version could not have made the English version, and the language itself is later than that of Chaucer; it shows plainly that this version could not have been made in 1356. The standard authority for the modern view of Sir John Mandeville is the article of Mr. Nicholson and Col. Yule in the *Encyclopedia Britannica*, vol. XV, issued ten years ago (1883). They say that "there is only a small residuum of the book to which genuine character, as containing the experiences of the author, can possibly be attributed"; and, after comparing a certain passage with its analogue: "Such a passage . . . leaves no room for the rehabilitation of Mandeville's character as regards conscious mendacity." Moreover, in confirmation of what Maetzner had already pointed out, they say, "That none of the forms of the English version can conceivably be from the same hand which wrote the original work is made patent to any critical reader by their glaring errors of translation, but the form now current asserts in the preface that it was made by Mandeville himself, and this assertion has been taken on trust by almost all modern historians of English literature." This being the case, the necessity is all the greater for correcting that assertion at every available opportunity.

But we have most fault to find with the way in which Professor Hunt has treated Langlande's great work, 'The Vision of Piers Plowman.' He says, "as it lies before us, it consists of a Prologue and seven separate sections, each under the name of a Passus." In other words, the little Clarendon Press edition of selections from the B-text has been taken as the poem. A mere examination of the Early English Text Society's edition, by Professor Skeat, or of the Clarendon Press edition in two volumes, large 8vo (1886), would have shown that the A-text consists of a Prologue and twelve Passus, the B-text of a Prologue and twenty Passus, and the C-text, the final form of the poem, of twenty-three Passus. This is one of those oversights, of which there are several in the book, that are misleading to the general reader. The quotations from this poem on pp. 254-5 also lack marks of omission, so that the inference is that the lines are consecutive, when in reality there are omissions. The exact B-text, on p. 255, lines 3, 4, is:

"For Iames the gentel· iugged in his bokes,  
That faith with-oute the faite· is riȝte no thinge worthi,  
And as ded as a dore-tre· but jif the dedes folwe."

The A-text has here:

"For Iames the gentel· bond hit in his book,  
That fey withouten fait· is febelore then nouȝt,  
And ded as a dore-nayl· but the dede folewe";

and the C-text reads:

"For Iamys the gentel· iuggeth in hus bokes,  
That feith with-oute fet· ys febelere than nouȝt,  
And ded as a dore-nayle· bote yf the dede folwe."

(C. P. 8vo ed., vol. I, pp. 36-7.)

This passage is a good example of the changes often made by Langlande in the same passage in his several revisions, even when he made no additions. It is interesting to note that after using 'dore-tre,' he returned to 'dore-nayle,' in which form the proverb, even older than Langlande's work, has remained to the present day.<sup>1</sup>

In the passages from Gower, 'that for' should be 'for that' (p. 270); after line 3 (p. 271) two lines are omitted without any indication of the omission; in line 4 'to' should be erased; in line 6 'love' should be 'lore'; and in line 8 'what' should be 'that.' These too may seem small matters, but they show a lack of care in proof-reading and are worrying to one who wants the text as it stands in the printed editions. Pauli's text of Gower is in great need of revision, but until some editor arises to take it in hand, we shall have to use it as it stands. On p. 280, line 1, we find 'Peacock' for 'Pecock,' and on p. 299, 'Tyndale and Latimer were boys in their teens as Caxton came to the year of his death.' Caxton died about 1492 (some say 1491), when Tyndale was eight years, and Latimer one year of age. The selection from Latimer is printed continuously, although there are several omissions of passages. Also, Latimer writes 'plough' and 'ploughman,' not 'plow' and 'plowman.' John Randolph, writing in 1806, corrects his nephew for spelling 'plowing' (Letters, pp. 10 and 17). As regards the statement on p. 318, it may be noted that Tyndale began to print at Cologne, but was discovered and forced to fly to Worms, where he finished his first edition. On p. 319 we find 'Vilvond' for 'Vilvoorde,' on p. 323 'Membert' for 'Mombert,' and on p. 339 'Tully's Officers' for 'Offices.' Note also 'Roger's' (p. 349), 'Brookes' (p. 365), 'precedure' (p. 367), *seu* for *seo* (p. 376), and a few other misprints in the 'Reference List.' It is not possible to avoid misprints, and some must be condoned in every book, but this book has an unusually large number of them; they are noted for future correction.

Professor Hunt writes in an easy and interesting style, and no fault is to be found with his criticisms as such. The faults noted can easily be corrected in a future edition, and, in the opinion of the writer, the book will thereby be made more serviceable. Literary criticism should be based on philological accuracy, and oversights should be duly corrected. Professor Hunt has made plain to the general reader the pervading ethical teaching in Old and Middle English literature, and I trust his book may reach a wide circle of readers and may awaken a desire for more extended acquaintance with that literature.

JAMES M. GARNETT.

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The English Language and English Grammar, an historical study of the sources, development and analogies of the language and of the principles governing its usages, illustrated by copious examples from writers of all periods. By SAMUEL RAMSEY. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York and London, 1892. iv + 571 pp.

This is a comprehensive title, and had the book fulfilled its promise with like thoroughness throughout, it would have been a valuable work. As it is, the work seems to the writer a prominent illustration of the impossibility of

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Amer. Jour. of Philology, VIII 347 ff. (No. 31, Oct. 1887), for review of Langlande's work.



writing about the English language without a competent knowledge of its older periods. It is when treating these periods that the defects of the book are most plainly seen. The author writes in an easy, pointed and interesting style, and his remarks upon present usage are judicious, and can generally be concurred in, but he is not a good guide for the older language.

The work is divided into two parts, the first, of over 200 pages, treating the English Language, and the second, of over 300 pages, treating English Grammar. The subjects of the several chapters of the first part are, the instability of language, the sources of English, the province of grammar, word-making, the alphabet, Grimm's Law, and pronunciation and spelling. The second part treats the several parts of speech, and syntax, closing with some suggestions to young writers, which it would be well for young writers to follow. The weakness of the work is seen in the very first chapter, in the misprints of the specimens of Old English, especially of Caedmon's Hymn (p. 8), in which there are no less than *eight* palpable errors, besides the omission of one and a half lines at the end, which are necessary to the sense, and the hymn itself is mistranslated, *or astelidae* being rendered "from the beginning"; no regard is paid to its punctuation.

The chapter on the sources of English is very inadequate. The author has no conception of Old English phonology, or of dialectic variations. All that he has to say of *ea* and *eo* is that they were "especial favorites, in which the sounds are supposed to have been kept separate" (p. 13); he has no notion of the circumstances under which they occur. So in a list of words given to show that these words "from the Lindisfarne Gospels, A. D. 950, are nearer modern English than the Saxon of the same period," we find "Saxon *axode*, Anglian *ascade*," with no mention of the West Saxon *ascode*, weakened to Southern English *askede*; similarly "Saxon *fixas*, Anglian *fiscas*," overlooking the common *fiscas*<sup>1</sup>; *ex uno disce omnes*. Again, p. 20, it is scarcely correct to say that "A monk named Ormin composed a long poem on the Jewish and Christian religions," when he was merely writing a poetical paraphrase of the readings in the Church service, with homiletic explanations and additions.

On p. 23 we find the wonderful statement that "The earliest English poetry depended neither on rhyme, accent, nor measure, but on alliteration." One who could make such a statement must either have no ear for *accent* or be ignorant of the earliest English poetry. Our author still puts the English version of Sir John Mandeville's 'Travels' as 1356 (p. 39), not having examined the Encyclopedia Britannica volume of 1882, where this date is duly corrected. This chapter is, however, more noticeable for its omissions than its inclusions. We have no original and thorough study of the Anglo-Saxon (Old English) basis of the language, and its successive modifications by Scandinavian, Norman-French, Latin and Greek elements. The author has made use of Professor Skeat's Etymological Dictionary, and takes some statistics of the distribution of words from it, but the 'dictionary' method is a very erroneous one for ascertaining the proportion of words of different origin in actual use. On p. 36 Mr. Ramsey gives the estimates of Hickee, Sharon Turner, Trench and Thommerel, but omits the later and better one of Hon. George P. Marsh,

<sup>1</sup> Presumably these words are taken from Matt. 14, 17, but here the Rushworth MS has *fiscas*.

although his name is mentioned on p. 27. It may be remarked in passing that it is not now usual to refer to the late Archbishop of Dublin as *Dean* Trench. After some remarks on the province of grammar, which the author rightly regards as "a purely descriptive science," the duty of the grammarian being "to state and classify the facts as he finds them," we have a long chapter on Word-Making. Here, along with lists of prefixes and suffixes found in English words, we have illustrations from Turkish, after Max Müller, and paradigms from Semitic languages, Hebrew and Arabic, that seem out of place and might well have been omitted. On p. 57 the so-called "successive amputations" of the Old English *daeghwamlīcan* are purely imaginary, and it would be difficult to substantiate such forms as are there given: the author mixes a supposed M. E. *dae-* with an O. E. *-līc*, and regards it as but a shortened form of the former word: Stratmann would have helped him out here. The Shaksperian *godigoden* (R. and J. iii, 5 [not 2, as given], 173) is cited as an illustration of the running together of a phrase into a word, but the fuller *godgigoden* (i, 2, 58), in which the *g* is retained, is omitted; the former may be a misprint, as the First Folio is notoriously full of misprints. It would be well to drop Max Müller's comprehensive term 'Turanian' (p. 81), and not to classify Basque with the Finno-Tataric languages merely because it is agglutinative. (Cf. Hovelacque, *Science of Language*, pp. 144-6 and 109 ff.) On p. 87, *ad fin.*, we find *sothe* as a preterite of *seethe*, and p. 89, *ad fin.*, the Scotch *gaed* given as the preterite of *go*, i. e. M. E. *yode*, A. S. *ēode*, with which it has no connection. On p. 92 we find 'Country-dance, for contra-dance,' after Webster, i. e. through French *contredanse*. The reverse would be more nearly correct, and Professor Skeat states that "*country-dance* is not the same as *contredanse*." This is an instance of mistaken etymology.

The chapter on The Alphabet gives some useful information as to the origin of the characters, tracing them back to the early Greek, old Hebrew, and Egyptian, though at somewhat disproportionate length. The author thinks (p. 122) that *thorn* (þ) and crossed *d* (ð) represented respectively the surd and the sonant sounds of *th*, an erroneous notion, as these characters were used indifferently for both sounds. The short chapter on Grimm's Law is very unsatisfactory, and we hear nothing of Verner's Law. Pronunciation and Spelling are treated at considerable length and more satisfactorily. The author has evidently devoted much study to these subjects, and has given us a full treatment of them from a popular and practical point of view. He has made no attempt at a scientific classification of sounds, nor has he adopted the usual key to pronunciation, as in the New English Dictionary, for example, but a system of his own, which is easily understood, and, in general, consistently carried out; (*ai*), for instance, is used to represent the name-sound of *a*, as in *fain*, *fane*, and (*iī*) the diphthongal sound of *i* in *fine*. *Ei* (p. 156) represented this latter sound "for more than three hundred years," says the author; it then passed into (*ae' ee*), and "toward the close of the seventeenth century" into the sound (*ai*). "The eighteenth century made the digraph what it is now prevailingly (*ee*)," as in *deceive*. It is hard to say what pronunciation Mr. Ramsey gives to *heifer*, but it seems to be the long *e* (*ee*), as above, and not the short *e* (*hef-er*), which is now more common. It deserves to be noted that he rightly recognizes the pronunciation of chair as *cheer*, oblige as

*obleej*, as correct in the last century and continued by old persons into the present century. So also of *oi* as (*ii*), *piint* for point, *jiin* for join, which may be substantiated from Pope's poetry. The writer has often heard these pronunciations from older, well-educated persons. Mr. Ramsey rightly says: "they are merely old-fashioned" (p. 166). He frequently gives provincial and colloquial pronunciations, as 'Virginian kyard, gyarden,'<sup>1</sup> cited (p. 152) as an instance of palatalization, which was formerly so prevalent in Old English. He has omitted, however, the colloquial *yō* for ewe; I have never heard a country farmer, even an educated man, use any other pronunciation, although the dictionaries are unanimous for *yu*. I do not think the author rightly discriminates the *i*-sounds in *fire* and *fine* (p. 161). The diphthongal *i* is, to my ear, the same in both, i. e. as in the pronoun *I* and the noun *eye*, but the former is followed by the *ɜ*-sound, i. e. *u* in *but*, due to the following *r*, which so often makes a dissyllable in Shakspeare. But comment on sounds is infinite, and space is finite, so there must be an end to these remarks. On proper names (pp. 202-5) I may simply say that in this latitude *Le-fee'-vur* is heard for Lefevre, as well as the French pronunciation, *Mooltree* for Moultrie, *I* being retained, and *Tol-i-ver*, not *Tul-i-ver*, is the pronunciation of Taliaferro. The chapter closes with some judicious remarks on phonetic spelling, which is, however, as far off as ever, except for scientific purposes.

There is no space to comment in detail upon the second part. It may be remarked, in general, that where the author steers clear of the older language, there is little fault to find, but here, as in the first part, he is all at sea. Some of these errors will be briefly noted: on p. 239 occurs the statement: "In Anglo-Saxon *child* and *children* were alike *cild*." It should be unnecessary to state that the plural of *cild* was *cildru*, although *cild* is used as a plural in the passage cited (Matt. ii. 16). From *cildru* came M. E. *childre* and *childer*, the latter still heard in the North of England, and to these forms *n* was added in Southern English, making the double plurals *children* and *childern*, of which the former survived. On p. 242, *flt*, *gts*, *tl'ð* are not the plurals of *fōt*, *gōs*, *tōð*. The phenomena of mutation (Umlaut) do not seem to be understood by the author, and certainly *child*, *children* (p. 244) is not an example of it. It is certainly wrong to include *leman* with *horseman*, etc., as forming plurals in *-men* (cf. *Piers Plowman*, A. 3, 146 et al.). We have been saying *lemans* since the fourteenth century, though Stratmann gives *lefmen* from Robert of Gloucester, circa 1297. On p. 294 the paradigm of the weak (definite) declension of the A. S. *gōd* is given, although the author says: "The Saxon declension took another pattern slightly fuller when the definite article preceded the adjective" (!), a singular instance of misconception. The strong (indefinite) declension had been given for *blind* under Word-Making (p. 88), where it was not needed, but it would have been in place here. On p. 310 we find *wet* for we two, and on p. 315 the first example, from 'The Soul's Ward,' is mistranslated. But I must pass over much noted for comment. On p. 352 the author shows an entire misconception of the reason for Grimm's use of the terms *strong* and *weak* to denote the Teutonic conjugations, but I have no room for quotation. As to the basis of the classification of the strong verbs he has not the most remote idea, nor of the change of vowel in the

<sup>1</sup> This is given as an alternative pronunciation by Cooley (1863).

preterite singular and plural. I know of no one since Chaucer who holds "that we ought to say *he sang* and *they sung*." In his list of *strong* verbs such *weak* verbs as *bleed*, *lead*, *read*, etc., are included simply because the modern preterite shortens the vowel, and even *plead*, of Norman-French origin, is inserted and furnished in due form with a preterite and participle *pled* (!), thus elevating this illiterate form to the society of the literate. But I must bring this review to a close, and cannot notice the succeeding chapters. Suffice it to say that there are many more errors when dealing with Gothic and Anglo-Saxon forms. Bosworth has supplied the quotations from the Gospels, but he is often quoted incorrectly. Gothic forms beginning with *hw* are repeatedly written *wh*, and there are other errors in Gothic words. In one short line from John xiii. 14 (p. 379) there are three errors in the Anglo-Saxon: the A. S. *sceolon* is written *sceolen*, *cower* is omitted, and *ððres* is written *others*. I am inclined to sympathize with Mr. Ramsey's hostility to the puristic rules about the use of *shall* and *will*, which are the inventions of modern English grammarians. It may be remembered that Mr. Marsh declared against them and predicted their speedy disappearance from the language: they certainly have no historical support, as every reader of the Bible can learn for himself. I must, in closing, call attention to the remarkable paradigm of *fand*, preterite of *findan*, on p. 445, and the remarks following on p. 446, and to the form *secege* for the imperative on p. 458. There are several errors in the quotations on p. 491, as a comparison with Morris and Skeat's Specimens, Part I, which has furnished them, will show. In the very first one *liefe* is written for *lufe*, and the word *muſestoch* (mouse-trap) is left off, which materially affects the sense, causing the author to turn a genitive into an impossible plural. Mr. Ramsey has copiously illustrated his remarks with examples, the only correct method, but he should quote accurately, *verbatim et literatim*; otherwise, he runs the risk of gross errors. Again, on p. 498, a lack of knowledge of Anglo-Saxon has led him to turn a plural into a singular in Gen. xxxii. 11. The quotations from Chaucer also need looking after on pp. 496 and 531, for the rhythm is sadly mutilated. On p. 522 the author rightly condemns the placing of an adverb between *to* and the infinitive, but I fear it is hopeless to fight against this blunder, which is gradually becoming more and more common where least expected. He also condemns the solecism of *all others* (p. 547), which, however, was more common in the Elizabethan period than now.

If the historical part of the book could be rewritten, it would be improved: as it stands, it is a blind leader of the blind.

JAMES M. GARNETT.

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Ueber den Ursprung des Substantivsatzes mit Relativpartikeln im Griechischen. Von Dr. PETER SCHMITT. Beiträge zur historischen Syntax der griechischen Sprache. Herausg. von M. Schanz. Band III, Heft 2. Würzburg, A. Stuber's Verlagshandlung, 1889.

The practical interest in Schmitt's book, *Ueber den Ursprung des Substantivsatzes mit Relativpartikeln im Griechischen*, which appeared in 1889, was very much lessened by the fact that soon after its publication the main results were assimilated by Professor Goodwin in his new Moods and Tenses, which came

out the following year. After the appearance of any considerable text-book there is always a tendency to call a halt, and to the ordinary student Professor Goodwin's repertory may well seem full enough to meet all reasonable demands. But for that matter the old edition seemed a satisfying portion to the run of syntacticians. Mr. Monro, for instance, in his review of the new Moods and Tenses (C. R. 1890, p. 261), said that 'with all the additions and amplifications which it has undergone, there has been nothing of importance to correct or withdraw.' Assuredly Mr. Monro has claimed for Professor Goodwin much more than Professor Goodwin himself would claim. There has been correction enough and withdrawal enough to make the new Moods and Tenses a radically different book from the original work, and it would be a pity that correction and withdrawal should cease simply because so high a standard of excellence has been attained. In looking over Schmitt's book again to see what or how much Professor Goodwin has not used, I have made a few notes, which I will produce here instead of the detailed review which I had planned when the book first fell under my eye.

The introductory chapter deals with the different ways of fusing two independent sentences, or rather *λόγοι*, into one. The second sentence is taken up into the first as an integral part of it, or is added to the first by means of a joint. The former construction is that of the accusative and infinitive or the participle, although it is not fair to call that a fusion which is really one to begin with, and which cannot be disintegrated without an entire change of conception. The latter construction is that of a relative sentence or equivalent. According to Schmitt the construction of the accusative and inf. is derived from the locative element of the infinitive. *δυναμὶ λαβεῖν* is 'ich habe Kraft im Nehmen.' This is the same view that Deecke, in his recently published grammar, takes for Latin. To Deecke *audeo dicere* is 'ich bin verwegen im Behaupten,' whereas Monro prefers the dative for Greek, and *ἐθέλω δομεναι* is 'I am willing for giving.' To be sure, the locative is also a whither case (cf. *χαμαι* = *χαμᾶζε*), and so we come back to the dative of the purpose, and then again the dative of the purpose brings us to the old-fashioned terminal accusative, which is the accusative of the inner object. *βόλομαι ἵεναι* 'ich will gehen,' 'I will go,' are all suspiciously alike in their conception. All deorganized parts of speech are neuter accusatives, and the infinitive *in vacuo*, so to speak, is an accusative of the inner object. Out of the infinitive *μάχεσθαι* we may conjure up an original dative 'To arms.' This is what it may have been to the prehistoric Greek, and this is certainly an easy way to get at the imperative infinitive (A. J. P. XIV 124). But what of the historical Greek? Even with our sign 'to' we cannot keep our so-called inf. to its dative work, and to the historical Greek the imperative inf. was nothing more than, for instance, *s'adresser* is to the Frenchman of to-day. If the infinitive is to live as a verb it must die as a noun. *δοῦναι*, whether dative by rights or locative, or both, resigns its privileges as a noun, and only gets them back by the article. *τῷ δοῦναι* is a dative not as *τῷ δόντι* is a dative, but as *τῷ λάμβδαι* is a dative. The original dative sense of *δοῦναι* has withdrawn itself from the consciousness, no matter what dative habits it may have kept up in certain syntactical combinations. But what of the acc. and inf.? The acc. that goes with the inf. depended originally on the leading verb as much as

does the inf., and this Schmitt sees, though he maintains that in the course of time the consciousness that the acc. belonged to the leading clause vanished, and the accusative was felt to belong to the inf. But when does that detachment begin? So long as the acc. and inf. is an object we can hardly speak of detachment. It is only when the accusative and inf. becomes a formal subject that the trouble begins, a trouble which we need not borrow now, especially as we have a much more difficult transition in our own language, in which 'for + objective case + to w. inf.' is treated as the subject of a sentence. But not to go into matters that will carry us too far afield, let us look at the object clauses which take the acc. and inf., beginning with Homer. These clauses follow, according to Schmitt, *verba sentiendi*, *dicendi*, *cogitandi* and *verba affectus*. Of the *verba sentiendi*, *ἀκούω* is the only one that takes the inf. in Homer, and that only four times, according to Schmitt; five times, according to Ebeling. *πυνθάνομαι* is so construed once, B 119. But it would be a mistake to consider *τεῖρεσθαι* *Τρῶας* in *ἀκούσεν τεῖρεσθαι Τρῶας*, Z 386, 'as virtually = *ὅτι ἐτεῖποντο Τρῶες*' (Monro, H. G.<sup>2</sup> §237, 2). *ἀκούω* with inf. is construed after the analogy of verbs of thinking, and verbs of thinking cannot be replaced by *ὅτι* constructions. *ἀκούω* with acc. and inf. is and abides 'to think from hearsay,' as *ἀκούω* with acc. participle is 'to know from hearsay.' It is not a *verbum sentiendi*, but a *verbum cogitandi*. Of the verbs of saying, *φημί* is chief. But *φημί* is essentially a verb of creation. It does more than say: it declares, it avers (A. J. P. IV 56), and the inf. after it is not separated from the inf. after verbs of will by an impassable gulf. The *verba cogitandi* can have no other than the inf. construction; 'to think' is in a sense to create, and in the *verba affectus* that take the acc. and inf. the will is involved. From all this it would appear that the whole batch may be put under the dative inf., and that we must postpone the parallelism between acc. with inf. and *ὅτι* with the finite verb. This parallelism is not to be denied for the later times, when the opt. of *ο. ο.* comes in, but a large part of its domain the inf. keeps for itself, and *φημί* allows no intrusion, or as good as none.

As the inf. will not yield all its rights to the object sentence, so the participle refuses to give up the *verba sentiendi*, in the full sense of actual perception, to *ὅ* and its kind. Actual perception must have the participle, for the participle is, as I have elsewhere ventured to express it, the skin of the object. Intellectual perception may have the same construction as actual perception, but it is only in a figure, and it usually takes the separate object sentence *ὅ, ὅτι* and the like. This is a vital difference and assuredly not a subtle difference, and yet it seems to be extremely hard to bring it into the sphere of elementary grammar, to which it belongs. (Comp. A. J. P. XIV 103.) After verbs of emotion we have the object sentence as well as the participle—in fact, in preference to the participle—but this is not surprising, in view of the manifold play of emotion itself.

We now proceed to the proper subject of Schmitt's essay. *ὅ* and *ὅτι* of the object sentence, like the other relatives, are considered by Schmitt as originally demonstrative in their nature, and as representing syntactically the accusative of the inner object, the acc. of the object effected. Our English feeling would lead us to the classification of this accus. as the acc. of the object affected. In 'I know that my Redeemer liveth,' 'that' is hardly felt as an inner object,

even after 'knowledge' is added. But the object affected will not yield the causal meaning of  $\delta$  and  $\delta\tau\iota$ , and it requires no stretch of art to elicit the object affected from the object effected, the outer object from the inner. Indeed, Schmitt himself is evidently inclined to consider the inner object as the original use of the acc., although he is afraid to go so far as Erdmann (Ueb. die Syntax Otfriids, Halle, 1874, p. 76.) whom he cites as the originator of the view. Let us read what Bernhardt says (Wissenschaftliche Syntax, Berlin, 1829, p. 105): "Der Accusativus stellt das Objekt dar, *den Inhalt und das Moment des Verbums*, und zwar zuerst als ein absolutes oder unmittelbares Objekt, die reine Wirkung und an sich betrachtet, u. s. w.," seven years before Trendelenburg rediscovered the meaning of the Greek *αιτιατική*. All this wisdom is as old as the nomenclature of the cases (cf. A. J. P. II 89).

This acc. of the inner object,  $\delta$  or  $\delta\tau\iota$ , appears in various categories which I cannot undertake to pursue here. Suffice it to notice that Schmitt gets himself tangled up in relative and dependent interrogative, and calls *ὅποιός* (a 171) a direct interrogative, though the dependence was clearly shown years and years ago by grammarians and commentators. This form of the dependent sentence, it may further be observed, has very little hold in Homer on verbs of saying. It was not until the optative was developed as the *oratio obliqua* form of the indic. that  $\delta\tau\iota$  could have a wide sweep; and that phase was not reached in Homer, as was pointed out many years ago. Comp. Tr. Am. Phil. Ass. 1878, p. 9, and A. J. P. IV 419, where it is shown that Delbrück stopped short in his analysis. *εἰπεῖν*  $\delta\tau\iota$ , on which there is still so much pedantical insistence (in spite of A. J. P. IV 88, VI 489; Humphreys on So. Antig. 647), has but two examples in all Homer, P 655, π 131; whereas *εἰπεῖν* 'say' has, according to Ebeling, three with the inf., N 666, Σ 9, Ω 113, and even if we leave out N 666, where the tenses show something of prophetic strain, Homeric honors are easy. No one would advise the writing of *εἰπεῖν* 'say' with inf. in a Greek exercise; but it is not bad Greek, nor even odd Greek.

Much space is given by Schmitt to the discussion of  $\delta\tau\epsilon$  as an introductory particle to the object clauses. Is it merely the accusative of the inner object to  $\delta\sigma\tau\epsilon$ , or has it already differentiated itself as a temporal particle corresponding to  $\tau\acute{o}\tau\epsilon$ ? Schmitt decides for the latter view, and thinks that the temporal sense has simply been weakened, just as he considers the 'how' sense of  $\acute{\omega}\varsigma$  to have been so weakened as often to be indistinguishable from  $\delta\tau\iota$ . But there are passages enough of Greek in which the 'how' sense of  $\acute{\omega}\varsigma$  is absolutely necessary, a fact which one would not gather from L. and S.'s article on  $\acute{\omega}\varsigma$ . So, f. i., Andok. 2, 14; Isokr. 2, 3; 3, 10; 16, 11. 15; Aischin. 2, 35; D. 24, 139. Now, so long as such passages are found, it is idle to maintain that there is ever an absolute indifference to the use now of  $\acute{\omega}\varsigma$  and now of  $\delta\tau\iota$ . Some authors may be more scrupulous than others. Some authors may be more scrupulous at one time of life than at another.  $\delta\eta\lambda\omicron\nu$   $\acute{\omega}\varsigma$  ought to produce a 'crawly' sensation in a Hellenist, and it does produce a crawly sensation when we find that Plato uses it 14 times in the Laws, against 16 times of the normal  $\delta\eta\lambda\omicron\nu$   $\delta\tau\iota$  (A. J. P. X 472; cf. XII 497, bottom).

As I said (A. J. P. VI 487), 'that' and 'how' are in a sense interchangeable, in a sense they are not, as any one who is familiar with English narrative knows. The classic 'how that,' the vulgar and dialectic 'as' and 'as how,'

bring directly to our feeling *ὅτι* and *ὥς*, and *ὥς* may be translated 'how' in very many passages of Greek where it is mechanically rendered 'that.'<sup>1</sup> A certain deadening has taken place, but my collections show only one passage in which the deadening has gone so far as to make a difference between *ὥς* and *πῶς* possible. We read, [Dem.] 32, 4: αὐτὸς ἔγραψεν ἐν τῷ ἐγκλήματι ὥς ἐν τῷ πελάγει ἀπώλετο (πῶς δ' οὐ προσέγραψεν ἀλλ' ἐγὼ φράσω).

A similar deadening is noticed by Schmitt in regard to *οὖνεκα*, which fades out to 'that' just as *διότι* declines to a mere *ὅτι*.

The second paper of Schmitt's essay treats of the shift of person necessitated by indirect discourse. In Homer the tenses do not shift. Verbs of saying and verbs of showing are on a different plane, but of this Homer reckons not. They have alike the construction of the independent sentence. There is no *repraesentatio*, as there is no *oratio obliqua* opt. in Homer, except for the interrogative sentence.

How much of this will be new to the student, how much an old story, may be gathered from the hints already given in this survey. Every one who has had anything to do with syntactical study knows how much of it is rediscovery, how much reminiscence.

B. L. GILDERSLEEVE.

<sup>1</sup> If Professor Goodwin had followed the advice given in the passage cited above, and read Coleridge's 'Love,' he would have thought twice before he committed himself to the statement that 'how' for 'that' is vulgar.



## REPORTS.

GERMANIA. Vierteljahrsschrift für deutsche Alterthumskunde. Herausgegeben von OTTO BEHAGHEL. Wien, 1891-93. Vols. 36, 37.

A. L. Stiefel, "Ueber die Quellen der Hans Sachs'schen Dramen." It must be exceedingly satisfactory to the lovers of Hans Sachs to notice the rapidly increasing interest in the master of master-singers, who, as late as the beginning of this century, was stigmatized by a noted German critic as "artisan even in poetry." Unboundedly popular in his own age, he was thrown aside in the succeeding centuries, when foreign literature had corrupted the nation's taste. Again brought forward, he has steadily grown in interest during the last six decades, till it never was so great or so intelligent as at the present day. Stiefel's paper, originally a lecture delivered in 1882 before the Historical Society of Nürnberg, must, even at this date, prove of use to the student of the German drama, owing to the extensive researches then made by the author into the origin of many of the "Fastnachtspiele" of Hans Sachs, and the absence of anything like a complete collection of the entire material. Eighty-five carnival plays are discussed by Stiefel as to their origin, date and relation to the works of other poets.

K. Maurer's paper, "Ueber Ari Frodi und seine Schriften," chiefly treats of the historical works of Are, the father of Icelandic historiography (1067-1148). Of the *Islendinga-bók*, Are wrote two recensions. The older, dedicated to the bishops Þorlak and Ketill, which contained the genealogies and lives of kings, is lost; but the second recension, revised upon the advice of the bishops and brought out about the year 1130, is preserved. Maurer gives us the result of much reading on the subject, and has in some cases new and valuable suggestions to make. He differs from Gudbrand Vigfusson, who maintained that the book of Kings and the book of Settlement (embodied in Snorre's work) were earlier productions of Are, which he inserted later in his first recension of the *Islendinga-bók*. Maurer thinks that the knowledge we have of the contents and shape of the older recension of the *Islögb.* clearly points to a first attempt of Are in authorship. Besides, he exclaims, what on earth could have prompted the historian, who was sensible enough to treat a history of Norwegian kings, and again the settlement of Iceland, in separate works, to insert these books afterwards in a history of Iceland which ran all the worse for the insertion, calling forth a protest from the bishops (the learned Saemund included) which caused him to revise his book. Much may be said for the opposite view held by Gjessing and Björn Olsen—namely, that Are wrote the history of the kings and the settlement of Iceland after his second recension of the *Islendinga-bók*. But even this theory, reasonable enough at first sight, is open to two serious objections from the very outset. In the first place, is it conceivable that the aged historian, who, after the

revision of his *Islögb.*, was past 67 years of age, should have commenced and finished two such voluminous works as the *Landnama* and *Konungabók* are supposed to have been, and that at a time when authorship in the native language had just commenced and must have been exceedingly laborious? In the next place, does not the author of the *Heimskringla* (Snorri) specially refer in his prologue to a work of Are as the main source from which he drew his information, which must have been the *Islendinga-bók*, as Björn Olsen expressly admits (*Aarbøger*, pp. 369-70)? After an exhaustive review of the opinions of Vigfusson, Olsen, Brenner and others on the subject, Maurer comes to the conclusion that Snorre's history of the kings and other versions of the *Konungabók* may all point to a common original, yet this original is not necessarily a work of Are. If the author of the prologue (*Heimskringla*) mentions Are's older *Islendinga-bók* as the oldest work of native historiography, it certainly would not exclude that author's use of other sources then existing. In point of fact, he refers to songs and poems of different times as sources. That Snorre based his entire history of the kings, which in its whole conception stands in such a strong contrast to the short, dry *Islendinga-bók*, upon a work of Are is not probable. As to the *Landnamabók*, Maurer agrees, in the main, with Oscar Brenner, who holds that the much-enlarged version that has come to us has its shorter original in the first and lost recension of Are's *Islendinga-bók*.

Under the head of Literature, Bechstein reviews L. Wirth's book, "*Die Oster- und Passionsspiele bis zum XVI. Jahrhundert*" (Halle a. S., 1889), and pronounces it a valuable contribution to the history of the mediæval drama in Germany. Its chief value, however, seems to be of a philological nature.

"Zur Beurtheilung von Jacob Grimm's Ansicht über das grammatische Geschlecht," by Victor Michels. The author passes in review the arguments brought in defence of Grimm's theory of the grammatical gender by Gustav Boethe in the preface of the reprint of the 3d vol. of Grimm's grammar, and concludes, with Brugmann and others, that the magnificent poetic insight which the Grimm theory has attributed to our remote forefathers in the founding of the grammatical gender fails to satisfy all the facts. The problem is far from having received a satisfactory solution, but may find it in the history of ancient and existing aboriginal society, to which the problem is evidently closely related. "Wir dürfen hoffen," Victor Michels exclaims, "dass sich die heutige Forschungen in richtigen Bahnen bewegt, wenn sie das Bekannte zum Ausgangspunkt nimmt und es auf das Unbekannte nicht kritiklos überträgt, aber zur Erkenntnis anwendet, das Gegenwärtige auf das Vergangene, das Lebendige auf das Tote. Es giebt keinen anderen Weg, zur Erkenntnis."

G. Ehrismann discusses the forms *liuzil*, *lutzil*—*leitils*, where Paul (Beitr. VI 244) suggested epenthesis. Paul's view, however, would not explain Got. *lita* (dissimilation) by the side of *liuts* (hypocritical), and we are obliged, after all, to consider two separate Germanic roots, *leit* and *leut*. The relation of *liut* (*il*), etc., to *leit* is probably the following: In the one adjective (*liut*) the idea of *little* prevailed, which later also passed over to the phonetically similar adjective of the other root. *Liuzil* and *lutzil* stand in ablaut relation; the

suffix *-il* (diminutive) became attached later (cf. *μικρόλος*). The simple adjective (mittelstufige Wurzel) is Got. *huits* (*ljotr*), Cotton. V 1782 *liut*, and may therefore also be assumed for the Old High German. O. H. G. *liusi!* shows in nearly all cases the dental affricate and not the spirant. Isidor writes *z*, and not *ss*, Teg. Gl. *tz*, Mons. Fragm. c. This affricate came in from *lutsil*. Isidor's spelling *yu* may have caused the fluctuating between *liusi!*, *lutsil* and the form *liutsil* produced by analogy.

"Zur Declination der Alt-H. D. Abstracta," by M. H. Jellinek. The O. H. G. adjectival and verbal abstract nouns have entirely fallen together in their inflection. In all cases of the sing. and in the nom. and acc. plural they exhibit but two forms. They either end in *-i* or *-in*. Jellinek advocates a third form *-in*. The reason of a change from the older nom. *Kuningin*, acc. *Kuninginna*, to the later *Küneginne*—*Küneginne* is clear enough, but why the *i* of *Kuningin* should have become long in M. H. G. (*Künigin*) is not understood. It is likewise not fully explained why the *injo*-stems should take the ending *-i* instead of *-in*, or retain the *-in* throughout the sing. and nom. acc. plural. Braune (A. H. D. Gram. §213, note 3) suggests: "Vielleicht sind dieselben durch die Vermischung mit den Abstractis schon früher mit langem *i* anzusetzen (*burdin*, etc.) und könnten dann ihrerseits für die M. H. D. *-in* der movierten Feminina das Modell abgegeben haben." But, says Jellinek, this would still leave the question open: Where could the *injo*-stems have mixed when their respective paradigm had no point of contact whatever? Everything, however, becomes clear, the writer continues, if we accept an ending *-in* for the abstracts also. A declension like *burdin* with *-in* in the sing. and nom. acc. plural is now explained. If we consider, further, that by the side of the forms in *-in* we find equivalents in *-i* and *-in* (*managin*, *managi*, *managin*), it will be seen how such double forms as *burdin*—*burdi*, *Kuningin*—*Kuningin*, originated. In answer to the question whether forms in *-in* with abstracts are really possible and conceivable, Jellinek writes: "Bei der Seltenheit von Längebezeichnungen in A. H. D. Handschriften ist es ohne weiteres gestattet, die Endung *-in* der Abstr. als *-in* und als *-in* aufzufassen." Cf. Streitberg, Beitr. XIV 203 ff.

In a lengthy article entitled "Zur Metrik der altsächsischen und althochdeutschen Alliterationsverses," H. Hirt comments on the various examinations into the construction of the alliterative verse in the Heliand and the Old High German fragments. While paying tribute to the acumen and painstaking labor of Sievers, Kaufmann and others in the investigation of this question, he differs from them as regards the type-theory and some other points. Sievers, in addition to furnishing a large mass of facts, also advances the hypothesis that the short line consists of four members, of which two bear the chief accent, and that these members may combine in different ways, resulting in five types. Only that hypothesis can be the correct one, says Hirt, which fully explains all facts, and Sievers' theory does not. "Ich glaube sie gefunden zu haben," he continues, "indem ich für die normalen Typen einen dreitaktigen Vers zu Grunde lege und dabei das Princip der Synkope der Senkung anwende" (*—x—x—*, with syncope of thesis, *—x—*), and then proceeds to apply this principle to a large number of verses, representing different types, from the Heliand and O. H. G. alliterative poetry.

Copious references to the Aes. Beowulf, the Otfrid and Nibelungenvers accompany his arguments. In the course of his investigations he shows that the forming of the thesis in the Heliand is by no means irregular, but subject to fixed laws, and where extra syllables cannot be brought under these laws they must be removed from the verse either by elision, adoption of shorter forms or textual emendation. In the estimate of the value of the O. H. G. alliterative fragments Hirt dissents from Sievers, who holds that in disarrangement of form they have even gone a step beyond the Heliand. This, H. thinks, is not borne out by facts. While they show the alliteration in a process of decay, they have preserved the metrical form, and meet in this respect all demands, without subjecting them to much textual emendation. In speaking of the versification of the *Krist* he says: "The origin of Otfrid's rhymed verse is fairly clear. He based it upon the verse of the Latin church-hymns, but substituted for its iambs the Teutonic four accents, besides employing the most important features of the alliterative poetry." Hirt promises a paper on the development of the Middle High German epic verse of seven accents from the older long line.

As a contribution to our knowledge of the literature of the Thirty-Years War, F. W. E. Roth prints some German-Latin poems lately found by him while examining some *Rheingau* deeds. They are written on paper, by a scribe of the XVIIth century, and entitled "Paucketum Leopoldinum, Benedictio catholischen Essens, Alia benedictio."

L. Fränkel's paper, "Bemerkungen zur Entwicklung des *Grobianismus*," furnishes more material to supplement the existing works on the subject, especially that of A. Hauffen, "Caspar Scheidt, der Lehrer Fischarts." Studien zur Geschichte der grobianischen Literatur in Deutschland (Strassburg, Trübner, 1889). Hauffen's book is valuable as an exemplification of the polemical temper of the period of the Reformation, and illustrates the license and personality of the invectives published in those times.

R. Sprenger, "Zu Reinke Vos," suggests the following emendations: 1. In the gloss 111, 14 (Prien's edition, p. 195), the sentence occurs "Dat ander is, dat ein richter vaken wert bedrogen, umme dat he sik vorhopet, wes to krygen kleynöde edder andere *dult bottere*," etc. Prien translates *dult bottere*, 'ein Krug oder sonst eine Quantität Butter.' Sprenger reads: "Kleynöde edder andere dult, buttere," etc., and translates: "Kleynode und andere Geschenke, Butter," etc. *Dult*, according to Schmeller, = 'fair' (Jahrmarkt), later often developed into the meaning of 'present' (Geschenk) bought at a fair for relations or friends.

2. "Zu Reinhart Fuchs," edition of Reissenberger, V 141.

"Schanteclër was ungerne dō,  
als er im *entleip*, dō want er sâ  
vrō  
den hals ûz Reinhartes munde."

*entleip* was substituted by Schönbach for *entweich* of the MS. As *entwichen* may also mean 'to yield to entreaty, advice' (cf. Haupt, Erec, 2, 3831), Sprenger sees no good reason for the change. Comp. Chaucer's 'The Nonne Prestes Tale,' V 584, Morris ed. (Clarendon Press, 1883).

A. Bartsch publishes three acrostics of the 13th and 15th centuries, with notes, and R. Köhler supplies a Coptic variant of the legend "Gregorius auf dem Stein," which he found in a French translation in the *Contes et Romans de l'Egypte chrétienne*, par E. Amélineau, Paris, 1888; I, 165-89. The variant is entitled "Histoire du roi Arménien," and treats of the pious king Armenios of Tyros; the real hero, however, is Johannes, the son and successor of Armenios. M. Amélineau does not seem to be acquainted with the Gregorius legend, for he says, p. 20: "L'auteur de l'histoire d'Armenios connaissait sans doute le mythe d'*Oedipe*."

O. Behaghel, the editor of the *Germania*, "Zu Hans von Bühel," reviews the opinions of Fritz Seelig (*Strassburger Studien*, III 243) regarding the language and home of the author of 'Diocletian' and 'Königstochter von Frankreich.' Seelig holds that the language bears a distinctly Alsatian character, exhibiting peculiarities which to this day characterize the dialect of Alsace. 1. The ready change from *d* to *ð*. 2. The rounding of *e* to *ø*. 3. The prevalence of *ü* (short and long) in place of *u* and *uo*. Behaghel takes exception to all three points: 1. The change from *d* to *ð* is not restricted to Alsace, as is well known (Weinhold, M. H. G. Gram. §§88, 90). 2. Seelig's examples to show change of *e* to *ø* are either not made sure by the rhyme or prove nothing; besides, they are not exclusively Alsatian. 3. *ü* for *u* and *uo* is simply wrong; the Upper-German has preserved the old diphthongs, and Seelig mistakes the orthography of the scribe for the language of the poet. Seelig places the home of the poet at a place in the district of Saarburg, near the boundary-line between the South Frankish and Alsatian dialects. A family of *von Bühel* residing at any time in that neighborhood, he has, however, not been able to trace. After a careful re-examination of the texts as to inflection and rhyme, Behaghel concludes that, while the language belongs to the Alemanic dialect, perhaps the Lower-Alemanic of Alsace and Baden, it does not settle the question as to the author's home. To say that he was an Alsatian is utterly without proof. We will have to call the records of South Germany to our aid. The family name *von Bühel* is not rare. It is found in the registers of Bavaria, Würtemberg and Switzerland. In Alsace it only occurs in the first decades of the 12th century, and later no more, but in the present Baden the *von Bühels* can be traced through several centuries as residing in the neighborhood of Rastatt, and it is very probable that our poet Hans von Bühel belonged to that family and had his home among them.

A. Bartsch publishes in full a fragment of Hans von Bühele's 'Königstochter,' which was found attached to the cover of some sheet music in the city library of Breslau. The fragment, written on paper, belongs to the XVth century, and proves conclusively that the text upon which the Grüninger edition is based was not the original, and, moreover, contrary to Seelig's statement, not a good one. Bartsch collates the fragment-text with the editions extant and adds critical notes.

Otto Behaghel, in a minor communication, "Zu Wolframs Liedern," verifies a proposed emendation in verse xii, 16 (*Germania*, 34, 489), by consulting the MS anew; and R. Bechstein gives an account of the transactions of a literary club in Rostock, Mecklenburg, devoted to the reading and translating of the masterpieces in the Low-Germanic literature of Germany. The members are

prominent historians, philologists and jurists. Some time ago it was proposed to take up a Middle High German poet for a change, and Walther v. d. Vogelweide was chosen. An outcome of this step was a popular essay on the poet, of unquestionable merit, from the pen of one of the members, Dr. Karl Koppmann, the historian. It appeared in the *Rostocker Zeitung*, 1890, Nr. 285, 297 and 309.

F. W. E. Roth sends "Mittheilungen aus mittelhochdeutschen Handschriften." The paper calls attention to some MSS of the XVth century in the Royal Library of Wiesbaden which contain M. H. G. matter. R. prints from them part of a rhymed astrological treatise and a written continuation of a printed 'Ortulus anime.' A religious song, 'Der Meister der Blumen,' first published by Mone (*Anzeiger*, VIII) and Mittler (*Deutsche Volkslieder*) from a modern and corrupted text, but now given by R. from a better MS, closes the article. The last MS, obtained from a convent on the Rhine, formerly belonged to Roth, and is now in possession of a gentleman in America.

R. Schmidt publishes a newly discovered fragment of a "German Cato." The name "German Cato" is applied to the German translations of a collection of Latin moral maxims that had their origin in post-classical time and were attributed to a certain Dionysius Cato. They were quite popular in the Middle Ages and often commented upon, especially by the clergy, who found them an exhaustless source to draw from for their sermons. Schmidt found the German fragment in a printed Latin copy of 1475. The original possessor of this book was one Bartholomew Mulich (1480), curate at Obereichstätt, Bavaria, from whose pen the translation no doubt emanated. R. Schmidt adds a minor communication, "Alte Ergänzungen des Alphabets," which treats of certain abbreviations used by the older printers in their texts.

L. Fränkel, "Zum Proteusmärchen und anderen wandernden Stoffen," sends more material to supplement the late Dr. Liebrecht's article on folk-lore, in the *Germania*, 24, 129. Noteworthy is an Egyptian story, recorded at the time of the 13th dynasty (1900 B. C.), which bears some relation to the Proteus tales, and which is contained in a papyrus belonging to the Imperial Library at St. Petersburg (cf. F. Wönig, *Uralte Märchen*, Leipz. Tageblatt, Dec. 1888). It runs as follows: A large ship from Egypt is wrecked in a storm. The master clings to some spars and drifts about on the ocean for several days, when he is thrown upon the shore of an island, where the ruler, a wizard, in the shape of an enormous serpent, receives him kindly. The Egyptian spends some happy months on this enchanted island, and when he leaves, laden with rich presents, he is told that the island will disappear again after his departure. He reaches the shores of the Nile in safety. Fränkel adds: "Dieser Schluss, sowie manche einzelne Züge, scheinen auch anzudeuten, dass wir hier den Ausgang zu der noch immer nicht aufgefundenen Quelle von Shakespeares 'Tempest' vor uns haben."

A. Socin, "Zu den Schweizer Minnesängern" (cf. *Am. Jour. of Philology*, vol. XII, 4, p. 513), contributes some notes on the minstrels Pfeffel, Göli, Steinmar, Heinrich v. Tettingen, Teschler and Zem Turne, and G. Ehrismann further comments on the third 'Paulinzeller Rennerbruchstück' described by Prof. Einert in vol. 32 of the *Germania*.

L. Schmidt severely criticises the book 'Arminius und Siegfried,' by Jellinghaus (Leipzig, Lipsius u. Tischer). He calls it a *réchauffé* of the old worn-out hypothesis that identifies the hero of the Nibelungenlied with the conqueror of the legions of Varus. Schmidt thinks the author of the book has not even consulted the proper literature pertinent to the question, but has drawn his principal information from the writings of G. A. Schierenberg (*Der Ariadnefaden für das Labyrinth der Edda*, etc.).

Minor communications from A. Steiff, O. Grillnberger and G. Ehrismann close the third number.

B. Kahle's paper, "Aus isländischer Volksüberlieferung," deals with a number of Icelandic popular stories and their variants in the folk-lore of Germany and other lands (*Arnasons islenzkar þjófsögur*, etc.). Some, in spite of divergences in detail, bear a striking resemblance to the Leonoresage, while others, like the story of Geirlaug and Graeðari, show their connection with the well-known and widely-scattered 'Märchen' of the two children who are pursued by a wizard but manage to escape by continually changing their form. The Japanese tale of the lover and bride who throw behind them in their flight a variety of objects which change into delicious fruit, bamboo buds, a river, etc., thereby hindering the pursuers, seems to belong to the same cycle of stories. The story 'Systurnar á Kirkjubæ' has its parallel in Boccaccio's *Decamerone* (2d, 9th day), and 'Bóndadaeturnar' is related to Grimm's 'Die drei Vügelkens' (No. 96).

A. Schlossar, "Volksmeinung und Volksaberglaube aus der deutschen Steiermark," gathers a mass of sayings, superstitions and customs current with the country people of Styria. The collection exhibits most surprising parallels to the usages and superstitions among other races, even among those that have had little, if any, intercourse with Europeans.

The chapter 'Litteratur' offers an exhaustive review, by Hermann Fischer, of Dr. Friedrich Kauffmann's book, 'Geschichte der schwäbischen Mundart im Mittelalter und in der Neuzeit' (Strassburg, Trübner, 1890). K.'s book, unlike other modern works on the subject, is not merely a monograph on a limited local dialect, but a history of a widely scattered speech, and the writer has executed his task successfully. "Das Buch," says Fischer, "ist ein Werk von bedeutender Arbeits- und Denkkraft; es konnte bei dem Stande unseres Materiales nicht fehlerfrei ausfallen, aber es wird auf lange hinein befruchtend wirken, und wir alle, die wir uns mit Sprachgeschichte oder Erforschung moderner Dialecte befassen, haben ihm für sein Unternehmen aufrichtigen Dank zu sagen."

Dr. Ehrismann's list of publications on the field of Germanic languages and literature for 1887 closes the thirty-sixth volume.

The thirty-seventh volume opens with an article entitled "Kritische Bemerkungen zum Waltharius," by Herm. Althof. A hundred years ago Ekkehard's 'Waltharius manu fortis' was considered barbarous. In harmony with a later and clearer comprehension of the epic, it has made its way to the esteem in which it is held at present. Linning, its latest editor, goes so far as

to maintain that the poem surpasses in artistic value anything we possess of the heroic saga, the Nibelungenlied not excepted. Such poets and scholars as Schwab, Scheffel and Simrock gave fresh interest to the poem and made it accessible to the general reader by divesting it of its Latin garb; it may, however, be questioned whether the rhymed Nibelungen-strophe, chosen by the translators for their renditions, was the best form to choose. It frequently involved violence to the text; now shortened, then enlarged again, it presents recasts rather than translations. "Wenn aber der Waltharius, in deutsches Gewand gekleidet, eine Stelle in unserer Litteratur finden soll," says Althof, "so ist es wünschenswert, dass nicht lediglich der poetische Inhalt der Dichtung zum Ausdruck komme, sondern dass überhaupt möglichst die Gestalt gewahrt bleibe, welche der Dichter des zehnten Jahrhunderts seinem Werke zu verleihen für gut befunden hat," and this form, the writer thinks, should be the hexameters of the original. There have, indeed, been published two translations in hexameters before, one by Klemm in 1827, and another by San Marte in 1853, but these versions have now become somewhat obsolete. A new translation, closely following the Ekkehard text and thoroughly up to date in point of research, would be desirable—and such a one Althof is about to give to us. A new edition of the original text, with notes, is to appear shortly. Among the points discussed in Althof's article are the different MSS, their relation and respective value; the translations of certain passages in the epic that have been made by other editors and those suggested by the author; the relation of the Waltharius to the Old English Waldere's Lay and the Nibelungenlied (cf. The Saga of Walther of Aquitaine, by M. D. Learned, Ph. D.: Pubs. of Mod. Lang. Assoc. of America, VII, No. 1, 1889).

F. Lauchert publishes a "Strassburger Bruchstück des Wilhelm von Oesterreich" in possession of the library of the University of Strassburg. It belongs to the 14th century, and, to judge from the vowels, is of Middle German origin. Lauchert collated the Gotha MS with it, and now prints the important variants underneath the text. The value of this Strassburg MS to textual criticism cannot be determined as yet.

K. Borinsky contributes an older German version of the Robert le Diable legend of the 15th century and some suggestive remarks on its affinity with the Romance saga; and F. W. Roth sends a communication regarding Hademar von Laber (1244-77), the author of the allegorical work entitled 'Die Jagd,' and prints some religious poems and folk-songs of the XVth and XVIth centuries from folios in the Wiesbaden and Mainz city libraries.

Friedr. Weidling, "Zum Ezzoleich." Since the first publication of Ezzo's 'Cantilena de miraculis Christi' by Diemer, forty-two years have gone by, and still the question concerning the authorship and origin of the poem seems to be an open one, although it has been more than once carefully investigated by some of the foremost Germanists of to-day. This unsettled question, and other points connected with the poem, are again discussed by Weidling in his paper. In the main he follows Willmanns (Ezzos Gesang von den Wundern Christi, Bonn Progr. 1887). The record of the author and origin of the song as given in the first strophe of the Vorau MS, W. considers authentic. Bishop



Gunther, of Bamberg, caused it to be composed for a certain occasion—the founding and presentation to his clergy of the St. Gangolph monastery—the most important act of his life. The year of the founding (1063) fairly agrees with the record as given by the Vita Altmanni (1065). Bishop Gunther commissioned the clergy of his diocese to write the *leich*, and they, in turn, left it to Ezzo to compose. This first MS began with the words “Nu will ich iu herron,” and was set to music by the priest Willo. In this form it was executed, probably by Ezzo himself, on the day of dedication. After this ceremony, those persons entered who were ready to take orders in the new cloister:

“Duo er die wise gewan  
Sich ilten alle *munechan*.”

The objection to the word *munechan* was overcome by Willmanns. The poet probably chose this word for the final exercise in preference to a strictly ecclesiastical term, as being to the point and more intelligible to every one. The song soon became a favorite with the Bamberg clergy of that time, and may have been sung often by them while on their way to and from the Crusade (1065). Ezzo, or one of his fellow-priests, no doubt made a copy of the first MS, and prefaced this copy with an introductory strophe that explained to such readers as were not in Bamberg at the time, the circumstances under which the poem had been written.

Paul Hagen sends two papers entitled “Parzivalstudien.” The first reviews Lachmann’s theory that Wolfram, in the fifth book and following, divided his Parzival into sections of 30 lines each, often without regard to termination of argument in the section. San Marte (Ueber W. v. E. Rittergedicht Wilhelm von Orange, Leipzig, 1871) and Bartsch (Edit., p. xix) discussed this question before, and differed entirely with Lachmann. Hagen, after summing up his own arguments, concludes: “Wenn wir auch Lachmann darin nicht beistimmen können, dass Wolfram in Absätzen von 30 Zeilen gedichtet hat, die keine Sinnesabschnitte sind, so glauben wir doch andererseits die Thatsache anerkennen zu müssen, dass *mitunter* Wolfram allerdings in 30 Versen, also auf einer Seite oder Spalte etwas Zusammengehöriges abgeschlossen hat.” The second paper of Paul Hagen is chiefly taken up with criticism of the efforts of Golther (Münchener Sitzungsberichte, 1890, II) and others, that would make the Welsh tale of Peredur ab Efracw, in the Mabinogion, a more or less direct reproduction of the Conte du graal. Nutt (Studies on the legend of the Holy Grail, London, 1888) thinks that the author of the Mabinogion combined and embellished a Welsh original with episodes from Chrestien’s work and other sources, while Gaston Paris (Romania, X, XII; Hist. litt. XXX) believes that an Anglo-Norman romance based upon shorter Celtic narratives formed the common source for both Chrestien and the Mabinogion. Hagen, after going over the ground once more, accepts the theory of a common source for both. This original version was probably a French compilation of separate stories current among the Amoricians of Brittany. It may be supposed that the French versifiers, particularly after the Grail legend became connected with the Arthursaga, made intentional changes for the sake of adornment much oftener than the Cymric narrator of the Peredur, whose

interest was simply in the story, without perhaps a thought to the artistic. It is possible, therefore, that the common source, in all essential points, is contained in the *Peredur*, and that the contradictions and inaccuracies which occur in the course of the story are consequent to its peculiar origin.

G. Ehrismann, in his "*Kleinigkeiten*," discusses the formation and meaning of some older German words. We note the compounds *himmelstelle* = 'Gerichtsstelle auf einer Bergeshöhe,' *stelboum* = 'Leuchter, Candelaber,' and the phrase *so egih guot* (Notker) = 'um mich richtig (deutlich) auszudrücken' ('to be explicit,' etc.).

"Im Streit um den Streit der drei Brüder," by Siegfried Szamatólski, is principally directed against L. Fränkel and A. L. Stiefel (cf. A. J. of Phil., vol. 36, report on Germania). The author of this paper published some time ago an article (V. f. Lit. Gesch. 2, 90-7) entitled "*Beroaldus-Franck als Quelle für Hans Sachs*," in which he traced the development of the fable 'Streit der drei Brüder' from the 15th to the 17th century, and proved, above all, as he thinks, its descent in the order of Beroaldus—Franck—Sachs. While he was satisfied to characterize the 'Streit' as simply an expression of contempt and ridicule of some clever humanist for scholasticism, L. Fränkel (Zs. f. Volkskunde, II) drags into the discussion all sorts of mediaeval 'Streitpoesie,' the Provençal included, and seeks to class the fable with that group. "Der zu Grunde liegende Gedanke ist nachgewiesenermassen uralt volksthümlich," Fränkel exclaims. Szamatólski, in his answers, is not over-complimentary (Stiefel comes in for a share), and frequently inveighs too sweepingly against the criticism of scholars who happen to differ with him upon this question.

M. Poeck gives varied information on "Lüneburger Haide" village customs, superstitions, sayings, etc., for averting misfortune, diseases, etc., and Fr. Grimme writes "*Ueber die Heimat des Minnesängers Wachsmuot*" and "*Vornamenlose Minnesänger*." The investigations into the home and history of the family of the minstrel Wachsmuot von Künzingen are many and various, but up to the present no satisfactory conclusions have been reached. The position of the poet in MS *c*, between the Austrian von Sachsendorf and the Rhinelander Wilh. v. Heinzenberg, gives us no clue. The name as given in the MS might point to the river Kinzig, a tributary of the Rhine, in the Black Forest valley, if a single name at all like it could be found among the noble families of this region, a region singularly rich in family records. Subsequent conjectures have likewise not amounted to more than a bare possibility. In the 23d vol. of the 'Publications de la Section Historique de l'Institut R. D. G. de Luxembourg' and M. Blanchard's 'Manuscrit généalogique' of noble families in Luxembourg, Grimme has lately discovered a family *von Künstig* in the present Clemency (Grand-duchy of Luxemburg), near the French frontier, whose escutcheon very nearly corresponds to that of the minstrel in MS *c*. It is more than probable that this was Wachsmuot's family, and that Luxemburg was his home. But, says Grimme, "Gewissheit können wir erst erhalten, wenn der Minnesänger selbst in Luxemburgischen Urkunden nachgewiesen ist."—Continuing a former contribution, "Nachträge zu Karl Bartsch's Schweizer Minnesängern" (cf. Am. Jour. of Phil. XII, p. 513), Grimme gives us addi-

tional information about the minstrels Goeli, der Dürner, der Püller, der Schenk von Limburg, von Stamheim and der Kanzler, who all appear in the MSS without their Christian name.

R. Sprenger suggests emendations. We note the following: Arme Heinrich.  
L. 390:

und was daz doch unmügelich.  
wan ich hete *muotwillen* gar,  
dô nam ich sîn vil kleine war

for

und was daz doch unmügelich,  
wan ich enhate *nicht gar*.—(Wackernagel.)

Sprenger accordingly translates: 'Weil ich gänzlich bösen Willen hatte, so nahm ich auf Gott keine Rücksicht' (391-2).

L. 1183:

und beslöz *in vor der tür*  
und warf einen rigel für:

for

und beslöz *im vor die tür*.—(Lachmann.)

L. 1284:

sî brach ir zuht unde ir site:  
sî *zarte* unde roufte sich

for

sî brach . . .  
sî *gram* unde roufte sich.—(Wackernagel.)

Ulrich v. Lichtenstein, 'Frauendienst,' 30, 23, Sprenger suggests:

Sô mich besezen

nahtes habent die sorge alsam *diu mar* (= Nachtalp, Eng. *nightmare*).

The MS has *dû schar*; Lachmann and Bechstein read *die schar* (cf. M. H. D. Wb. II<sup>2</sup> 152).

96, 3 (311, 3):

dô muosten *dan ze den juden* varn.—(L. and B.)  
sî al di da gerangen wâr.

Sprenger reads *dâ ze den juden*.

109, 12 (348, 8):

ich sprach '*nu vart den gotes haz*.—(L. and B.)  
Alsam ein boeswiht von mir hin.

S. proposes *nu vart en gotes haz*.

131, 29 (418, 1):

Diu liet ich ûf dem wege sanc  
von mîner vrowen âne danc.  
daz kom dâ von *der bote mîn*  
*was ze vert*: des moht niht sîn,  
daz ichs iht sande ir bî im.

S. reads 'der bote mîn was mir *ze verre*' (war zu fern von mir); cf. Bechstein, p. 329.

482, 22 (1522, 4):

ûf sinem helme der biderbe truoc  
 ein kranz von *gansvedern wis*:  
 sin helme geworht was wol mit flz:  
 sin schilt was gar von golde rôt,  
 als im sin hôher muot gebôt.—(L. and B.)

The MS has (482, 23) *gansvedern gros und weis*. In line 24, *was* was supplied by L. and B. Sprenger reads:

ûf sinem helme der biderbe truoc  
 ein kranz von *vedern glanz und wis*:  
 sin helme geworht wol mit flz.

601, 8 and 9 (Ulrich's Frauenbuch), reads:

sagt an, wie lebt ir iuriu jâr?  
 ir fullet iuch *mit willen* an.

*Sieh an vâllen* in Lexer. III 563 = 'sich bedecken, bekleiden,' and in illustration the above single example; *mit willen* remains unexplained. In 603, 1 the lady seeks to refute the arguments of the knight:

ir jeht wir frowen uns *fluen* an  
 dâ mit daz wir niht schöne hân  
 mit kleiden nu als ê den lîp.

Instead of *fullen* in 601, 9, we have here *fluen*. Sprenger suggests for both the weak verb *wîlen* (verschleiern), and reads, 601, 9:

ir wîlet iuch mit wîlen an.

603, 1:

ir jeht, wir frouwen uns wîlen an,  
 dâ mit . . .

*dâ mit* = 'dazu,' Eng. *besides*. He translates: 'Ihr sagt, dass wir Frauen uns verschleiern: dazu (behauptet ihr noch), dass wir nicht wie früher den Leib mit Kleidern schön zieren.'

Sprenger now agrees with Ehrismann's reading of L. 316, 17 in Rûdeger von Hunkhofen's 'Schlegel':

dise zwêne sîne sint gar  
*gedûht* in ein kaeskar

but, in spite of Schmeller<sup>2</sup>, I 495, maintains that *gedûht* should read *gedruckt* (gedrückt). According to Haupt (Erzählung vom übeln Weibe, 1877), *Hunkhofen*, and not *Hundhofen*, is the author's name.

The inf. noun *Winkelsehen* is connected in the M. H. D. Wb. II 2, p. 281, with *Winkel* (corner). Sprenger proposes *Winkelsehen* = 'zinkern mit den Augen,' which evidently suits the sense of a number of lines much better (cf. Neidhart, 36, 29; Heinrich v. Türlin's Krone, 25050; Urstende, 127, 5, etc.). Weigand's German Dict. connects the Middle L. Dutch *proiël* (Tiergarten) with *brühl* (Middle Latin *brūlus*, *brolius*). No doubt the word is derived from the French *praiel* (*préau*), which in turn goes back to the Middle Latin *pratellum*, *praticulum*. This word also appears in the Middle Low German as *priël*, *proiël*, in the sense of 'Lustgarten' (cf. Mittelniederd. Wb. 3, 376).



A. Mitzschke prints a fragment (14th century) from "Bruder Philipps Marienleben," and part of a Latin-German glossary of 1410, copied from a MS in Count Schönborn's library at Sommersfelden. The same author sends an article on "Vermischung von Präposition + Artikel mit folgender Ortsbezeichnung." Imperial Byzantium was to the Greek inhabitants in and about the capital the simple Πόλις. Hearing the *εις τὴν πόλιν* (*es tam bolin* in later Greek pronunciation) so frequently from the mouth of his new subjects, the Turkish conqueror took it to be the name of the capital, and formed his own *Istambol* (or *Stambul*), for Constantinople.<sup>1</sup> Thus the Turkish *Ismir* for Smyrna, from *εις Σμύρνην*; *Isnik* for Nicaea, from *εις Νίκαιαν*, etc. A similar blending together of article and names of places occurs likewise in German, and in a number of cases the official name of a place differs from that which lives in the mouth of the people; for instance, the little borough of Kranichfeld, upon the river Ilm (Thuringia), is called by the peasantry 'Insflackn,' i. e. 'in das Flecken.' Instead of 'Aue,' near Kamburg, upon the Saale, they say 'Drau' = 'in der Au.' Eichha, near Römhild, becomes 'Dräg' = 'zu der Eich,' etc. Particularly frequent is the fusion of *zum, am, im* and names of places. Thus Menzenberg, near Köln, from 'am Enzenberg'; Möckers, near Wasungen, from 'zum Öckers'; Meschenbach, from 'zum Eschenbach,' etc.

F. W. E. Roth continues his "Mittheilungen aus mittelhochdeutschen Handschriften und alten Drucken" from vol. 36 of the *Germania*, and K. Borinsky sends a "Nachtrag, den Verfasser der Robertbearbeitung betreffend." B.'s communication throws some light on the literary activity of the clergy in the last decades of the 15th century.

A. L. Stiefel has "Nachträge und Berichtigungen 'regarding the Sources of Hans Sachs' Shrove Tuesday Plays'" (cf. *Am. J. of Phil., Reports*, vol. XIV). Stiefel claims to have been the first to trace back to their proper source the fables and plays 'Die frumb schwiger kupelt ir dochter' (No. 74) and 'Die zwen gefattern mit dem zorn' (No. 82). From his account it appears that the original fables upon which H. Sachs based his narrative poems, and subsequently the two plays, are found in Hugo von Trimberg's 'Renner' (1260-1309). The date at which the Renner MS first appeared in print, as well as the language, argue that Sachs used the printed and more modern text of H. v. Trimberg's work.

Some Latin verses of the 12th century, a minor communication "Zu den Konungasogur," and criticisms of Lienhart Hans' 'Laut- und Flexionslehre der Mundart des mittleren Zornthals im Elsass' (*Alsatische Studien*, H. 1), and Richard Haage's "Dietrich Scherenberg und sein Spiel von Frau Jutten," Marbg. Dissert. 1891 (the last favorable), close the second number of vol. 37.

Fr. Kaufmann, "Ueber althochdeutsche Orthographie" The question whether the O. H. G. orthography is a safe guide in determining the pronunciation, and whether we are always justified in settling this point by a reference to our modern dialects, has been frequently discussed. Braune (*Ahd. Gram.* §88, 2) is of opinion that the phonetic value that belongs to the O. H. G. characters cannot, upon the whole, be determined with perfect certainty, but that for the Franconian MSS, and probably for some others, the modern dialects may aid us somewhat in ascertaining the O. H. G. sound of those

<sup>1</sup> See A. J. P. VIII 81.

characters. Kaufmann adds that the inquiries into this subject have had the tendency of shaking the confidence in the value of O. H. G. *spelling* to show the *pronunciation*, and, furthermore, that their history is by no means identical, having developed, in many cases, wholly independent of each other. Prior to the Carolingian time, two systems of writing especially deserve our attention, the Merovingian and the Anglo-Saxon, which both found their way into the interior of Germany. While the orthography of the former predominates in the official deeds of the western part of the Empire, we find that the larger number of those drawn up in Germany only partly conform to the Merovingian system, exhibiting certain characteristics foreign to it, as, for instance, the use of the letter *k*. At an older period the Latin *c* had to supply the place, not only of the later *k* and *g*, but also that of *h* and *z*. There was no apparent necessity to further enlarge the Latin alphabet by this stranger *k*. What was its origin? This important question, K. thinks, has not received the attention it deserves, and proceeds to discuss, in a highly suggestive paper, the O. H. G. gutturals in general and *k* in particular, referring the important position of the latter in the O. H. G. alphabet to the influence of the Anglo-Saxon and Irish scribes and their system of orthography. "Dem Einfluss Ags. Schriftwesens nachzuforschen, ist für die allgemeine Culturbewegung des 8. Jh. sehr lehrreich. Sind doch Angel-Sachsen ihre hauptsächlichsten Träger gewesen, und ist uns im Einzelnen und Kleinen über ihre Thätigkeit so wenig bekannt. Die allmählig immer mehr an Umfang und Bedeutung zunehmende Verwendung des Buchstaben *k* liefert beachtenswerthe Anhaltspunkte."

Adalbert Jeitteles, "M. H. D. Tôre." In this article the writer furnishes a number of quotations from M. H. G. texts in which the words *tôre*, *erôtoren* = 'Thor, zum Thoren werden' (cf. M. H. D. Wb.), are found with the meaning of *taub*, *taub werden*. In this sense they occur: Speculum ecclesiae, ed. Kelle, p. 10; Deut. Predigten, ed. Grieshaber, I 91; Lambrecht's von Regensburg, San Franzisken Leben, ed. Weinhold, L. 4748; Hadamar von Laber, Str. 158; Reinhard Fuchs, ed. Grimm, p. 339, L. 1320; p. 338, L. 1274. Comp. also Pfeiffer, Walther v. d. Vogelweide, 1st ed., p. 202, and Albert Höfer in Germania, XIV, p. 205. In a second paper Jeitteles shows that the text of the interesting song 'Blumenmacher Jesus,' taken from a MS formerly in possession of F. W. Roth, and claimed by the latter to be superior to the Mone version (cf. Am. J. of Phil., Reports, above), is really inferior. Comp. Bolte, Zeitsch. f. deut. Alt. 34, 26; 36, 95.

R. F. Kaindl sends "Bemerkungen über den Gebrauch der Fremdwörter bei Gottfried v. Strassburg," in which he maintains that the French sentences, salutations, etc., in the Tristan were taken by Gottfried from the French original, after slightly altering them to suit the German accentuation. This is contrary to the view of Golther (cf. ed. of Tristan) and others, who, although they grant that Gottfried's epic is, to some extent, a translation of the work of the trouvère Thomas, reject the idea that the French verses are those of the original, since they conform in but few instances to the rules of French prosody. Kaindl's article gives a great deal of information on the clever use which Gottfried made of foreign words, and in the course of his arguments treats of the curious word *Setmunt* in Tristan, V 12220:

"Sô wirt mîn herze sâ zestunt  
groezer danne *setmunt*."

Maszmann, Kurz and Simrock took the second syllable to mean *mons, septemunt* (setmunt) = 'Siebenbürgen, die sieben Berge' (near Bonn). Jänicke thinks of the *Septimer*, across which, in the Middle Ages, the road led from S. W. Germany into Italy. Bëchstein reads (munt = mundus) *sferemunt* (MS *h*), *sphaeremunt* = *Sphärenwelt*. Kaindl suggests the reading *cet munt*, i. e. *diese Welt*.

F. W. E. Roth supplements his "Mittheilungen aus M. H. D. Handschriften" of the last vol., and Gustav Ehrismann continues the list of works on the field of German philology for 1888. A favorable criticism of Behaghel and Gallée's *Altsächsische Grammatik* (1st part, Laut- u. Flexionslehre), and some minor communications of a personal nature, close the third number of vol. 37.

Ed. David's paper, "Die Wortbildung der Mundart von Krofdorf," is a valuable contribution to the researches now actively carried on by German philologists into the dialects of Germany. The village of Krofdorf lies about five miles from Giessen (Hessen) and boasts of 1500 inhabitants, who, notwithstanding their lively intercourse with the neighboring Giessen, and in spite of the influence of the church and school language, speak among themselves a sharply defined dialect that, in keeping with the geographical position of the village, belongs to the Rhine Frankish. In the analysis and description of the sounds in the dialect D. follows, in the main, the system of F. Kaufmann (*Anleitung zur deutschen Landes- und Volksforschung, Abschnitt: Dialectforschung*).

Gust. Binz publishes some Båle fragments of Jan Boendale's 'Lekenspiegel.' They seem to belong to a version not known heretofore.

R. Sprenger, in some brief communications, suggests emendations in various M. H. G. verses; we quote 'Zu Albers Tnugdalus.' The verses 913-17, in Wagner's edition (Hahn, 51, 64), read:

dâ wâren die verschaffen  
leien unde pfaffen  
dâ wâren die *bescherten* ;  
die selben schar merten  
rîter unde gebûren.

Sprenger thinks it more plausible to conjecture the reading *dâ wâren die bichêrten* = 'da waren die (vom Teufel) Verführten,' instead of *bescherten* = 'Verachteten, Verschmähten.' The last was an emendation of Heinzel. The MS has *bicherten*. 'Zur Vogelbeize,' verses 40-4 (Schaufier, *Quellenbüchlein*, etc., Leipzig, 1892), read:

dô ez der antvogel wart gewar,  
vil stille ez si ûfstoubte,  
einen antvogel ez dar under *doubte*  
alsô daz er gelac für tôt.

Sprenger suggests *cloubte* = 'zerzauste,' instead of *doubte* = 'betäubte.'

Ed. Damköhler gives a different interpretation from the usual one, of a number of words and verses in 'Reinke de Vos,' and H. Reis has a short article on "Mischung von Schriftsprache und Mundart in Rheinessen." The curious blending of 'Schriftsprache' and dialect which the writer investigates and describes developed in and about Mayence.

K. Hartmann prints a large number of "Volksrättsel," and G. Ehrismann sends an article on the Germanic prefixes *miss* and *voll*, in which he treats of their form, accent and occurrence in the older Teutonic.

A minor communication, "Zur strophischen Bearbeitung des Herzog Ernst," by Sprenger, a bibliographical summary by Ehrismann, and a list of contributors and their articles in vols. 25-37 of the *Germania* closes the 37th vol.

The publishing firm, Carl Gerold's Sohn, of Vienna, announces that the *Germania* will hereafter cease to be issued from their press. The insufficient number of subscriptions to cover the very heavy expenses of publication compelled this step.

C. F. RADDATZ.

#### RHEINISCHES MUSEUM, Vol. XLVI.<sup>1</sup>

Pp. 1-8. U. Köhler examines the votive inscription 'Ἀθηναῖοι ἀνέθεσαν τὴν στοὰν καὶ τὰ δηλ[α κ]αὶ τὰ κρητῆρια ἐλόντες τῶν πο[λεμίων], which was found at Delphi in 1880 by Haussoullier, in the débris of the hall of the Athenians. This inscription proves the date of its construction to have been B. C. 488, the same year in which the battle of Aegina was fought (Herodot. V 79-90, VI 87-94), and not B. C. 429, as mentioned by Pausanias, X 11, 6.

Pp. 9-24. M. Kiderlin sends a batch of critical notes to and emendations of the Xth book of Quintilian.

Pp. 25-46. A. Dieterich. The sleep-scenes on the Attic stage. The author attempts to prove by a comparison of *Heracles*, 1016 ff., and *Trachiniae*, 947 ff., that the play of Sophocles was composed later than that of Euripides, who, in fact, gave the impetus to the former. In the *Heracles* these scenes are a natural consequence of the myth, an organic part of the whole, which is not the case with the *Trachiniae*. Again, the sleep-scene in the *Orestes* (B. C. 408), ll. 822 ff., is an imitation of that in the *Philoctetes* (B. C. 409), ll. 822 ff. This explains, for the first time, the many agreements between the *Heracles* and the *Trachiniae*, the former of which was enacted between B. C. 422 and 421, the latter at about B. C. 419.

Pp. 47-53. K. Dziatzko believes that the remnants of the earliest collation of the Codex Bembinus of Terence, preserved by Angelo Poliziano and Bernardo Bembo (1457 A. D.), must be examined with the greatest caution and reserve. The Terence Codex at Wolfenbüttel (Gud. 31) shows signs of an independent, though limited, use of the Bembinus.

Pp. 54-70. J. G. Sprengel. The chief sources for the elder Pliny in the composition of bks. XII and XIII of his *Hist. Nat.* were extracts from the two geographical works of Juba in their original order. All the other authors,

<sup>1</sup>See A. J. P. XII 376.



with the exception of Hyginus and the Book of Unguents, are consulted only for occasional remarks. Thus we would have the following authorities—for botany, Juba, Hyginus, Trogus, Corn. Nepos, Vergil, Mucianus; for medicine, Sextus Niger; for unguents, Apollodorus and Fabianus; for history and anecdotes, Varro, Claudius Caesar; geography, Sebosus; poets, Homer and Vergil.

Pp. 71-6. E. Graf. *Διάβλιον* is the same as *ἀβλήμα*. There is in the Greek drama not a single case on record in which the assumption of the accompaniment of the singer by a musician stationed behind the scenes is necessary. The *ἐνδον* of the schol. to Ar. Ran. 1264 has been erroneously explained as a *διάβλιον* by the schol. to Ar. Av. 222.

Pp. 77-98. Joh. Schmidt. A contribution to the chronology of the writings of Tertullian and of the Proconsuls of Africa. The 'de corona' was written either in Aug. or Sept. of A. D. 211; the 'libellus ad Scapulam' after the total eclipse of the sun on Aug. 14, A. D. 212. Accordingly we have to date the 'de fuga in persecutione' and the 'Scorpiace.' T. Flavius Decimus was proconsul of Africa in 209; Valerius Prudens in 210 (or 209)-211; Scapula from 211 until about 213. The administration of Vespronius Candidus falls between the years 183/5-193.

Pp. 99-105. According to G. Oehmichen the interpretation of Vitruvius 120, 10 ff., by Petersen (Wiener Studien, VII 175 ff.), regarding the auxiliary circles in the plan of the ancient theatre, are incorrect. On pp. 337-42 E. Fabricius contradicts some of Oehmichen's statements and defends Vitruvius against several strictures on the part of Oehmichen.

Pp. 106-11. In 1864 Pallmann published, in the second part of his *Geschichte der Völkerwanderung* (pp. 504 ff.), a short chronological history from Adam to 452 A. D. C. Frick now determines the relations which exist between the four MSS thus far known, and shows that they all go back to one and the same archetype, an Orosius MS.

Pp. 112-38. A. Elter believes that the 'Vaticani montis imago' of Horace, Carm. I 20, can only have been the so-called echo of the Gianicolo. The difficulty which still exists is removed by the passage of Cicero ad Attic. XIII 33, 4, where the 'montes Vaticani' designate the hills surrounding the Prati di Castello and the Vatican plain, from the Monte Mario downward. At the time of Horace and Juvenal the mons Vaticanus did not yet exist as a proper name. Vaticanum originally was the name of an (Etruscan) settlement, in later years the designation for the whole plain between the Tiber and the mountains (ager Vaticanus); since the time of the Neronian circus the name is fixed on this. Still later the name was confined to the sepulchre of St. Peter and the church on that spot, whence the whole region became the mons Vaticanus κατ' ἐξοχὴν.

Pp. 139-60. A. Ludwich reads Aesch. Eum. 103/105 ὁρᾷ δὲ πλὴγὰς τὰσδε καρδία σέθεν. | ἀνήμερος δὲ μοῖρα προσκόποις βροτῶν.—A. Frederking suggests Antig. 847 οἶα (alone, forsaken) φίλων.—Fr. Rühl. Zosimus wrote under Anastasius, after A. D. 501, and is probably identical with the Sophist of Ascalon or Gaza, mentioned by Suidas.—Fr. Schlee prints additional

material to the description of the Laurentianus, XXXVIII 24 (Victorianus D). of Terence, given by Umpfenbach in his preface, pp. xviii-xxii.—M. Manitius shows that Comodian, in his 'instructiones,' has used the 'Disticha Catonis,' which, therefore, cannot be dated later than the first half of saec. III.—Th. Birt. The symbolic use of 'cucurbita' is not alone found in Seneca Apocolocyntosis and Apotheosis, but also in other authors, to express weak-mindedness, e. g. Juvenal 14, 56; Apul. met. I 15, and especially Hermippus, frg. 79 (K.). τὴν κεφαλὴν ὅσῃν ἔχει ὅσῃν κολοκύντην (i. e. Pericles). He also discusses the 'vox implicita' of emperor Claudius.—A. Schoene reads Tacitus H. II 100 ut *atsimiles sint*; Agric. 11 also *atsimiles sunt*; ib. 6 *inerti erat silentium*; 25 *in itinere* for *itineris*.—O. Seeck. New dates of eclipses for the Roman chronology.—F. B. The pretty Latin riddle on Terminus, copied from Varro by Aul. Gell. 12. 6, is to be restored thus: Semel minusne an bis minus sit non sat scio | an utrumque eorum: ut quondam audiui dicier | ipsi Iovi regi noluit concedere.—Papadopoulos-Kerameus corrects a mistake in the interpretation by Cichorius (Rhein. Mus. 44, 440; A. J. P. XI 385) of the treaty between Rome and Methymna.

Pp. 161-92. A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus publishes the text of a portion of Apollodorus' Bibliotheca found in a MS of the Laura of St. Abbas (Codex Sabbaiticus, No. 336, fol. 114a-125b). This MS belonged to the collection of the patriarch Nicodemus I of Jerusalem. Thus far there were known only parts of this precious MS. On pp. 617-18 H. Diels prints a few emendations of the text as published by Papadopoulos, based on a new collation by H. Achelis of the readings of this Jerusalem fragment of Apollodorus.

Pp. 193-232. K. Buresch. *Γέγοναν* and similar formations in late Greek. A main source of our knowledge of the Alexandro-Egyptian dialect are the uncial MSS of the New Testament, a fact not sufficiently recognized by Lachmann and Tischendorf. To this dialect belong especially the peculiar forms that are common to Codd. Sin. and Alex., above all the 3d plur. of perfects, e. g. *γέγοναν* (Romans 16, 7), *ἐοργαν*, *ἐσχηκαν*, etc., which were assimilated to the aorist. Such forms cannot be ascribed to Herodes Atticus; and this proves that the inscription examined in Rhein. Mus. 44, 506 ff. (A. J. P. XI 387), is an old forgery. The article is of special interest and importance to the student of the New Testament.

Pp. 233-43. F. Bücheler continues his excellent contributions to the knowledge of Old Latin (see vol. XLV 159; A. J. P. XII 373). (16) The correct form in Plautus is *acieris*, not *acceris*, which stands in the same relation to *acies* as *speres* to *spes*.—(17) The spelling *terruncius* with *rr* is correct in Plautus, etc.; it shows that *terr* (from *ters* = τρις) is the older form of the numeral adverb, and also explains Plaut. Bacch. 1127.—(18) The original numerical sign for *centum* was 0 for θ (just as φ for 1000 and χ for 50). Later the form C was developed under the influence of the initial letter of *centum*, just as S for *semis*, T for *terruncius*.—(19) According to Priscian, I 34, p. 26, H., the usage of the 'antiqui' are the forms *compes*, *competis* = *compos*, *-potis*, not *compos*-, *pedis* = *pes*, *-pedis*, as Schweizer-Sidler and Surber teach. *Compes* as a nominative was coined in the Augustan era from the substantivized plur. adjec. *compedeis*, *compedium*.

Pp. 244-9. P. Cauer examines the origin and growth of the Omphale myth.

Pp. 250-86. J. M. Stahl discusses the six Athenian decrees of amnesty recorded in ancient authors, viz. that of Solon (Plut. Solon 19), the one dating from the time of the Persian wars (mentioned by Andocides, de mysteriis, §107 f.), that of Patroclides during the siege of Athens by Lysander (Andoc. Myst. §73; Xen. Hell. II 2, 11; Lys. 25, 27), the one stipulated by Lysander (Andoc. l. c. 80; Xen. Hell. II 2, 20), that decreed after the expulsion of the thirty (403 B. C., Xen. Hell. II 4, 38), and the one proposed by Hypereides after the battle of Chaeronea (Ps.-Dem. 26, 11; Lyc. 41). They all differ from one another as regards cause and aim, size and method of proposal. Additional notes on the basis of statements in the 'Αθ. πολ. of Arist. are printed on pp. 481-7.

Pp. 287-98. C. Hosius sends a communication on several Italian MSS of Juvenal, Ovid, Lucan, Claudian and Martial, with variant readings to the extant editions of these authors.

Pp. 299-310. Th. Kock answers the twenty objections which v. Wilamowitz-Möllendorff (Hermes, XV 491; Euripides, Heracles, I 42, rem. 82) raised against the genuineness of Euripides, fragm. 953 (Nauck, 2d ed.); cf. also Kock in Rhein. Mus. 35, 264 ff.

Pp. 311-17. O. Rossbach emends Petron. sat. 25 and 62; Sil. Ital. Pun. VIII 385; Front. strateg. I 4, 4; 5, 3; 7, 2; II 5, 4; 5, 45, etc.; Apul. met. II 2, VII 18, I 5; Symmachus, orat. I 16, II 24; Hist. Apoll. 8, 16, 18, 28, 42, 46.

Pp. 318-36. O. Crusius explains Babrius fab. 2, 1; 86, 8; 95, 35 and corrects 142, 2 τὸν δ' εἶδ' ἁλώπηξ καγχάσασα δ' εἰρήκει.—C. Fr. Müller sends an alphabetic acrostic of Ignatius Diaconus, and prints again another attributed to the same author and published first by Boissonade in Anecdota Graeca, IV 436 f.—M. Ihm reads Jos. Bell. Jud. IV 10, 5 μέχρι Κλείθρον (= the strait of Bab-el-Mandeb) for μέχρι Κοπτοῦ.—B. Kuebler corrects Dio Cass. frag. 52, 1 (ed. Melber); 56, 9; 85, 4 and Lib. 36, 51. 2 τῷ παιδὶ αὐτοῦ (for αὐτοῦ); 37, 1. 2 ὅπως ἐν τῷ <χρόνῳ> (= intra tempus) θαρσύνει, . . . οἱ ἐπιθήγται.—F. Susemihl emends Diog. Laert. VII 54, reading διαφερόμενος πρὸς αὐτὸν (not αὐτόν).—C. Wachsmuth, Arist. 'Αθ. πολ. 42, 9 ff. (ed. Ken.), confirms the statement of Pausanias as regards the location of the Theseion and the Acte ('Ἀκτὴ), the name given to the southern peninsula of the Peiraeus. The same writer calls attention to the fact that ancient historical works of great length were usually divided into series of five books.—O. Ribbeck reads Propert. V 2, 39 *curvarier* (for *curare vel*); 13 ff. *huic* three times for the traditional *hic*; 19 *iacēs falsus* (not *uacēs, aliūs*); 4, 47 *potabitur* (for *pugnabitur*); 83 ff. *ascensus dubiis—remissus—praemia erant somno*; 94 *praemia fontis*; 9, 24 *laurus* for *lucus*; 34 *hospita valla* (not *vana*); 60 *unda fluit* (not *una fuit*).—O. R. also believes that the Orationes Sallustii (Seneca, Controv. 3, praef. 8) were independent speeches delivered by Sallust, not the speeches found in his historical work. Joh. Schmidt fixes the location of the municipium Numiulitanum and municipium Thimidabure (called hitherto Thimbure) in the Provincia Africana.

W. MUSS-ARNOLT.

## BRIEF MENTION.

The publication of VON GEBHARDT's phototypic reproduction of the *Gospel of Peter and the Revelation of Peter* (Leipzig, J. C. Hinrichs) has followed hard on the appearance of the facsimile in the *Mémoires de la mission archéologique française au Caire*. The French facsimile is expensive; the German is to be had at a reasonable price (12 m. 50 pf.), and will be welcome to all students of these remarkable documents. In his introduction von Gebhardt sets forth the advantages of his phototype over the retouched photogravure, describes the MS at length, comments on the plates, and registers the literature. Then follow text with variants and the plates. Still, after all that has been done, the hard passages remain hard passages, and the very first of them does not seem to have found a satisfactory solution yet. In Ev. Petri v. 3 we read: Οἱ δὲ λαβόντες τὸν κύριον ὥθον αὐτὸν τρέχοντες καὶ ἔλεγον Σύρωμεν τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ θεοῦ ἔξουσίαν αὐτοῦ ἐσχηκότες. σύρωμεν is the MS reading, according to von Gebhardt. Beuriant had read εὐρωμεν, and there is a cloud of conjectures—ἀρωμεν, αἰρωμεν, κυρῶμεν, θυμῶμεν and στανρῶμεν, of which the last seems the most likely. All, however, except the utterly unacceptable κυρῶμεν, overlook the mocking character of the shouts of the multitude, and from that point of view εὐρωμεν would not be so bad. The people would cry εὐρωμεν τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ θεοῦ in jest as Andrew said εὐρήκαμεν τὸν Μεσσίαν in earnest. ἔφυγον κακόν, εὐρον ἀμεινον. But this would require a further change. We should then have to read <καὶ> ἔξουσίαν αὐτοῦ ἐσχηκότες πορφύραν αὐτὸν περιέβαλον, and though a participial clause does not seem natural as part of a yell, I am too cautious to suggest such a reading. One cannot help wishing, however, that there were a good excuse for reading στεφανῶμεν, which would perfectly satisfy the craving for a good sense.

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Mr. TUCKER's work is always interesting, his recent edition of the *Supplices of Aischylos* is well worth study, and his *Eighth Book of Thucydides* (Macmillan & Co.) is out of the ordinary run of school editions. In the introduction he has a word to say in favor of the particular book he has undertaken to edit, and agrees with those who attribute the absence of speeches in this part of the work to the absence of speeches in this stage of the war. 'There would seem, indeed,' he says, 'to have been no really great speeches delivered by great men in such circumstances that Thucydides could learn their substance sufficiently to report them in his characteristic manner.' 'Vigor and terseness,' he adds, 'are as marked as ever in the eighth book,' and 'ethically the Thucydean authorship is beyond reasonable doubt.' Mr. Tucker finds himself unable to share the general impression 'that in point of composition it lacks finish, that it never received the *secundae curae* of the author, and that

therefore, apart from all textual corruption, its *anacolutha* and perplexities are more numerous than those of the earlier books.' With such bold words does Mr. Tucker challenge the horsemen to meet him on the plain, and it is to be hoped that the challenge will be accepted. 'If,' he concludes, 'the tortuousness of a given Thucydidean period is to be set down to want of revision, it immediately becomes necessary to consider every book, and not merely the eighth, as a book left "unrevised." It is tolerably certain that Thucydides would have found it much harder to revise his own Greek into perfect lucidity than either a Plato, a Demosthenes, or a modern editor would do. *Le style c'est de l'homme*, and revision, with some writers, is quite as likely to lead them farther from as it is to lead them nearer to syntactical simplicity.' It is evident that Mr. Tucker is one of those who go at least part of the way with Dionysios, and who recognize a certain purposefulness where others see only helplessness, who recognize a deliberate twist where others see only an impotent wriggle. So sound is this view, at least so closely coincident is it with my own, that I can forgive differences on minor points, such as are generally made too prominent in *Brief Mention*.

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In his *Syntaxis infinitivi Plotiniani* (Upsala, 1893) Mr. NORDENSTAM shows a fair acquaintance with the literature of the Greek infinitive, and one or two of the phenomena that he registers are interesting, such as Plotinus's use of the adjective with the articular inf., e. g. τὸ ἀληθινὸν εἶναι instead of ἡ ἀληθινὴ οὐσία, and his freer employment of the genitive with the same. But it is hard to preserve one's gravity when one reads *memoratu dignissimum est quod Plotinus πρὶν ἢ semel posuit*. He evidently believes that Plotinus resurrected πρὶν ἢ from Homer and Hesiod, because Sturm has told him that the construction had vanished from Attic, but nothing is more common in post-classic Greek than πρὶν ἢ (A. J. P. IV 92), and the scribes being thoroughly familiar with it, have done their best to get it into our classic texts. *Quod semel posuit* ought to mean that 'he used it only once.' The section on the articular infinitive follows the lines of Hewlett's useful articles (A. J. P. XI), but if Mr. Nordenstam had read the *Journal* as closely as he has conned Mr. Hewlett's articles, he would not have denied the classical use of causal *καρὰ* with art. inf. Cf. A. J. P. XII 124 and Dem. 19, 42; 21, 96.

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ALFRED GOODWIN, who died in February, 1892, had made elaborate preparations for a great edition of the *Homeric Hymns*, had collated MSS and caused them to be collated, and had made a beginning of a critical commentary, but the failure of his eyes during the last year of his life prevented him from continuing his work, and his posthumous papers seem to have yielded scanty gleanings. The business course would have been to abandon the publication, and to turn over Goodwin's papers, as so much material, to some Homeric scholar, but yielding to a natural feeling, the Delegates of the Clarendon Press intrusted Goodwin's former pupil and intimate friend, THOMAS WILLIAM

ALLEN, with the task of saving what was to be saved of Goodwin's work, and of bringing out an edition of the Homeric Hymns on Goodwin's lines. The result is a superb folio with four photographic plates, a full account of the MSS, full variants and an eclectic text. It is a memorial volume that appeals to the sympathies of all scholarly men; and though the conditions of the editorship were hampering in the extreme, still, as Mr. Allen is fully in accord with his departed friend as to the age and value of the Moscow MS, his scientific and his personal interest are so much at one that he could well undertake the delicate office of bringing out what he himself fears may seem to the outside world *exiguus fructus ingenii acris et pulchri*.

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The most interesting part of Mr. VERRALL's *Choëphori* is the Introduction, in which he considers at great length the recognition scene of the play, and defends the poet against the well-known criticisms of Euripides in the *Electra*. According to Mr. Verrall, Euripides had not studied the Aeschylean text closely, and the signs to which the Aeschylean *Electra* yields credence are none of them so flimsy as Euripides represents them to be. The hair and the footprint are familiar marks of race, and the gird at the size of the foot is purely gratuitous. It was not the size but the shape of the foot that Aischylos was thinking of, and the shape of the foot, as well as the curl of the hair, may have been characteristic of the Pelopidæ, whom Mr. Verrall calls, by way of illustration, 'octoroons.' The illustration is not inapt, and an American student of the drama can readily imagine a colored *Electra* recognizing the kinky hair and 'gizzard foot' of a man and a brother. The third sign, the *ἵψασμα*, instead of being what Euripides wickedly insinuates it was, 'a piece of the wrapping in which Orestes was shawled,' is supposed by Mr. Verrall to have been a manner of girlish sampler. And so the critic Euripides is disposed of. Like so many brethren of the guild, Euripides was simply finding fault with what he happened to remember, or fancied he remembered, of the piece—a very natural proceeding—and Mr. Verrall has brought him to book with his usual acumen—an acumen which, unfortunately, is almost always excessive. In fact, the German proverb 'allzuscharf macht schartig' might seem to have been coined for Mr. Verrall's especial benefit, and his considerable gift of literary expression and undeniable literary sympathy do not compensate for all his wonderful verbal equivocations, resurrected vocables, archaic constructions and metrical licenses. There is no end of cleverness in Mr. Verrall's work, but it is a cleverness that enlightens only by flashes. There is no patient assemblage of Aeschylean facts, and in a commentary of such bulk more illustrations might be demanded. Not to dwell on grammatical points, in which Mr. Verrall is often simply hopeless, one would have expected, among other things, a more satisfactory note on *μοσχαλισμός* (v. 439), or, at all events, some reference to Mr. Kittredge's careful article on 'Arm-pitting' in vol. VI of this Journal.

## RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

Thanks are due to Messrs. B. Westermann & Co., New York, for material furnished.

### AMERICAN.

Harper (W. R.) and Castle (C. F.) Exercises in Greek Prose Composition, based on Xenophon's *Anabasis*, books 1-4. New York, *American Book Co.*, 1893. 127 pp. 12mo, hf. cl., 75 cts.

Harvard Studies in Classical Philology. V. 4. Boston, *Ginn & Co.*, 1893. 3+ 218 pp. il. 8vo, bds., \$1.50.

Jastrow (M.) A Dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmud Babli and Ierushalmi and Midrashic Literature. In 12 pts. Pt. 6. New York, *G. P. Putnam's Sons*, 1893. 4to, pap., subs. \$2.

Murray (Ja. A. H.) A New English Dictionary on Historical Principles. Pts. 6 and 7. New York, *Macmillan & Co.*, 1893. 8vo, cl., @ \$3.75.

### ENGLISH.

Aeschylus. *Choephoroi*. With an introduction, commentary and translation by A. W. Verrall. 8vo, 306 pp. *Macmillan*. 12s.

Ancient Manuscript of the *Yasna*, with its Pahlavi translation. Reproduced in facsimile and ed. by L. H. Mills. Fol. *Clarendon Press*. net, 210s.

Arrian's *Anabasis of Alexander and Indica*. Trans., with a copious commentary, by Edward James Chinnock. Maps. (Bohn's Classical Library.) Cr. 8vo, xx+452 pp. *G. Bell & Sons*. 5s.

Chase (F. H.) The Old Syriac Element in the Text of Codex Bezae. 8vo, 172 pp. *Macmillan*. net, 7s. 6d.

Eutropius. Books 1 and 2. Ed. by W. Caldecott. 18mo. *Longmans*. 1s. 6d.

Evans (D. S.) Dictionary of the Welsh Language. Vol. 1. A-C. Roy. 8vo, 1250 pp. Carmarthen, *Spurrell. Simpkin*. 34s. 6d.

Gardner (P.) Catalogue of the Greek Vases in the Ashmolean Museum. Fol. *Clarendon Press*. net, 63s.

Goodwin (A.) *Hymni Homerici*. Fol. *Clarendon Press*. net, 21s.

Green (A. O.) A Practical Arabic Grammar. Part 2. 3d ed. Cr. 8vo. *Clarendon Press*. 10s. 6d.

Herodotus. VIII. *Urania*. With introduction and notes by E. S. Shuckburgh. Map. Cr. 8vo, xxxviii+276 pp. *Cambridge Warehouse*. 4s.

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## I.—THE THIRD CLASS OF WEAK VERBS IN PRIMITIVE TEUTONIC, WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO ITS DEVELOPMENT IN ANGLO-SAXON.

From the time of Grimm until the present day, scholars have been seeking for an explanation of the origin and structure of the Teutonic third weak conjugation. To account for the diphthong of the stem alone forms one of the most perplexing problems of Teutonic grammar. The Latin conjugation in *-ē-* is so closely allied to the Teutonic *ai*-conjugation as to suggest at once identity of origin; still, the Teutonic diphthong cannot be the direct equivalent of the Latin vowel. It seems, moreover, doubtful whether *ai* held in the Primitive Teutonic third class the position of *ō* in the second, of *j* in the first weak conjugation. In Anglo-Saxon, in Old Saxon, and in Old Norse *ai* does not appear in the preterit, while in Gothic, Anglo-Saxon, and Old Saxon, *ai* in the present indicative is confined to the second and third persons singular and the second person plural. The condition of the inflection, too, is no less perplexing than that of the stem-vowel. Gothic shows in the present an interchange of strong forms with forms in *ai*; the Saxon dialects have a corresponding interchange of *j-* with *ai*-forms. What is the significance for Primitive Teutonic of this mixture of forms, and which, Gothic or Anglo-Saxon, is nearer the primitive condition?

In Bopp's Comparative Grammar (I<sup>a</sup> 226) is found the first attempt to explain the origin of the *ai*-verb; for Grimm, in his discussion of the Gothic *ai*-class, had done little more than state

the difficulties to be met.<sup>1</sup> Bopp held that the Teutonic *ai*-class is the same as the Latin class in *ē*, and that both were developed, as were also the Teutonic *δ*- and *j*-conjugations, from the Sanskrit derivative class in *-aja-*. He saw in the Latin *ē* a contraction of *a* and *i*, the Old High German *ē* being the result of a corresponding, but independent, Teutonic contraction. With regard to the inflection, Bopp considered the irregularities of the Gothic and Saxon a result of dialectic development.

The theory that the Teutonic weak conjugations find their explanation in the Sanskrit tenth class was accepted also by Scherer, as it was by other scholars for many years after the time of Bopp. But Scherer<sup>2</sup> was led by certain other facts to consider the *ai*-conjugation a mixture of three original types, viz. *a*) two strong verbs in *-mi* (one reduplicating); *δ*) a derivative verb in *-aja-*. These facts were: the relation of Gothic *pulan* to Greek *πλῆναι*: that of Gothic *munan* to Greek *μνησκειν*; and that of Gothic *bauan* to Sanskrit *ba-bhū-va*, *bhā-vā-mi*.

In 1879, a year after the appearance of the second edition of Scherer's *Zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache*, Mahlow's treatise, *Die langen Vocale ā, ē, δ in den europäischen Sprachen*, was published. In spite of the many arbitrary and misleading explanations offered in it, the essay is of interest and importance, and marks a turning-point in the discussion of the Teutonic third weak class. Mahlow starts with the assumption that there existed originally, in all the European languages, two classes of weak verbal stems in *-ej-*—the one a class of causatives in *-ējδ-*, the other a class of denominatives in *-ējδ-*. In South European the two classes fell together, but in the Teutonic dialects they persisted as the *j*-class and the *ē*-class. But it is evident that the Gothic *ai* cannot be the direct equivalent of Latin *ē*, and it is at the same time improbable that Old High German *ē* represents the primitive condition. This consideration leads to Mahlow's second assumption, viz. that Gothic *ē*, Old High German *ā*, should

<sup>1</sup> Deutsche Gram. I<sup>3</sup> §50: "Der ableitungsvocal lautet *ai*, erfährt aber ein von dem *δ* zweiter conjugation verschiedenes schicksal, nämlich: *a*) vor consonantisch anhebender flexion bleibt er, gleich jenem *δ*, unbeeinträchtigt; *β*) hebt die flexion mit *i* an, so verschlingt er dieses: also *habais*, *habaip* stehen für *habai-is*, *habai-ip*; *γ*) hebt aber die flexion mit *a*, *au*, oder selbst mit *ai* an, so wird das ableitende *ai* ausgeworfen, mithin stehen *haban*, *haba*, *habam*, *habau*, *habai* für *habaja*, *habajam*, *habajan*, *habajau*, *habajai*."

<sup>2</sup> ZGDS.<sup>2</sup> 265 sq.

be represented by a sign *a\**, which, before *j* and vowels, was in Primitive Teutonic developed into *ai*.<sup>1</sup>

This *-ai-*, developed from *-a\*j-*, held in the Primitive Teutonic conjugation the same place as that held by the *-j-* of class I, by the *-ð-* of class II. The Gothic strong forms in the present indicative were derived from the optative, where they were first developed by contraction in the first and second persons.<sup>2</sup> The original condition of the verb is not to be looked for in Gothic, nor in Old High German, but in Anglo- and Old Saxon. *\*haba\*ja* became in West Germanic *\*habēju*, by loss of inlaut *-e-* *\*habju*, finally *\*hebjū*. So the West Germanic inflection was developed from the original inflection in the following way :

Ind.: Prim. Teut.	<i>*habaia</i>	<i>*habaiz</i>	<i>*habaið</i>	<i>*habaið</i>
Prim. WG.	<i>*habēju</i>	<i>*habas</i>	<i>*habað</i>	<i>*habað</i>
O. Sax.	<i>hebbju</i>	<i>habas</i>	<i>habað</i>	<i>hebbiað</i>
Opt: Prim. Teut.	<i>*habaiau</i>	<i>*habaiaiz</i>	<i>*habaiai</i>	
Prim. WG.	<i>*habeja</i>	<i>*habejas</i>	<i>*habeja</i>	
O. Sax.	<i>hebbia</i>	<i>hebbias</i>	<i>etc.</i>	

Part. pres.: Prim. Teut. *\*habaianð*; WG. *\*habejand*; O. Sax. *hebbiand*.

<sup>1</sup> Of this vowel Mahlow says (p. 26): "Es ist sehr verlockend, das gotische *e* dem *ē* der anderen europäischen sprachen vollständig gleich zu stellen, um so mehr als auch die sächsischen dialekte einen *ē*-laut *ā* für das gotische *ē* haben, und ein *ē* auch den älteren hochdeutschen dialekten nicht fremd war, vgl. Scherer' ZGDS. 126. Indessen wird sich unten zeigen, dass das germanische *ē*, *d* noch einem ganz anderen laut entspricht, und schon dies würde die gleichsetzung des gotischen *e* mit dem europäischen *ē* bedenklich machen. Es giebt ferner noch andere gründe, die uns verhindern, als urgermanische gestalt des vocals *ē* anzusetzen: es muss ein langer vocal gewesen sein, der dem kurzen *a* näher stand als dem *ē*. Dies ist zu schliessen aus der entstehung von *ai*, die eben besprochen ist, der kürzung zu *a* in *fadar*, *dauhtar*, der contraction in got. *frēt*, *frētun*, die aus *\*fra ēt*, *\*fra ētun* nicht entstanden wären. Ich setze daher als urgermanischen vertreter des europäischen *ē* ein helles *d* an, das oben mit *a\** bezeichnet wurde: dies *a\** wurde in allen germanischen dialekten zu *a*, dann theils zu *ē*, theils wieder zu *d*." The argument is far from convincing. *Fadar* and *dauhtar* are probably formed like agent nouns in *-or*; like *bhrđtor*, not like *narþo*. That *frēt* has arisen from *fra ēt* by a simple and not uncommon process of elision is proved by numerous examples in Gothic and in OHG. E. g. Goth. *karist* = *kar(a)ist*, *pammuh* = *pamm(a)uh*, OHG. *galliro* = *ge-altiro*, *nein* = *ni-cin*, etc. Brugmann, Gram. der indog. Spr. I 461.

<sup>2</sup> Prim. Teut. *\*haba\*au* *\*haba\*ais* *\*haba\*ai*, etc.  
 " *\*habaiau* *\*hab(ai)ais* *\*hab(ai)ai*, etc.

The two main points which the theory of Mahlow seeks to establish, viz. the identity of Latin *-ē-* and Gothic *-ai-* and the direct development of the Saxon forms from the Prim. Teut., form as well the basis of Kögel's treatment of the subject. Kögel (PBB. IX 504 sq.) follows Mahlow very closely; in fact, he does little more than bring together fresh material in support of the latter's view. There are, indeed, slight differences in detail. E. g., with regard to the preterit structure, Kögel maintains that the contracted form of the Norse and Saxon is a remnant of the primitive condition, that Gothic *habaida*, OHG. *habēta* are late formations.

Bremer (PBB. XI 46 sq.), in an essay on the Teutonic *ē*, accepts Mahlow's opinion that the *ai* of *haban* is the equivalent of Indo-European *ē.i*, but rejects Mahlow's theory with regard to the development of the Teut. diphthong. Mahlow's argument is based upon the treatment of *ai* in *saian* and *waian*.<sup>1</sup> But, Bremer maintains, the *ai* in *saian* is quite different in nature and origin from the *ai* of *haban*. *Saian* points to no such form as *\*sa'jan*, from *\*sējan*, but to *\*sēan*, and Goth. *ai* is here the representative of Greek *ai*, which was, at the time of Ulfilas, the writing for open *ē*. "Das germanische *ai* kann nur aus einem vorhistorischen *ē.i* erklärt werden. Es muss also die idg. 2, 3 sg. *\*k'ab'ē'si*, *\*k'ab'ēti*, 2 plu. *\*k'ab'ēts*, im germ. zunächst zu *\*χάβē.izi*, *\*χάβē.īdi* umgeschaffen worden sein. Diese Neubildung war sehr natürlich, denn sonst hätten alle verben, primäre wie abgeleitete, die endungen *\*-izi*, *-īdi*."

For the change of *ē.i* to *ai*, Bremer seeks to establish a law that Indo-European *ē.i* was transformed into *ai* in Prim. Teut. in *unaccented* syllables.

The most important point in Bremer's essay is his discussion of the interchanging forms found in the present of the *ai*-verb. This interchange, Bremer holds, belonged to Prim. Teut., and is equivalent to the interchange of *ē* and *i* in the Latin second conjugation, e. g. *habēre*, *habitus*. In Lithuanian a like duality of stem is found. The argument for a double stem is this (p. 47): "Im germanischen entspricht *i* und *a.i* dem idg. *i* und *ē*. Fraglich ist in welcher weise sich die formen ursprünglich theilten. *Hätte das präsens im idg., wie im lit.-slav., überall i gehabt, so ist nicht einzusehen, weshalb got. haban nicht wie nasjan flectierte.*"

<sup>1</sup> For literature on *saian*, *waian* see Leo Meyer, KZ. 8, 245 sq.; PBB. VII 152 sq., *ibid.* 469 sq., IX 509 sq., VIII 210 sq., XI 51 sq., XVII 14 sq.; Johansson, Verb. Contr. 179 sq.; Brugmann, I 128.

Thus Bremer's argument leads by a different way to the conclusion of Mahlow, that the Prim. Teut. inflection of the *ai*-verb is to be found in the Saxon dialects. The original inflection would appear thus:

Pres. ind. sg.: 1. * <i>χab.io</i>	2. * <i>χaba.izi</i>	3. * <i>χaba.iði</i>
pl.: 1. * <i>χab.iami</i>	2. * <i>χaba.iði</i>	3. * <i>χab.ianði</i>

Opt. pres.: \**χab.ia.i*, etc.

A new direction was given the discussion by Johansson.<sup>1</sup> He rejected at once the explanation of Mahlow and that of Bremer, and held that the peculiarities of the *ai*-inflection are to be explained as the result of a mixture of two original inflections. The two original conjugations were: 1. thematic: *a*) (= cl. I) *-ē.ið*, *b*) (= cl. VI) *-ið*; 2. athematic: sg. \**khabha-i-mi*, plu. \**khabh(ə)-i-ma-s*. Of neither Old High German nor of Anglo-Saxon may it be said that the one is nearer than the other to the original condition. The former simply follows the athematic conjugation, while the latter shows a mixture of thematic and athematic forms. "Cogitari potest, dialectos omnino utramque flexionem retinuisse: *quae deinde diversis causis flexioni thematicae faverent, formas quae jam essent, inter athematicas inseruisse: ac flexionis thematicae maxime sane erant propriae* 1 sg. et 1, 3 plu." (p. 183).

Teutonic *ai* should be considered, according to Johansson, a development from Indo-European *ē*. "Germ. *ē* (got. *ē* sub acc. princ.) etiam sed modo tum literis *ai* descriptum esse, cum in got. quidem lingua non sub accentu principali staret" (p. 187).

Streitberg<sup>2</sup> and Bartholomae<sup>3</sup> agree with Johansson in presupposing for Prim. Teut. a double *ai*-conjugation. But both these scholars maintain that Teut. *ai* must have come, not from the athematic, but from the thematic, conjugation. The two original conjugations were, then, thematic in *-ē.jð*, non-thematic in *-ē.mi*. To explain the change of primitive *ē* to *ä*, Streitberg, like Bremer, attempts to establish a Teutonic law that "In nicht haupttoniger (flexions-)silbe ändert sich die qualität des *ē*, es wird gemein-

<sup>1</sup> De derivatis Verbis contractis Linguae Graecae (Upsalae, 1876), cap. V.

<sup>2</sup> Die germ. Comparative auf *-as-*. Freibourg, 1890.

<sup>3</sup> Altindisch *dis* > Lateinisch *erds*. Halle, 1891.

germanisch zu *ā*." Hence Goth. *haband* is the direct equivalent of prim. athematic \**ḡaβē-ndi*, and *habais* of prim. thematic \**ḡaβēiz*.<sup>1</sup>

Bartholomae's position is practically the same as that of Streitberg, but he differs from the latter in the method of developing thematic \**habēizi* (Goth. *habais*). Streitberg introduces between \**habēzi* and \**habēizi* an intermediate form \**habēi.izi*, the *ēi* of which "unter dem drucke der übrigen formen sehr früh einsilbig werden musste." As a simpler explanation Barth. (p. 147) proposes "dass man das gotische *habais* direkt auf ein ursprachliches \**khəbhēizi*—so richtiger als \**khəbh\**—bezieht, d. i. ein aorist-praesens aus dem verbal-stamm \**khəbhēi-*, welches sich zu dem durch lat. *habēs* vertretenen aoristpraesens \**khəbhēizi* nicht anders verhält als lit. *buvai* zu *buvo*." Streitberg and Bartholomae agree in considering *ē* of the Old High German conjugation the direct equivalent, not of Gothic *ai*, but of Latin, and hence of Indo-European *ē*. As Johansson makes OHG. *habēm*, *habēs*, *habēt* equivalent to Prim. Teut. \**khəbhaimi*, \**khəbhaisi*, \**khəbhaiði*, so Streitberg makes the same forms equivalent to Prim. Aryan \**khəbhēmi*, etc.<sup>2</sup>

All the scholars who have as yet been mentioned have agreed in identifying the Teutonic *ai*-class with the Latin class in *ē*. A position quite different from that of Mahlow, Kögel, Bremer, was taken by Möller<sup>3</sup> and supported by Sievers.<sup>4</sup> They identify the *ai*-verb with the Greek verb in *-ω-*, Prim. Teut. *-ōjō-*. The original paradigm, then, would run: \**habōjizi*, \**habōjiði*, etc. By contraction *-ōji-* became *-ōi-*, and was then regularly developed into *ai*. According to Möller's law of syncopation, viz. that

<sup>1</sup> Streitberg's just criticism of Mahlow's view with regard to the contraction of *ōi* to *ō* (Die germ. Comp., 6 sq.) is quite as applicable to S.'s own argument: "Wer sie dennoch dazu verwenden wollte, setzt sich dem vorwurf eines zirkelschlusses aus, indem sein ganzer beweis in der behauptung besteht: 'die erklärung der verba auf *-ai-* verlangt, dass *ēi* zu *ai*, *ē* zu *ā*, in nichthaupttoniger silbe wird,' und '*ēi* wird zu *ai*, *ē* zu *ā*, in nichthaupttoniger silbe, weil es die erklärung der verba auf *ai* verlangt.'" Outside the condition of the *ai*-verb itself, the only evidence to be adduced in support of this Teutonic law is found in *fadar* = \**patēr* and *anstai* = \**anstēi*. But *fadar* has without doubt the ending of the agent nouns, while *anstai* is possibly developed, not from \**anstēi*, but from \**anstōi*. See Urspr. auslaut. *ai*, Bezz. Beitr. XVII, p. 27.

<sup>2</sup> The change of *ēi* to *ai*, of *ē* to *ā*, is, according to Streitberg and Bartholomae, a common Teutonic law; still, this common law is inactive in one of the dialects, Old High German. It is hardly evident why one dialect should be exempt from a primitive law.

<sup>3</sup> PBB. VII 472 sq.

<sup>4</sup> PBB. VIII 90-92.

after a short syllable Prim. Teut. *ð* and *ð* were lost,<sup>1</sup> there arose the forms *\*habjð*, *\*habaizi*, *\*habaiði*, etc.

There remains for consideration the recently published theory of Prof. Herman Collitz with regard to the origin of the *ai*-class.<sup>2</sup> Prof. Collitz's essay on the auslaut *ai* in Gothic, Old High German, and Old Saxon has not received as yet wide recognition among scholars, but its importance must be eventually acknowledged. Prof. Collitz has succeeded in placing in a new light the whole question of the nature and origin of the *ai*-conjugation, and proposes a solution of the problem radically different from any that has yet been offered. To begin with the relation between Teutonic *ai*- and Latin *-êre*: "Ich weiche," says Prof. Collitz, "von allen neueren untersuchungen darin ab, dass ich einen unmittelbaren zusammenhang dieser beiden flexionsklassen nicht annehme. Von der bisherigen ansicht sich frei zu machen wird manchem zunächst schwer fallen. Man hat sich gewöhnt vergleichungen wie *haban habêre*, *silan silêre*, *pahan tacêre*, *wilan vidêre*, als vollgültigen beweis für die ursprüngliche identität der beiden verbalklassen anzusehen. Aber den lat. verben auf *-êre* entsprechen im Germanischen auch starke verba: *aukan augêre*, *sitan sidêre*, *ga-pairsan torrêre*, *wakan vegêre*, u. a. Dass mehrere germanische *ai*-verba zusammentreffen, erklärt sich zur genüge daraus, dass jene im Germanischen, diese im Lateinischen, die eigentlich intransitiv- und durativ-klasse bilden. Diese ihre gemeinsame function beruht nicht auf einem directen, sondern auf einem indirecten genetischen zusammenhange. Die lateinischen *ê*-verba berühren sich nach form und bedeutung mit dem griechischen starken passivaoriste. Nimmt man nun mit Johansson (KZ. 30, 553, anm.) an, dass der griech. *η*-aorist des passivs auf einer verallgemeinerung des *ê* beruht, welches in der arischen ursprache auf den auslaut des themas vor gewissen personalendungen beschränkt war, so ist die folgerung unabweislich, dass auch die lateinischen *ê*-verba (und ebenso die entsprechenden bildungen im Griechischen und Letto-slavischen) aus einer eigenheit der arischen medialflexion erwachsen sind. Die lateinische

<sup>1</sup> Johansson, De deriv. Verb. contr. 182, 183; justly opposes Möller's theory of the Teut. syncope, for, he says, "nulla est causa, cur syncopam eiusmodi generis tempore linguae germ. communis probemus, praesertim cum vocales ipsae accentum *êið* prae se ferant, qui non subito mutatum sit." Hence Johansson proposes, not *\*khabhajð*, but *\*khabhið*, for the primitive form.

<sup>2</sup> Beitr. zur Kunde der indogerm. Spr. XVII, p. 1 sqq.

*ē*-conjugation hängt dann mit der german. *ai*-conjugation ebenso nahe zusammen, ohne jedoch mit ihr identisch zu sein, wie in dem formensystem der ursprache die verbalen *ē*-stämme mit den verbalen *ai*-stämmen: das band, welches beide ursprünglich verknüpfte, ist die arische flexion des mediums."

Prof. Collitz lays special stress upon the medial character of the conjugation, holding that in that fact is found the key to the whole problem. He points out that, of the thirty or forty verbs that may be ascribed to Prim. Teut., no more than four or five are derivatives, and these may be proved to be of late development. The *ai*-conjugation should not be treated as a weak conjugation, but as an old middle, which is connected with the weak conjugation only by the fact of their common adoption of an originally medial preterit. The present of the *ai*-verb has active endings, just as the original medial plural endings of the weak pret. were replaced by those of the active. "Wir dürfen aber erwarten, spuren des urspr. mediums noch in den besonderheiten zu finden, welche die praesensflexion der *ai*-verba charakterisieren. Hält man nun zusammen, dass das *ai*- im Urgermanischen sich auf die 2. und 3. person des praesens beschränkte, und dass in der arischen ursprache die 2. und 3. person des duals im praesens medii der 'thematischen conjugation' vor dem dental der endung (nach ausweis der ind. 2. du. *-e-the*, 3. du. *-e-ti* = av. *-ōi-pē*) den ausgang *-oi-* hatten, so liegt der schluss nahe, dass das germanische *-ai-* nicht anders als die fortsetzung des thematischen *-oi-* der 2. und 3. person des duals ist."

It is evident from the preceding historical review of the subject that the discussion from Bopp to Bartholomae has been guided by two assumptions, viz. (1) that the Latin *ē*-verb is the same as the Teutonic *ai*-verb; (2) that the *-j-* of the Anglo-Saxon and Old Saxon is to be ascribed to Prim. Teut. The attempt to account for a *-j-* in the primitive conjugation led to Mahlow's complicated and arbitrary theory; it gave rise to the still more arbitrary, if more logical, view of Bremer. To the same attempt is due the supposition of Johansson, Streitberg, and Bartholomae, that the *ai*-verb resulted from a mixture of two original conjugations. Prof. Collitz alone proposes a solution of the problem which is based upon the Gothic as representative of the original inflection. On this point he says: "Man sieht nicht recht, weshalb z. b. urgerm. *\*habjan* (inf.) und *\*habjð* (1. sing.) im Gotischen sollte durch *haban haba* ersetzt sein. Es ist jedenfalls ebensowohl



möglich von urgerm. \**haban* \**habð* auszugehen und die nordwestgerm. \**habjan* \**habjð* als neuerungen zu fassen."<sup>1</sup>

The object of the present paper is not to enter into the discussion concerning the origin of the *ai*-conjugation, but to give an historical treatment of the *ai*-class and its development. There is much needed at this point, it seems to me, a careful consideration of the conjugation from the Teutonic standpoint. Hitherto, although the *ai*-problem has received its share of attention, no independent study of the verb has appeared. All the various theories referred to above have found expression either incidentally in the consideration of another subject, or in studies of a single aspect of the question. In every case, too, the primary object of study has been to ascertain the origin of the conjugation.

It is my purpose, therefore, to confine my attention to the third weak class as it exists in Teutonic, hoping by that means to reconstruct the Primitive Teutonic *ai*-class and the Primitive Teutonic *ai*-inflection. The reconstruction of the *ai*-class will involve (a) a collection of all the *ai*-verbs that may be ascribed to Primitive Teutonic, (b) a study of the dialectic development of the class.

## PART I.

### A.—*The Primitive Teutonic ai-verbs.*

Two difficulties stand in the way of determining with certainty which of the *ai*-verbs may be ascribed to Primitive Teutonic. The first of these difficulties arises from the fact that the distinction between the three weak classes is in none of the dialects kept with absolute integrity. Even Gothic, which preserves the purity of its forms with much greater consistency than do any of the other dialects, shows beside *hausjan hausjôn*, beside *beistjan beistjôn*; and in the *ai*-class *hatjan* appears beside *hatan*, with no apparent distinction of use or of meaning. In the other dialects, so uncertain are the lines of demarcation between the classes that, without the most cautious comparative study, it is impossible to determine the original condition of any given verb. When we find, for example, in Old High German *sagjan*, *sagên*; *frågên*, *frågôn*, what shall be said about the relative antiquity of the forms? In general it may be assumed that, where we find in Old High

<sup>1</sup> Die Behandl. des urspr. auslaut. -*ai*, 43, note.

German variants in *-ð-* and *-ð-*, or in *-ð-*, *-ð-* and *-j-*, the *-ð-* form is probably the oldest. But this assumption can become a certainty only in case the verb exists in Gothic in the *ai*-inflection, or is an underived verb. That in the case of derivative verbs, where variants are found, the *ð*-form is not necessarily primitive might be evidenced by numerous examples. The following instances are the result of a study of the *ð*-conjugation in OHG. and Gothic:

Gothic *karðn*; OHG. *charðn*, *charlèn* (AgS. *cearian*, *-ode*; OS. *karon*).

Gothic *lapðn*; OHG. *ladðn*, *ladèn* (AgS. *laðian*, *-ode*; OS. *laðoian*).

Gothic *smiþon*; OHG. *smidðn*, *smidèn* (AgS. *smiðian*, *-ode*).

Gothic *tilðn*; OHG. *zilðn*, *zilèn* (AgS. *tilian*, *-ode*; OS. *tilon*).

Here, without doubt, the *ð*-forms are comparatively late, of purely OHG. development.

In doubtful cases AgS. and OSax. are of no practical assistance; for in those dialects the *ai*-conjugation has no longer an independent existence, the original *ai*-verbs still existing there have passed into the *ð*-class. Norse, too, is unreliable, for although it has kept the *ai*-conjugation, the class is a very small one of mixed character; and, moreover, many of the verbs which belonged without doubt to the Prim. Teut. *ai*-class appear in Norse among the verbs of *ð*-inflection or of the *-j-*.

Another difficulty in deciding which were the Prim. Teut. *ai*-verbs lies in the fact that the classes by which the *ai*-conjugation is represented in OHG., AgS. and OSax. are in those dialects the main classes of new formation. Consequently there will be found many denominatives common to the three dialects, having the treatment of *ai*-verbs, and still of late origin. Furthermore, verbs that belonged in Prim. Teut. to other classes may in the dialects be treated as verbs of the *ai*-class. Since in OHG. the third class received special stress as a class of new formation, it is not unnatural that verbs originally of other classes should be drawn into the prevailing class. The same may be said of the second class in AgS. and in OSax.

The following verbs may be ascribed, without hesitation, to Prim. Teut.:

1. Goth. *aistan*; ON. *æsta* (pret. *æsta*).
2. Goth. *arman*; OHG. *armèn*; OS. *armon*; AgS. *earmian*.

3. OHG. *bibēn*<sup>1</sup>; AgS. *bifian*, *beofian*; OS. *bibon*; ON. *bifask*.<sup>2</sup>
4. Goth. *fi(j)an*; OHG. *fiēn*; AgS. *fēon*, *fēogean*; ON. *fjā*.
5. OHG. *folgēn*<sup>3</sup>; AgS. *folgian*, *folgode*<sup>4</sup>; OS. *folgon*.
6. OHG. *frāgēn*<sup>5</sup>; OS. *frāgon*.
7. OHG. *fullēn*; OS. *fullon*; AgS. *fullian*; ON. *fulla* (-*aði*).
8. OHG. *giēn*, *ginēn*<sup>6</sup>; AgS. *ginian*, *geonian*; ON. *gina* (*ginði*).  
Perhaps late formation and not connected with OHG. *giēn*.
9. Goth. *haban*; OHG. *habēn*; OS. *hebbian*; AgS. *habban*; ON. *kafa*.
10. Goth. *hāhan*; OHG. *hangēn*; OS. *hangon*; AgS. *hangian*; ON. *hanga* (only in pret. *hangði* and in present).
11. Goth. *hatan*; OHG. *hazzēn* (rarely *hazzōn*); AgS. *hatian*; OS. *haton*; ON. *hata* (-*aði*).
12. OHG. *hlinēn*<sup>7</sup>; OS. *hlinon*; AgS. *hlinian*, *hleonian*.
13. OHG. *hogēn*<sup>8</sup>; OS. *huggian*; AgS. *hycg(e)an* (late *hogian*).
14. OHG. *klebēn*; AgS. *clifian*, *cleofian*; OS. *clibon*; ON. *klifa* (-*aði*).

<sup>1</sup> Once a form in *-ð-* is found; pret. *ir-bibōten*, Graff, III 22.

<sup>2</sup> In the oldest Norse writers *bifa* is found as a deponent verb. Later the pret. *bifaði* appears in place of the older *bifði*; and with the change in pret. the verb assumes an active meaning. Cf. Cleasby, Vigfusson, 62.

<sup>3</sup> Twice *ð*-forms are quoted, both times from Williram, Graff, III 512.

<sup>4</sup> Note also AgS. *fylg(e)an*, ON. *fylgja*. I am inclined to presuppose for Prim. Teut. two verbs: \**folgan*, represented in AgS. *folgian*, OHG. *folgēn*, OS. *folgon*; \**fulgjan*, represented in AgS. *fylg(e)an*, ON. *fylgja*. Sievers (OE. Gram. 416, n. 5) reckons AgS. *folgian* among those original *ai*-verbs which have in AgS. "a more or less perfect double formation." Such double formations are not infrequent in Prim. Teut.

<sup>5</sup> *ð*-forms are not infrequent in OHG., but the form of the verb shows that *frāgēn* could not have been originally of the *ð*-class. Weak verbs showing in their stem the third ablaut of a strong verb are found only in the *ai*-class or in the *n*-class. Cf. Goth. *fraihnan*, *fraih*, *frēhum*, *fraihans*.

<sup>6</sup> The *n*- must have belonged in Prim. Teut. to the present alone. Cf. also Lat. *hi-are*, Ksl. *sijati* and *sinati*, Fick, 434. The relation between *giēn* and *ginēn* is the same as that between Gothic *keian* and *keinan*.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Gr. *κλινω*, Lat. *in-clino*, *-āre*. Teut. \**hlinan* and causative \**hlainjan* (OHG. *hleinjan*, AgS. *hlēnan*, ON. *hleina*) point to a lost strong verb \**hleinan*, \**hlain*, \**hlinum*. In Teut., as in Latin, the *-n*- originally characteristic of the pres. has extended to the whole conjugation. Cf. *giēn*, *ginēn* above.

<sup>8</sup> In OHG. *hogēn* is found only occasionally with the commoner inflectional forms of *huggan*. Evidently in OHG. the *ai*-verb became confused with the original *j*-verb, \**hugjan* (Goth. *hugjan*, ON. *hyggja*, OHG. *huggan*). Prim. Teut. \**hogan*, \**hugjan* are parallel with Prim. Teut. \**folgan*, \**fulgjan* noticed above. The *j*-forms of AgS. and OS. are not to be assigned to the prim. *j*-verb, but to the AgS. development of the *ai*-inflection.

15. Goth. *kunnan*; OHG. *kunnēn*; OS. *kunnon*; AgS. *kunnian*.
16. Goth. *liban*; OHG. *lebēn*; OS. *libbjan*; AgS. *libban*; ON. *lifa* (-aði).
17. Goth. *leikan*; OHG. *licchēn*; OS. *likon*; AgS. *lícian*; ON. *lika* (-aði).
18. Goth. *\*luban* (in *lubains*); OHG. *lobēn*; OS. *lobon*; AgS. *lofian*; ON. *lofa*. Cf. Lat. *libère* (= *lubère*); Skr. *lúbhyati*.
19. Goth. *maurnan*; OHG. *mornēn*; OS. *mornon*; AgS. *murnde*<sup>1</sup>; ON. *morna*.
20. Goth. *reiran*.<sup>2</sup>
21. Goth. *\*rūnan* (in *rūnains*); OHG. *rūnēn*; AgS. *rúnian*; ON. *rýna*.
22. OHG. *sagēn*; OS. *seggian*; AgS. *secg(e)an*; ON. *segja*.
23. Goth. *sifan*.<sup>3</sup>
24. Goth. *silan*. Cf. Latin *silēre*.
25. Goth. *slavan*.<sup>3</sup>
26. Goth. *skaman*; OHG. *scamēn*; AgS. *scamian*, *sceamian*; ON. *skamma* (-aði).
27. Goth. *saurgan*<sup>4</sup>; OHG. *sorgēn*; OS. *sorgon*; AgS. *sorgian*.
28. OHG. *swigēn*; AgS. *swigian*; OS. *swigon*.
29. Goth. *staurran*; OHG. *storrēn*; ON. *stúra*.
30. OHG. *zalēn*<sup>5</sup>; OS. *talon*; AgS. *talían*; ON. *tala*.
31. Goth. *trauan*; OHG. *trûēn*, *trûwēn*; OS. *trûon*; AgS. *trúvian*; ON. *trúa*.
32. Goth. *þahan*; OHG. *dagēn*; OS. *thagon*; ON. *þegja*.
33. Goth. *þivan*; AgS. *þéowian*.
34. Goth. *þarban*; OHG. *darbēn*; OS. *tharþon*; AgS. *pearfian*; ON. *þarfa*.
35. Goth. *þulan*; OHG. *dolēn*; OS. *tholon*; AgS. *þolian*; ON. *pola*.

<sup>1</sup> In AgS. is found the pret. *mearn*, *murnon* as well as the weak pret. No infinitive occurs.

<sup>2</sup> Prim. *\*ri-rai-mi*, Kluge, PBR. VIII 343; Johansson, Verba contr. 181.

<sup>3</sup> *Sifan* and *slavan* have been lost elsewhere in Teut., and do not appear in the cognate languages. Still, the non-derivative character of the verbs shows that they must be of ancient origin. From their form they could belong to none of the other weak conjugations; hence it seems not too daring to place *slavan* and *sifan* among the Prim. Teut. *ai*-verbs.

<sup>4</sup> *Saurgan*. Apparently a nominal derivative (Goth. *saurga*). Johansson places it among the strong aorist (neuter-passive) formations: *\*sorghé-* or *\*sorghé-*. (De deriv. Verb. contr. 192.)

<sup>5</sup> *Zalēn* is found (but rarely) in OHG.

36. OHG. *wahhên*<sup>1</sup>; AgS. *wacian*; OS. *wakon*; ON. *vaka* (*vakði*) (Goth. *wakan*).

37. Goth. *witan*; OHG. *wizzên* (in *gi-*, *ir-wizzên*); AgS. *wilian*, *weotian*.<sup>2</sup>

38. Goth. *\*wunan* (in *in-vunands*); OHG. *wonên*; OS. *wonon*; AgS. *wonian*.

The preceding verbs may be ascribed with comparative certainty to the Prim. Teut. *ai*-class. To this list might be added certain others which may have been originally *ai*-verbs, but from their present condition it is difficult to say with certainty what was their primitive form:—

1. Gothic *bauan*, *bauaida*; pres. ind. sg. 2 *bauith*, Rom. 7. 18. OHG. *bûen*, *bûwen*, *bûla*; strong pret. part. *gebûwen*. AgS. *bûian*, *bûwian*; *bûda*, *bûida*; st. v. *bûan*; pret. part. *gebûn -bûen -bûn*. OS. (Cott.) *bûon*; (M.) *bûan*, *bûida*. ON. *búa*, *bjó*, *bjóggom*, *búenn*.

It is evident that there must have existed in Prim. Teut. a strong verb *\*bauen*, belonging probably to the reduplicating class.<sup>3</sup> The strong forms of Goth., OHG., AgS. and ON. cannot be of late growth. The weak forms, however, common to all the dialects are puzzling. It is hardly possible that these weak forms were developed independently in the different dialects. Hence we must conclude that in Prim. Teut. the strong inflection of *bauan* was gradually yielding to the invasion of weak forms.

<sup>1</sup> *Wahhên*, *wacian*, etc., is to be distinguished from the st. v. *\*wakan* *\*wok* seen in AgS. *wacan wóc*, Friesian *waka* (pres. part. *wakandon-*), ON. pret. part. *wakinn*. It is not apparent from the forms found in Goth. whether Goth. *wakan* is the strong or the weak verb. See Schulze, *Gothische Glossar*: opt. pres. 1. plu. *wakaima*, 2. plu. *wakaip*; part. pres. *wakandans*. A single *ô*-form is found in OHG. (Graff, I 674). Cf. Lat. *vegère*.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Lat. *vidère*. Still, *vidère* is to be referred directly to Teut. st. v. *\*witan*, not to the *ai*-verb. Teut. *ai*-verb *witan* is simply a derivative from the existent strong verb. *Vidère* and *witan -aida* are not equivalent formations, but are independently developed from the same original strong verb seen in Gr. *εἰδομαι—oida*, Teut. *\*witan*.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Braune, *Ahd. Gram.* §353, anm. 3: "Hierher (reduplicierende verba, klasse II) gehörte ursprünglich *bûan*—jedoch bildet es seine formen im Ahd. regelmässig nach art der schw. verba I." Further, §354, anm. 3 d (*bûan* bei Otfried): "3. pl. ind. pret. *biruun*, IV 459, und 2. sg. conj. pret. *biruwis*, II 7. 18. Von einigen dieser verba giebt es merkwürdige praeterital-bildungen mit innerem *r*, in denen man vielleicht nachklänge der alten reduplications-praeterita sehen darf." See Schmidt, *KZ.* XIX 285.

What was the character of the usurping inflection? Gothic alone shows a consistent *ai*-inflection, the other dialects pointing to an original *j*-formation. Saxon, it is true, has *būon* occurring once in a single MS—the regular Saxon representative of a primitive *ai*-verb. But the only preterit form found in that dialect is of the *j*-class, as it is in OHG. and AgS.

It seems to me that there is but one way out of the difficulty, viz. to presuppose for Prim. Teut., not a complete weak inflection, but simply the development of a dental pret., which took the place of the older reduplicated preterit. Such a development seems not unnatural, if it be remembered that the dental preterit is but a development of the old middle past passive participle—not, therefore, necessarily and exclusively a possession of the weak classes.

As to the original form of the weak preterit, it may be granted that within a strong verb only a preterit without connecting vowel could have arisen. As to *magan* the preterit *mahta*, to *skulan* the preterit *skulda* was formed, we should expect, with the present theory of development, to *bauan* a preterit *\*bauda*. If it be granted that the preterit of the *ai*-conjugation is to be found in the AgS. *hafde*, ON. *hafði*, it is then easy to see how *bauan* was drawn into the *ai*-conjugation. In Gothic *bauda* received the same treatment as did *\*habda*, and developed the corresponding *ai*-forms in the pret. In AgS. and OHG., on the contrary, the pret. fell in naturally with the long-stemmed *j*-verbs; hence the *j*-forms.

*Bauan*, then, belongs to the *ai*-conjugation only thus far, that in Prim. Teut. it developed a dental preterit, equivalent in form to the original preterit of the *ai*-verb.

2. OHG. *borgēn*; AgS. *borgian*.

This verb is possibly a Teutonic verbal derivative formed like *ginēn*. Cf. Goth. *bairgan*, OHG. *bērgan*, AgS. *beorgan*. It is possibly, however, a West Germanic denominative. Cf. AgS. *borg*, OHG. *burgo*. In favor of the former derivation, it might be urged that the nature of the *ai*-conjugation makes nominal derivatives rare. If derived from a verb, *borgēn* might without hesitation be ascribed to Prim. Teut.; the denominative would be comparatively late.

3. OHG. *garawēn*, *garwēn*, *garawjan*, *garōn*, *garēn*; AgS. *gearwian*, *gearwan*; OS. *garuwian*, *gerwian*; ON. *görva*, *görði*.

*Garawên* is possibly an old *ai*-denominative, but the testimony of the dialects is too contradictory to admit of decision.

4. OHG. *hlosên*, *hlosôn*.

*Hlosên* is certainly an old non-derivative belonging to Prim. Teut., but *hlos-nian* of AgS. shows that it may have belonged originally to the *-n*-inflection. Verbs of this latter conjugation pass regularly in OHG. into the *ê*-class; e. g. Goth. *tundnan* = OHG. *zundên*, Goth. *mikilnan* = OHG. *michilên*, etc. In AgS., on the contrary, the *-n*- is often retained.

5. Goth. *hwēilan*; OHG. *hwilôn*; AgS. *hwilian*.

The fact that the *ê*-class is the regular Teutonic class of nominal derivatives makes it probable that, in this case, OHG. and AgS. have preserved the older form.

6. Gothic *\*wanan* (in verbal noun *wanains*); OHG. *wanôn*; AgS. *wanian*.

An old adj. derivative. Goth. *wans*, ON. *vanr*, etc. As to the original form, Gothic alone cannot be considered decisive.

7. Goth. *weihan*; OHG. *wihjan* (Graff, I 724, quotes a single *ê*-form); ON. *vígja*, *vigði*.

It is not certain whether this verb belonged originally to the *ai*- or to the *j*-class. The fact that it is always transitive is testimony in favor of the latter view.

To this list may be added a comparatively large number of denominatives common to OHG. and Sax., to AgS. and OS., or to the three dialects. These denominatives have in West Germanic the treatment of *ai*-verbs, and still are not to be ascribed to Prim. Teut.:—

1. OHG. <i>arnên</i> ( <i>-ôn</i> )		AgS. <i>earnian</i> .
2. <i>baldên</i>		<i>bealdian</i> .
3. <i>dagên</i>		<i>lagian</i> .
4. <i>fârên</i>	OS. <i>fâron</i>	
5. <i>êrên</i>	<i>êron</i>	
6. <i>gebên</i>	<i>gebon</i>	<i>geofian</i> .
7. <i>haflên</i>	<i>hafton</i>	
8. <i>hlúttarên</i>		<i>hluttrian</i> .
9. <i>hriuwên</i>	<i>hriwon</i>	
10. <i>klagên</i>	<i>klagon</i>	

11. OHG. <i>kuolên</i>	OS. <i>côlon</i>	AgS. <i>côlian</i> .
12. <i>lamên</i>	<i>lamon</i>	
13. <i>langên</i>	<i>langon</i>	<i>langian</i> .
14. <i>quekkên</i>	<i>quikon</i>	<i>cwician</i> .
15. <i>rifên</i>	<i>ripon</i>	<i>ripian</i> .
16. <i>wariên</i>	<i>wardon</i>	<i>weardian</i> .

A consideration of the preceding list of original *ai*-verbs brings out certain facts which are of importance for the light they throw upon the original character and function of the class.

(1) Of the thirty-eight verbs that may be ascribed to Prim. Teut., eight only are denominatives, viz. *arman*, *fullên*, *leikan*, *rânan*, *skaman*, *zalên*, *thiwan*, *wunan*.

(2) The following are deverbatives, i. e. verbs coexisting with and derived from strong verbs:

*ginên*—from \**ginan*, \**gain*. (Cf. OHG. *geinjan*, AgS. *gênan*.)  
*klebên*—from \**klîban*. (Cf. OHG. *klîban*, *kleib*, ON. *clîfa*, *cleif*.)  
*hlinên*—from \**hlinan*, \**hlain*. (Cf. OHG. *hleinjan*, ON. *hleina*.)  
*liban*—\**liban*, \**laib*. (Cf. Goth. *ga-leiban*.)  
*hâhan*—st. reduplicating verb \**hanhan*. (Cf. Goth. *hâhan*, OHG. *hâhan*, AgS. *hôn*, etc.)  
*wahhên*—\**wacan*, \**wôc*. (Cf. AgS. *wacan wôc*, ON. pret. part. *vakinn*.)  
*frâgên*—\**frihnan frah*. (Cf. Goth. *fraihtnan*, etc.)

From the pret. pres. verbs *kunnan*, *witan*, *parban* have been developed the *ai*-verbs *kunnan*, *kunnaida*; *witan*, *witaida*; *parban*, *parbaida*.

(3) There remain twenty non-derivatives, viz. *aistan*, *bibên*, *fi(j)an*, *folgên*, *haban*, *hatan*, *hogên*, *luban*, *maurnan*,<sup>1</sup> *reiran*, *sagên*, *sifan*, *silan*, *slavan*, *saurgan*,<sup>2</sup> *swigên*, *staurran*, *trauan*, *pahan*, *pulan*.

A comparison of these non-derivatives with the same verbs as they exist in the cognate languages shows that there, too, they

<sup>1</sup> The AgS. pret. *mearn* (pl. *murnon*) is apparently the remnant of an old strong verb. If such a strong verb existed in Prim. Teut., *maurnan* should be added to the list of verbal derivatives. But the AgS. preterit is possibly a new formation, like the Middle High German *swete*, pret. of *swigan*, beside *swete*.

<sup>2</sup> Johansson, 192.



are non-derivatives. *Aistan* is in Greek αἰδομαι (= \*αιζδομαι).<sup>1</sup> *Bibên* is, according to Fick and Kluge, original \*bhi-bhai-mi, *reiran* is \*ri-rai-mi.<sup>2</sup> Sanskr. *piyati* is Teut. *fi-j-an*; Skr. *çddati*, Teut. *hatan*. Teut. *pulan* is Grk. ἔτλην (cp. ἑτάλασσα); Teut. *sagên*, Grk. ἔνεπε, ἔν-σπε (Lat. *in-sece*).

Reconsider, now, the relation of the Teutonic *ai*-verbs with the Latin verbs in *ê*, upon which so much stress has been laid. The number of Latin and Teutonic equivalents is in reality very small. There are only *haban*, *habêre*; *luban*, *lubêre*; *silan*, *silêre*; *pahan*, *tacêre*; *witan*, *vidêre*. Of these, *vidêre* is of little importance in evidence of the original identity of the two classes, inasmuch as *witan* is apparently a Teutonic derivative. A like development is seen in Teut. *wacan*, *wachên*; Lat. *vegêre*. Furthermore, Prim. Teut. *ai*-verbs may be represented in Latin in other conjugations; e. g. *gi-ên*, Lat. *hiêre*; *hlinên*, Lat. *in-clinêre*; *hatan*, Lat. *cadêre*; *sagên*, Lat. *in-sece*.

The likeness of vocabulary noticeable in the Latin *ê*-class and the Teutonic *ai*-class admits of ready explanation as the result of likeness in function. It would, indeed, be unnatural that two classes, holding the same position in their respective languages, should not have some verbs in common. But identity of function and likeness in vocabulary are not sufficient to prove identity of origin. A more important point of resemblance is seen in the character of the stem-syllable. So much must be conceded to Johansson's theory, that the stem of the Teutonic *ai*-conjugation is not the present stem, that it is the same as that found in the Latin *ê*-class, and that both agree in this respect with the Greek passive η-aorist.<sup>3</sup>

A comparison of the *ai*-inflection with the corresponding *-n-an*-inflection is not without interest. In the latter class the stem shows the third grade of the vowel; e. g. *us-luknan*, from *lûkan*; *tundnan*, from \**tindan* (cf. *tandjan*); *bundnan*, from *bindan*; *lusnan*, from *liusan*; *lifnan*, from *ga-leiban*, etc. The method of formation is the same in the *ai*-deverbatives *klebên*, *hlinên*, *liban*, etc.

<sup>1</sup> Bezenberger, Beitr. IV 313.

<sup>2</sup> For etymology of *bibên* = \**bhi-bhai-mi*, see Fick, Wb.<sup>3</sup> IV, p. 50. and Kluge, KZ. XXVI, p. 85; for *reiran* = \**ri-rai-mi*, Kluge, PBB. VIII 343. See Johansson, De deriv. Verb. contr. 192.

<sup>3</sup> Johansson, 192. •

A further parallel between the two conjugations is seen in their treatment of denominatives. Regularly beside the passive *-ai-* or *-n-an-* verbs might be developed an active causative verb in *-j-*; e. g.

Goth. *haftnan*, AgS. *hæftnian*, ON. *haftna*.

Goth. *haftjan*, AgS. *hæftan*, OHG. *haftjan*.

OHG. *zalên*, OS. *talon*, AgS. *talian*, ON. *tala*.

OHG. *zellan*, OS. *tellian*, AgS. *tellan*, ON. *telja*.

OHG. *hangên*, OS. *hangon*, AgS. *hangian*, ON. *hanga* (st. v.)

OHG. *hengen*.

In both conjugations the denominatives are of late formation.

The Prim. Teut. existence of correlative *ai-* and *j-* formations is further of interest within the *ai-* conjugation itself. In Prim. Teut., without doubt, the difference between the two formations in meaning and function was strictly kept. But in some cases the early distinction was gradually lost, and, in consequence, a confusion of forms arose. Take, for example, the verbs *hatan* and *hatjan*. No distinction is made between them in Gothic; yet the evidence of all the other dialects shows that they were originally independent verbs:—

Goth. *hatan*, OHG. *hazzên*, AgS. *hatian*, OS. *haton*, ON. *hata*.

Goth. *hatjan*, OHG. *hezzen*, AgS. *\*hettan* (*hettende*), OS. *hettjan*.

Another instance of the confusion of inflections is found in *wachên*:—

OHG. *wahhên*, OS. *wakon*, AgS. *wacian*, ON. *vaka*.

Goth. *wakjan*, OHG. *wakjan*, AgS. *\*wæccan* (*wæccende*), ON. *vekja*.

I see no way of accounting for

OHG. *folgên*, AgS. *folgian*, AgS. *fylgian*, ON. *fylgja*

but by presupposing two original verbs *\*folgan* and *\*fulgjan*. The evidence of Goth. *hugjan*, OHG. *hogên* seems to point to two originally related verbs.

This tendency to double formation, having its origin in Prim. Teut., accounts, in part at least, for what Sievers and other grammarians have considered a peculiar treatment of the *ai-* verb in AgS. Sievers (OE. Gram. 416, n. 5) remarks, with regard to

the treatment of the *ai*-verbs in AgS.: "They have either gone over to the second class, or have a more or less perfect double formation, and are thus inflected in both classes: *fylg(e)an—fylgde* and *folgian—folgode*, *tellan—tealde* and *talian—talode*. From *wacian* there is a present participle *wæccende*; and from *hatian*, the present participle *hettende*."<sup>1</sup>

B.— *Treatment of the Original ai-class in the Teutonic Dialects.*

In treating the dialectic development of the *ai*-class, the following points are to be considered:

(a) The relative extent and importance of the conjugation in the various dialects.

(b) The manner in which each dialect preserves and modifies the original characteristics and tendencies of the class.

(c) The condition of the dialects with regard to inflection.

(a) With regard to the first point for discussion—the extent of the *ai*-class in the dialects—the case may be thus stated in general terms: Gothic and Norse are upon practically the same footing in their treatment of the class—in both dialects the verbs are few in number, and nearly all of them are neuters. Anglo-Saxon and Old Saxon have practically lost the inflection, the primitive *ai*-verbs which have been retained in those dialects passing regularly into the *δ*-class. In OHG. alone has this class assumed any importance in the general process of verb-development. There it appears as a very large class, capable of indefinite growth.

The Norse *ai*-class includes the following verbs<sup>2</sup>: *blaka*, *brosa*, *drūpa*, *duga*, *flaka*, *guna*, *gapa*, *gnapa*, *gd*, *glotta*, *grūfa*, *hafa*, *horfa*, *hvalfa*, *kaupa*, *kligja*, *lafa*, *lifa*, *ljá*, *loða*, *luma*, *mara*, *ná*, *sama*, *segja*, *sóma*, *skolla*, *skorta*, *spara*, *stara*, *stúra*, *tjd*, *trúa*, *ugga*, *una*, *vaka*, *vara*, *pegja*, *pola*, *póra*, *prasa*. The number of original *ai*-verbs among these is small: *hafa*, *lifa*, *segja*, *trúa*, *pola*, *pegja*, *una* and *vaka*. The rest of the primitive verbs of the third class have passed either into the *j*- or into the *δ*-class.

Norse *δ*-verbs originally *ai*-verbs are *fjá-fjáði*, *hata-hataði*, *lika-likaði*, *skamma-skammaði*, *sorga-sorgaði*. Norse verbs in

<sup>1</sup> It should be noted that *wæccende*, *hettende*, have been preserved, not as present participles of *wacian*, *hatian*, but as participial nouns.

<sup>2</sup> See Wimmer, §150; Noreen, §434.

*j*- originally in *ai*- are *bifa-bifði* (late *bifaði*), *æsta-æsti*, *rýna-rýndi*. The pret. *hangði*, used interchangeably with *hekk*, should perhaps be counted among the Norse representatives of the *ai*-class.

In AgS. the sole remnants of the original class are *habban*, *libban*, *secg(e)an*, *hycg(e)an*. The other verbs classed by Sievers with these to form the third weak conjugation—viz. *ðréag(e)an*, *sméag(e)an*, *féog(e)an*, *fréog(e)an*—do not, with the exception of *féog(e)an*, belong to the original *ai*-class. They may, moreover, be accounted for regularly as contract verbs of the second class. Take, for example, *fréog(e)an*, which by the regular laws of contraction is thus derived: Goth. *frijón* = AgS. *fréon*. In accordance with AgS. development, *fréon* becomes *fréog(e)an*. Now, if this verb has in AgS. the inflection of *habban*, *secg(e)an*, etc., there should be umlaut in the infinitive, the first person sing. pres. ind., etc. "The original inflection," says Sievers,<sup>1</sup> "is more clearly perceptible in Ps. than in WS." But the *i* of Ps. *frigan* is not necessarily the *i*-umlaut of *éo*. It is found not infrequently where umlaut is impossible, and can only be considered a dialectic treatment of *eo* before *g*. For example, *wriga* is quoted for WS. *wréon*, *tih* for *téoh*,<sup>2</sup> *fligu* and *ligende* for *fléogu* and *fléogende*.<sup>3</sup>

The following process of development seems possible:

Pres. ind. sg. 1, ( <i>sealf-ie</i> )	= WS. <i>fréo-ge</i>	= Ps. <i>fri-gu</i> .
2, <i>frij-ðst</i>	= <i>fréost</i>	= <i>fréast</i> . <sup>4</sup>
3, <i>frij-ðp</i>	= <i>fréoð</i>	= <i>fréað</i> , <i>fréoð</i> .
pl. 1, 2, 3, ( <i>sealf-iað</i> )	= <i>fréo-gað</i>	= <i>fri-gað</i> .
imp. sg. 2, <i>frij-ð</i>	= <i>fréo</i>	= <i>fréa</i> .
pl. 2, ( <i>sealf-iað</i> )	= <i>fréo-g(e)að</i>	= <i>fri-gað</i> .
Pret. ind. <i>frij-ðde</i>	= <i>fréode</i>	= <i>fréode</i> , <i>fréade</i> .

The inflection of *féogan* is exactly the same as that of *fréog(e)an*, the Ps. forms being *figan-figu*, *féast*, *féað*, *figað-féa*, *figað*, *féade*. In the same way, *sméag(e)an* may be conceived as a contract verb of the *ð*-class, the *é* of *smégan*, *smégu* being the regular dialectic representative of *éa* before *g* (Sievers, 163).

<sup>1</sup> OE. Gram. 416, n. 4.

<sup>2</sup> OE. Gram. 383.

<sup>3</sup> OE. Gram. 165.

<sup>4</sup> Sievers, §166, 3: "WG. *i*, *a* (from *o*) gives *ea* in Ps.: *fréa*, beside *fréo*: North. *frío*, *fréo*." Also WS. *fréo*.

The possible development, then, might be thus expressed: \**smauðn* = *sméa(a)n* = AgS. *smedg(e)an* = Ps. *smégan*; AgS. *sméage* = Ps. *smégu*; \**smauðst* = AgS. *sméa(a)st*; \**smauðp* = AgS. *sméa(a)ð* = WS. *sméag(e)að* = Ps. *smégað*, etc.

Such a process of elimination reduces the third class in AgS. to the condition of the same class in OS., where there remain only *hebbian*, *libbian*, *huggian* and *seggian*.

(ð) The Saxon dialects, as has been seen, have no independent *ai*-class. Consequently they are thrown out of the consideration in treating the extent to which the dialects preserve and modify the original characteristics. But while AgS. and OS. yielded the *ai*- in favor of the *ð*-inflection, OHG. seized upon the central characteristic of the original conjugation as the basis of development for an important class. As Jacobi (*Beiträge zur deutschen Gram.*) long ago pointed out, very few of the OHG. *ê*-class are transitive verbs.

By means of such emphasis upon the passive nature of the original class, OHG. pushed to its farthest extreme that power of double formation seen already in Prim. Teut. The *ê*- and *j*-formations became thus active and passive counterparts, any adjective being capable of taking either form. *Bald* appears in *baldjan*, where the meaning to *embolden* is required, while *baldên* simply states the possession of the quality of boldness. The significance of the *ai*-development in OHG. may be illustrated by a consideration of the Gothic *j*-class as represented in OHG.: Goth. *blindjan* is OHG. *blinden*, to blind; *blintên*, to be or to become blind. Goth. *dróbbjan* is OHG. *truoben*, to trouble; *truobên*, to be troubled. Goth. *haftjan* is OHG. *heftan*, to bind; *haftên*, to be bound. Goth. *hardjan* is OHG. *hardjan*, to harden; *hardên*, to become hard. Goth. *hailjan* is OHG. *heilen*, to cure, save; *heilên*, to heal. Goth. *hveitjan* is OHG. *hwitzjan*, to whiten; *hwitên*, to be white. Goth. *lauhatjan* is OHG. *lohazzen*, *lohazên*, both intransitive. Goth. *marzjan* is OHG. *marrjan*, to impede; [*marren*], MHG. *marren*, to stop (i. e. to be impeded). Goth. *warmjan* is OHG. *warmjan*, to warm; *warmên*, to become warm. Examples might be quoted indefinitely in further illustration of the point.

In Saxon and Anglo-Saxon it is noticeable that the *ð*-conjugation exercises, in a certain measure, the passive function belonging

in Prim. Teut. to the *ai*-class. The explanation of this can only be that, with the passage of the *ai*-verbs into the *ð*-conjugation, the power of passive formation was transferred to the latter. So there arose such verbs as the following, which preserved, throughout the AgS. period, their old distinction of form: *earmian*, to be wretched, *yrman*, to render wretched; *bealdian*, to be bold, *byldan*, to embolden; *cólian*, to be cold, *célan*, to cool; *drúgian*, to become dry, *drýgan*, to dry; *blácian*, to be pale, *blæcan*, to bleach (i. e. to make pale); *cépian*, to buy, *cýpan*, to sell (i. e. to cause to buy); *cwacian*, to tremble, *cweccan*, to cause to tremble; *forhtian*, to be afraid, *fyrhtan*, to cause fear; *latian*, to be late, *lettan*, to hinder (i. e. to make late); *wearmian*, to be warm, *wyrman*, to make warm. Many other AgS. double formations occur, which keep the old distinction of form but preserve no trace of the old difference of meaning. For example, *beorhtian*, *byrhtian*, to shine; *fullian*, *fyllan*, both meaning 'to fill' and 'to fulfil'; *stalian* and *stellan*, to establish; *dóman*, *dêman*, to judge.<sup>1</sup> Old Saxon shows traces of a like development in *hafton*, *heftian*; *hardon*, *herdian*; *stillon*, *stillian*; *twiflon*, *twiflian*; *wakon*, *wekkian*.

The question now arises, How does it happen that the characteristic development of the *ai*-class is not found in Gothic and Old Norse? The explanation is contained in the development of the *-n-an*-class in those dialects. The two classes held, of course, the same position in Primitive Teutonic. But in West Germanic the *ai*-inflection was developed as the class of passive formation, while in East Germanic a parallel development took place with the *-n-an*-inflection. The parallel is made the more striking by the fact that the *-n-an*-class in Norse, like the *ai*-class in AgS., passed into the *ð*-conjugation. Gothic, then, alone bears evidence to the development of the medial *-n-an*-inflection as a means of constructing passive denominatives corresponding to active and causative *j*-verbs; e. g. (see Meyer, *Die gotische Sprache*, §§213, 214) *ga-batnan*, to be of use, *ga-batjan*, to make use of; *ga-blindnan*, to be blind, *ga-blindjan*, to make blind; *af-daubnan*, to be or to become hardened, *af-daubjan*, to render

<sup>1</sup> This peculiarity of the *ai*-development may account for many irregularities in the AgS. weak verbs. For example, *adrúgde* (Sievers, 416, n. 5) may be, not an old *ai*-pret., but the result of confusion between *drúgode* and *drýgde*. From *longian* 'to long for' and *lengan* 'to lengthen,' there arose the verb *lengian*.

hard; *drōbnan*, to be disheartened, *drōbbjan*, to dishearten; *af-dumbnan*, to become dumb, *af-dumbjan*, to make dumb; *fullnan*, to be full, *fulljan*, to fill; *haftnan*, to hang (intr.), *haftjan*, to hang (tr.), etc.

Numerous examples might be quoted in direct support of the parallelism existing in East and West Germanic with regard to their respective development of the two conjugations. A few may suffice. Take, for instance, the already quoted example of verbal derivatives from Teut. \**blind-s*: East Germ., Goth. *btindnan*, *blindjan*, ON. *blindna*, West Germ., OHG. *blintên*, *blintjan*. From *hail-* are formed EG., Goth. *hailnan*, *ga-hailjan*, WG., OHG. *heilên*, *heiljan*, AgS. *hælan*. From *mikil-*: Goth. *mikilnan*, *mikiljan*, OHG. *mihhilên*, AgS. *miclian*, *miclan*. From *hard-*: ON. *hardna*, *herda*, OHG. *hartên*, *hartjan*, OS. *hardon*, *herdjan*. From *bat-*: (Goth. *batiza*) Goth. *ga-batnan*, ON. *batna*, OHG. *bazên*. From *fast-*: ON. *fastna*, *festa*, OHG. *fastên*, *fastjan*. In some cases the two tendencies are not distinct; for AgS. has still traces of the *-n-an*-verb, while Norse and Gothic preserve the *ai*-inflection. Thus the condition of *wakan* receives explanation: E. Germ., Goth. *wakjan*, ON. { *vaka*, *wakna*, *vekja*; W. Germ., OHG. *wahhên*, *wecchen*, OS. *wakon*, *wekkjan*, AgS. { *wacian*, *wæccan*. Again, Goth. *haftnan*, *haftjan*, ON. *haftna*, OHG. *haftên*, *heftan*, OS. *hafton*, *heftjan*, AgS. *hæftnian*, *hæftan*. By the development of the *-n-an*-conjugation, the passive function of the *ai*-verb was lost sight of in Gothic, as is shown, for example, in *weihan*, *-aida*, to hallow; *weihnan*, to become holy. OHG. in this case has *wihjan*, ON. *vigja*.<sup>1</sup>

(c) In order to represent the inflectional condition of the third weak class in Teutonic, it will be natural to compare the regular

<sup>1</sup> As in AgS. the passage of the *ai*-verbs into the *ð*-class gave to that class the passive function, so in Norse the same function was given to the *ð*-class by the entrance into it of the *-n-an*-verbs. This is evidenced by the many double formations in Norse used without distinction of meaning; e. g. *duna-dunaði*: *dynja-dundi*; *ein-kunna-kunnaði*, *-kynna-kynti*; *fegra-fegraði*, *fegra-fegrði*; *fiska-fiskaði*, *fiskja-fiskði*; *frosta-frostaði*, *frysta-frysti*; *glada-gladaði*: *gleðja-gladdi*. These must have been originally active and passive correlatives.

inflection in each of the other dialects with that in the Gothic.  
To begin with OHG.:

	From Goth.	we expect in OHG.	but find
Ind. pres. sg. 1,	<i>haba</i>	* <i>habu</i>	<i>habēm</i>
2,	<i>habais</i>	<i>habēs</i>	
3,	<i>habaiþ</i>	<i>habêt</i>	
pl. 1,	<i>habam</i>	* <i>habam-ēs</i>	<i>habēmēs</i>
	<i>habaiþ</i>	<i>habêt</i>	
	<i>haband</i>	* <i>habant</i>	<i>habênt</i>
Opt. pres. sg. 2,	<i>habais</i>	<i>habēs</i>	
3,	<i>habai</i>	1 + 3, <i>habē</i>	
pl. 1,	<i>habaima</i>	<i>habēm</i>	
2,	<i>habaiþ</i>	<i>habêt</i>	
3,	<i>habaina</i>	<i>habên</i>	
Imp. sg. 2,	<i>habai</i>	<i>habē</i>	
pl. 1,	<i>habam</i>	* <i>habam-ēs</i>	<i>habēmēs</i>
2,	<i>habaiþ</i>	<i>habêt</i>	
Ind. pret.	<i>habuida</i>	<i>habêta</i>	

Mahlow (Die langen Vocale) sees a difficulty in considering OHG. *ê* the equivalent of Goth. *ai*; for, he maintains, the regular OHG. treatment of Goth. *ai* is seen in *arabeit* (Goth. *arbaiþs*). In the Alemannian opt. *hafteie*, *hafteiest* Mahlow finds the desired form. The objections to this view are: (1) *ei* of Alemannian opt. is not an original diphthong, but a writing for *ej* (sometimes *eg*), the *j* of which was introduced late to separate *êe*, the reg. Alem. opt. ending; (2) unaccented Goth. *ai*, not auslaut, becomes *ê* outside the conj., e. g. Goth. *blindaim* = OHG. *blintēm*. The *ai* in *arabeit* has received the treatment of *ai* in accented syllables, because of its strong secondary stress.

The OHG. inflection, then, is in all respects that of the Goth., save that the Goth. strong forms in the present are replaced by regular forms in *ê*.

In Norse it is more difficult than in OHG. to recognize the original end-vowels; for in the process of development the original conditions have been obscured, so that forms once distinct fall together. For example, the endings of the long-syllable verbs of the first class are no longer to be distinguished from those of the third, in spite of the difference in origin. In the present case the strong optative shows the regular develop-



ment of the vowel in unaccented syllables; e. g. Goth. *fallan*, *fallais*, *fallai* = ON. *falla*, *faller*, *-ir*, *falle*, *-i*.<sup>1</sup> Contrary to OHG., *ai* in unaccented syllables not auslaut has in Norse the same treatment as auslaut *ai*. Thus, then, the Goth. and ON. *ai*-inflections may be compared:—

	Goth. <i>trauan</i> .	Expected Norse forms.	Variations.
Ind. pres. sg. 1,	<i>traua</i>	* <i>trý</i> (?)	<i>trúe</i> , <i>-i</i>
2,	<i>trauais</i>	2 + 3, <i>trúer</i> , <i>-ir</i>	
3,	<i>trauaiþ</i>		
pl. 1,	<i>trauam</i>	<i>trúm</i>	
2,	<i>trauaiþ</i>	<i>trúeð</i> , <i>-ið</i>	
3,	<i>trauand</i>	<i>trúa</i>	
Opt. pres. sg. 1,	<i>trauan</i>	<i>trúa</i>	
2,	<i>trauais</i>	<i>trúer</i> , <i>-ir</i>	
3,	<i>trauai</i>	<i>trúe</i> , <i>-i</i>	
pl. 1,	<i>trauaima</i>	<i>trúem-im</i>	
2,	<i>trauaiþ</i>	<i>trúeð</i> , <i>-ið</i>	
3,	<i>trauaina</i>	<i>trúe</i> , <i>-i</i> (?)	
Imp. sg. 2,	<i>trauai</i>	<i>trúe</i> , <i>-i</i>	
pl. 1,	<i>trauam</i>	<i>trúm</i>	
2,	<i>trauaiþ</i>	<i>trúeð</i> , <i>-ið</i>	
Ind. pret. <i>trauaida</i>		* <i>trúeði</i> , <i>-iði</i>	<i>trúði</i>
Part. pret. <i>trauaiþs</i>		* <i>trúðiðr-trúit</i>	<i>trúat</i>

<sup>1</sup> In the present system ON. reflects, with even more faithfulness than does OHG., the condition of the Gothic verb. In the pret., however, ON. differs from both the other dialects. There is no doubt that in ON. the pret. part. as well as the pret. ind. had originally the short form. The part. in *-aðr-at* is a comparatively late development, after the analogy of the *ð*-inflection. Remnants of the older conditions are found in *gáðr* to the verb *gá*, in *horft* to *horfa*, *skort* to *skorta*, *spart* to *spara*, *þolt* to *þola*, etc.<sup>2</sup>

Between Norse and the Saxon dialects the point of contact lies in the common forms of the pret. In the inflection of the present, however, Saxon and Anglo-Saxon differ entirely from the other dialects:—

<sup>1</sup> See Noreen, Altnord. Gram. 442; Collitz, Die Behandlung des urspr. auslaut. *ai*, p. 48.

<sup>2</sup> Noreen, 434, 435.

	Expected Sax. forms.			Actual inflection.	
	Goth. <i>haban</i> .	Sax. * <i>haban</i> .	AgS. * <i>hafan</i> .	Sax. <i>hebbian</i> .	AgS. <i>habban</i> .
Ind. pres. sg. 1, <i>haba</i>		* <i>habu</i>	* <i>hafu</i>	<i>hebbiu</i>	<i>hæbbe</i>
2, <i>habais</i>		<i>habes</i>	<i>hafas</i>	<i>habas, -es</i>	<i>hafas(t)</i>
3, <i>habaiþ</i>		<i>habeth</i>	<i>hafað</i>	<i>habath, -eth</i>	<i>hafað</i>
pl. 2, <i>habaiþ</i>		* <i>habeth</i>	* <i>hafað</i>	<i>hebbiath</i>	<i>hæbbað</i>
Opt. sg. 1, <i>habau</i>		* <i>haba</i>	* <i>hafa</i>	<i>hebbie</i>	<i>hæbbe</i>
Ind. pret. <i>habaida</i>		* <i>habeda</i>	* <i>hafada</i>	<i>habda</i>	<i>hæfda</i>
Part. pret. <i>habaiþs</i>		* <i>habeth</i>	* <i>hafad</i>	<i>habd</i>	<i>hæfd</i>
Imp. <i>habai</i>		* <i>haba</i>	* <i>hafa</i>	<i>haba-e</i>	<i>hafa</i>

The *-i*-forms of the Cotton MS are noteworthy, e. g. Cott. *habis*, *habi* against Mon. *habas*, *habes*. Prof. Collitz<sup>1</sup> points out that this *-i*- is late, introduced into the inflection from the *j*-conj. Prof. Collitz's position is justly taken, for the *-as*, *-es*-forms of the Mon. could not be explained on the basis of the Cott. inflection. Moreover, the Cott. MS has *habes* once, while the absence of umlaut in *habis* shows that the formation must be late.

With regard to AgS. the question arises, Are *hafast*, *hafað* the equivalents of Goth. *habais*, *habaiþ*? They are apparently *ð*-forms: from the condition of Old Sax. we should expect *-es*, *eð*. In Old Sax. *ai*- in unaccented syllables not auslaut has the same treatment as auslaut *ai*.<sup>2</sup> The same is apparently true in AgS., e. g. optative pl. ending *-en* = Goth. *-aina*. Still, it is further true that AgS. shows *-an* interchanging with *-en*, like that of Mon. *habas-es*, though the *a* in AgS. is less common. The stages of development in AgS. would seem to be, then, *-aina*, *-an*, *-en*. It seems to me most probable that *hafast*, *hafað* are not *ð*-forms, but that the older *a* from *ai* has been preserved from the influence of the *ð*-inflection. AgS. *hæfst*, *hæfð*, the common forms in prose (see Sievers, AgS. Gram. 416, n. 1; Cosijn, Altwestsächsische Gram. 133), cannot, however, come directly from *hafast*, *hafað*, but presuppose *hæfest*, *hæfeð*. The latter forms occur in Northumbrian, as will be at once seen in examining, for instance, the Lindisfarne Gospels (Durham Book) and the Rushworth MS. In the Gospel of St. Matthew<sup>3</sup> the following variants are found: 2 sg. *hæfest* (R.), *hæfes* (L.); 3 sg. (*be*)-*haves-hæfis* (L.), *hæfeð* (R. + L.), *hæfð* (R.). The forms *hæfest* (*hæfst*), *hæfð* (*hæfeð*) bear the same relation to *hafast*, *hafað* that Mon. *habas*, *habath*

<sup>1</sup> Urspr. auslaut. *ai*, 43.

<sup>2</sup> For AgS. auslaut *ai* see Collitz, Urspr. auslaut. *ai*, p. 47.

<sup>3</sup> The Gospel according to St. Matthew in AgS., North. and Old Mercian. Edited by Kemble and Skeat.

bear to Mon. *habes, habeth*. Imp. *hæfe*, too, occurs in the North. Gospel as *habe* in the Heliand.

To sum up the important points regarding the inflectional condition of the *ai*-class in Teutonic:—Goth. and OHG. are on the same footing, but, at the same time, OHG. has not the strong forms of the Goth.; ON. agrees in the present system with OHG., but has a preterit without connecting vowel; AgS. and OS. in the present system agree with Goth., OHG. and ON. only in the form of 2d and 3d sg. pres. ind., everywhere else in the present *j*-forms occur. The Saxon preterit is the same as that of the Norse.

In addition to the small groups of verbs representing the *ai*-class in AgS., there are a few verbs of the *ð*-class which have the shortened pret. of the *ai*-verbs, and are therefore sometimes reckoned with them. But only in case the verb was an original *ai*-verb is it safe to argue from the short pret. an earlier *ai*-inflection. The prets. *swīgde, licde, murnde*<sup>1</sup> are without doubt remnants of an older condition. Sievers considers indicative of a like development such forms as *plægde, gepingde, gedrügde*, beside *drügade, plagade, pingede*.

There is, however, positive evidence to show that irregularities of this kind may find sufficient explanation in the instability of the AgS. *-ð*- and *-j*-classes. By the presence in AgS. of a *-j*- in the *-ð*-inflection, the two conjugations are brought together; hence, confusion arises. In Grein's *Sprachsatz* are found the following striking instances of changing inflection: *æmettan, æmetian; ehtan, ehtian (eahtan, eahtian); gearwian, gearwan, gyrwan; hlynian* (in pret. *hlynode*), *hlynnan; hwearfan, hwearfian; plegan* (only inf.), *plegian* (only pret.); *swarian, swerian; wrixlian, wrixlan*. This point is quite distinct from that noted above, of the original power of forming passive verbs, with correlatives in the active *j*-class. Still, as the original functions are obscured in AgS., and old distinctions have lost their original force, it becomes almost impossible to determine when the double formation is old, and when it comes from a comparatively late confusion of inflections.

Departures from the regular inflection may be noted here in passing. In OHG. occasional short preterits are found like those of AgS. and Norse; e.g. *frâgda (frâgta, frâcta)*, Graff, III 814; *haptâ* (Frg. 4 times, Is. 1), Graff, IV 726; *hogta*, Graff, IV 786: occasional *j*-forms; *hebis, hebit; segis, segit; libis, libit; libita,*

<sup>1</sup> Sievers, *Zur Flexion der schwachen Verba*, PBB. VIII 90.

*habita* (*hebita*). In ON. *hafa*, *segja*, *pegja* have a mixed *ai*- and *j*-inflection.

(*d*) The common *ð*-tendency. In all the dialects outside of Gothic there is a decided tendency toward the *ð*-development. Norse, perhaps, shows this to a degree less marked than any of the other dialects; still, the tendency is there unmistakable. Certain of the verbs having a full *ai*-inflection are at the same time fully or partially inflected with the second class, i. e. *trúa* (in *mistrúa*), *gana*, *blaka* (pret. only in *ð*), *spara*. The *ð*-past part. has almost replaced the older one without vowel, e. g. *spar(a)t*, *þol(a)t*, *dugat*, *unat*, etc. Six of the Prim. Teut. *ai*-verbs have passed over entirely into the *ð*-conjugation: *fulla*, *fullaði*; *hata*, *hataði*; *lika*, *likaði*; *skamma*, *skammaði*; *sorga*, *sorgaði*; *tala*, *talaði*.

The explanation of the Norse *ð*-tendency is to be found in the general condition of the weak verbal development in that dialect. The second weak class is in Norse the largest and most important class, including the original fourth and second. On the other hand, the third class is small and unimportant, holding no active, independent position in the language. Furthermore, the second and third classes are brought together by the lack of umlaut throughout the inflection. It is not unnatural that the more important conj. should tend to absorb the less important, especially where the two are so nearly allied in form as they are in ON.

In OHG. the intrusion of *ð*-forms into the *ð*-inflection is very common. Piper's edition of Otfried gives the following interchanging forms found in that text alone: *êrên*, *êrôn*; *fagên*, *fagôn*; *frâgên*, *frâgôn*; *holên*, *holôn*; *klagên*, *klagôn*; *korên*, *korôn*; *lobên*, *lobôn*; *losên*, *losôn*; *manên*, *manôn*; *mêrên*, *mêrôn*; *riuwên*, *riuwôn*; *sparên*, *sparôn*; *suftên*, *suftôn*; *sworgên*, *sworgôn*; *thionên*, *thionôn*; *tholên*, *tholôn*; *werdên*, *werdôn*; *werên*, *werôn*; *wernên*, *wernôn*; *wisên*, *wisôn*; *wonên*, *wonôn*; *zalên*, *zalôn*. Besides the original *ai*-verbs found in this list, still others belong here: *bibên*, *bibôn* (found once); *folgên*, *folgôn*; *ginên*, *ginôn*; *habên*, *habôn* (in a single text, see Graff, IV 723 sq.); *hlinên*, *hlinôn*; *trâên*, *trâôn*; *wahhên*, *wahhôn*; *hlosên*, *hlosôn*.

The tendency, however, to the *ð*-inflection is not in OHG. peculiar to the third class, as is evident from the fact that the same tendency is characteristic of the OHG. *j*-development, e. g. Goth. *ambatjan* = OHG. *ambahten*, *ambatôn*; Goth. *arbatdjan* = OHG. *arbeiten*, *arbeitôn*; Goth. *gaumjan* = OHG. *goumjan*, *goumôn*; Goth. *hrainjan* = OHG. *hreinjan*, *reinôn*; Goth. *hug-*

*garjan* = OHG. *hungaren*, *hungarôn*; Goth. *lausjan* = OHG. *lösjan*, *losôn*; Goth. *stainjan* = OHG. *steinen*, *steinôn*; Goth. *taiknjan* = OHG. *zeichnen*, *zeichnenôn*; Goth. *tamjan* = OHG. *zamjan*, *zamôn*; Goth. *timrjan* = OHG. *zimbaren*, *zimbarôn*; Goth. *twelfjan* = OHG. *zwifelen*, *zwifelôn*; Goth. *wagjan* = OHG. *weggen*, *wagôn*; Goth. *waltjan* = OHG. *walzen*, *walzôn*; Goth. *wandjan* = OHG. *wenden*, *wandôn*.

The natural conclusion to be drawn from these facts is that in OHG. the  $\delta$ -tendency in the  $\ell$ -conjugation cannot be explained on the ground of likeness of form, for the two inflections are kept quite distinct; while the condition of the  $j$ -class shows that we must look upon this interchange of inflection, not as a characteristic of the  $\ell$ -class, but of the OHG. weak-verb system. In view, however, of the fact that nearly every verb in AgS. and OS. originally of the *ai*-inflection has passed into the  $\delta$ -class, may it not be possible to extend our view still further, and to look upon the  $\delta$ -tendency as a characteristic neither of OHG. nor of AgS. independently, but of Prim. West Germanic? In OHG. such a tendency would be checked by the development of the  $\ell$ -class in that dialect. In AgS., on the other hand, as in ON., the  $\delta$ -class became all-important, and practically absorbed the third class.

It is not necessary to suppose that the original *ai*-verbs that have been preserved in AgS. in the  $\delta$ -class had an earlier inflection like that of *habban*, *libban*, etc., any more than that Norse *hata*, *hataði*; *skamma*, *skammaði*, etc., were developed from the Norse *ai*-inflection. That certain of the verbs did know such a development, however, *licde*, *murnde*, *swigde*, noted above, would seem to prove. The process of transition from the *ai*-class to the  $\delta$ - is exhibited by two AgS. verbs of the *habban* group, *libban*, *hycg(e)an* (Sievers' AgS. Gram. 415):—

Ind. pres. sg. 1, <i>libbe</i>	<i>lifge</i>	<i>hycge</i>	
<i>*lifast</i>	<i>leofast</i> <sup>1</sup>	<i>hogast</i>	
<i>lifað</i>	<i>leofað</i>	<i>hogað</i>	
pl. <i>libbað</i>	<i>lifgað</i>	<i>hycg(e)að</i>	<i>hogiað</i> <sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The forms *leofast*, *leofað* seem to me late formations, after the analogy of the  $\delta$ -inflection, for the breaking of *i* to *eo* argues a following *o*—or *a* from *o*. The AgS. *a* from original *ai* would produce no such effect upon the vowel. Hence the expected form would be *lifast*, but a confusion of *a* from *ai* with *a* from  $\delta$  has given rise to *leofast*.

<sup>2</sup> Dietrich, ZfDA. IX 216, points out that *hogian* does not appear until the time of Alfred, though *hogode* existed earlier. With Aelfric *hycg(e)an* has been abandoned; the regular  $\delta$ -inflection—*hogige*, *hogast*, *hogað*, *hogiað*, etc.—is used.

Opt. pres.	<i>libbe</i>	<i>lifge</i>	<i>hycge</i>	
Imperative sg.	* <i>lifa</i>	<i>liofo</i>	<i>hoga</i>	
	<i>libbað</i>	<i>lifgað</i>	<i>hycg(e)að</i>	<i>hogiað</i> ( <sup>Presl-ter</sup> )
Infinitive,	<i>libban</i>	<i>lifg(e)an</i>	<i>hycg(e)an</i>	
Part. pres.	<i>libbende</i>	<i>lifgende</i>	<i>hycgende</i>	
	<i>lifde</i>	LWS. <i>leofode</i>	<i>hogde</i>	<i>hogode</i>
Part. pret.	<i>ge-lifd</i>			<i>ge-hogod</i>

But this AgS. treatment of *libban*, *hycg(e)an* is comparatively late, and cannot be considered typical of the earlier development. The process of change from *libban* to *lifgan* is made under purely AgS. conditions, in accordance with AgS. phonetic laws. But the earlier development, which must have been made in common with Old Saxon, cannot have been the same in character, nor can it receive the same explanation.

Sievers<sup>1</sup> finds an explanation for the passage of primitive *ai*-verbs into the *ð*-class in a Prim. Teut. relation between the two classes. The *ð*-inflection, Sievers maintains, goes back to prim. *ð-jð*, the *ai*-inflection to prim. *ø-jo*. "Von den langsilbigen aus muss wohl die berührung mit der *ð*-klasse im sächsisch-friesisch-englischen ausgegangen sein. Hier war der grundtypus, z. b. *salbðjð*, *salbðjizi*. . . . Standen sich nun z. b. ein *airðjð*, *airaiz* (= AgS. *āriu*, *āras*) und *salbðjð*, *salbðz* (= AgS. *sealfu*, *sealfas*) zur seite, so konnten sie leicht einander assimiliert werden, als das mittlere *-ð-* der letzteren anfang gekürzt zu werden." The weakness in the argument is that one theory rests upon another still unproved and of doubtful validity. If it could be proved that the conj. in *-ai-* points to primitive *-øjo-*, it would, it is true, be easy to understand the relation between the *ai-* and the *ð*-conjugations.

Another attempt to explain the relation between the second and third weak conjugations has been made by Bartholomae. He presupposes a prim. interchange of *-ai* and *-ei* in the *ai*-conj. itself. "Es genügt mir," says Bartholomae,<sup>2</sup> "dargetan zu haben, dass für das gotische *habaiþ* ein ursprachliches aoristpraesens \**khabhēiti* vorausgesetzt werden muss. War aber ein solches vorhanden, so ist bei dem sonstigen zusammengehen der *ē*- und *ā*-konjugation auch die existenz einer gleichartig-gebildeten praesensform auf *-āiti* von vornherein sehr wahrscheinlich. . . . Goth. *-aiþ* kann ebensowohl auf idg. *-āiti* als auf *-ēiti* beruhen." The argument is far from convincing. If *-ēi-* and *āi-*, *ā-* and *ē-*

<sup>1</sup>PBB. VIII 90-94.<sup>2</sup>Altind. *āsiṅ*, etc., p. 152.

did fall together in Prim. Teut., it is difficult to see how the *ai*- and *ð*-conjugations came to have an independent existence in Teutonic.

With regard, then, to the relation between the second and third conjugations, the matter stands thus: a general tendency toward *ð*-forms, seen not only in Anglo- and Old Saxon, but in Norse and OHG., seems to point to an early affinity between the two conjugations. It is not impossible, however, that the *ð*-tendency of OHG., like that of ON., finds its explanation in dialectic conditions. If there was an original phonetic relation between the two classes, no satisfactory explanation of that relation has yet been offered.

A review of the dialectic conditions of the *ai*-verb cannot be closed without noticing the mixed *ð*- and *j*-inflection of Old Saxon. Many of the original *ai*-verbs appear thus: *mornian*, *mornon*; *thagian*, *thagon*; *tholon*, *tholian*; *wonon*, *wonian*. That *thagian* is not a true *j*-verb is evident from the absence of umlaut. The explanation of the form is seen in the intermediate stage of *tholon*, i. e. *tholoian*. As *tholian* is developed from *tholon* through *tholoian*, so is *thagian* from *thagon*, \**thagoian*, *mornian* from *mornon* through *mornoian*. The *j*-, therefore, comes not from the *ai*-conjugation, but is the result of a peculiar Old Saxon treatment of the *ð*-class.<sup>1</sup>

## PART II.

### *Concerning the Prim. Teut. Inflection of Verbs of the Third Weak Class.*

The problem for discussion is represented in—

(a) Goth. <i>haba</i>	AgS. <i>habbe</i>	<i>sæge</i>	<i>hycge</i>	OS. <i>hebbiu</i>	<i>seggio</i>
<i>habais</i>	<i>hafaſt</i>	<i>sagaſt</i>	<i>hogast</i>	<i>habas, -es</i>	<i>sagis</i> (Cott.)
<i>habaiþ</i>	<i>hafað</i>	<i>sagað</i>	<i>hogað</i>	<i>habad, -ed</i>	<i>sagað</i> (Regin.)
(b) Goth. <i>habaida</i>	OHG. <i>habēta</i>	OS. <i>habda</i>	ON. <i>hafði</i>	AgS. <i>hæfde</i>	

<sup>1</sup> The original *ai*-verbs appearing in OS. with mixed *j*- and *ð*-treatment are: *folgon*, *folgoian*, pres. pl. 3 *folgod* 3632, *folgoiad* 2429; *fragon*, *fragoian* (Cott.) 5412; *halon*, *haloian* (Cott. 2574); *mornon*, pres. 3 pl. *morniat* (Cott. 4730), imp. 2 pl. *mornot* 1665, part. pres. *mornondi* 721, conj. pres. sg. 3 *bimorni* (Mon.), *bemurnie* (Cott.) 1870 (no other forms of the verb occur); *trādon*, *truðian*, *j*-form only inf. 5946, 2943, also inf. *trādon* 285, occurs elsewhere only in pret. *trāoda*; *thagon*, only in pret. *thagoda*, *thagian* only in *thagiand*, Cott. 2576; *tholon*, *tholoian*, *tholian* (*tholon* C.) 3017, *tholoian* 4185, *tholoian* (*tholian* C.) 5218, conj. pres. sg. 3 *tholoie*, imp. pl. 1 *tholoian* Cott., also inf. *getholoiean* Mon., *githolon* Cott. 2136, pret. only *getholoda*; *wonon*, once *wonian*, inf. *wita im wonian mid* 3996 Cott.

The general opinion of scholars to-day is that we must infer for the Prim. Teut. *ai*-inflection a present having an interchange of *j*- and *ai*-forms and a preterit without connecting vowel. Mahlow, Sievers, Kögel unite in declaring the inflection of Anglo-Saxon of greater antiquity than that of Gothic. Still, it seems to me, on reviewing the whole line of argument, that there are many weak points in the proof; that the view has been accepted upon evidence too slight, without due attention to the possibility of another explanation. The general condition of Gothic is so much older than that of any of the other Teutonic dialects, that, in case of a variance in form among the dialects, the supposition must always be in favor of the antiquity of the Gothic until the varying form has been proved unquestionably the older.

But this question is only part of a larger one with regard to the original presence of *-j*- in the present of the three weak conjugations. Scholars who find the original *ai*-inflection in the Saxon dialects, look there too for the original *ð*-inflection. The interdependence of the two views is so close that one may hardly be considered without the other. To admit that *sealfie*, *sealfast*, *sealfað* are older than *salbð*, *salbðs*, *salbðþ* is to admit, indirectly, the antiquity of *hæbbe*, *hafað*, *hafað*. For, if Anglo-Saxon has kept in the second class an inflection nearer the original than that in any other dialect, it is natural to expect that it will have preserved in other respects the primitive weak verbal system. On the other hand, to look upon the *j*-forms in the second conjugation as of late introduction, resulting from the general tendency toward uniformity of inflection, is to throw suspicion at once upon the closely parallel inflection of the third class.

According to the common view of the *ð*-development, the original West Germanic forms were: ind. pres. *\*salbðju*, *\*salbðs*, *\*salbðð*, *\*salbðjam*, etc.; opt. sg. 3 *\*salbðjai*, pl. 3 *\*salbðjain*; imp. *\*salbð*, inf. *\*salbðjan*, pret. *\*salbðða*. These West Germanic forms developed from Prim. Teut.: ind. *\*salbðja*, *\*salbðjis*, *\*salbðjð*; imp. *\*salbði*, pret. *\*salbðiða*. After *-j*- Prim. Teut. *-i*- was lost, *-j*- was vocalized, and so *\*salbðis*, *\*salbðið* were formed. Finally, by the contraction of *ði* to *ð*, there arose regularly—

Goth.	<i>salbðs</i>	<i>salbðþ</i>	<i>salbð</i>	<i>salbðða</i>
OHG.	<i>salbðs</i>	<i>salbðt</i>	<i>salbð</i>	<i>salbðða</i>
OS.	<i>talos</i>	<i>taloþ</i>	<i>talo</i>	<i>taloda</i>
AgS.	<i>sealfast</i>	<i>sealfað</i>	<i>sealfa</i>	<i>sealfoda</i>
ON.	<i>kallar</i>		<i>kalla</i>	<i>kallaða</i>

—(Mahl., Die lang. Voc. 42 sq.)



Mahlow's whole theory stands or falls with that of the contraction of *ði* to *ð* in Teutonic. Unfortunately, the assumption of such a development has slender support.<sup>1</sup> For Prim. Aryan *ði* we should expect *ai* in Gothic.

Streitberg (Die german. Comp. auf *ðz*, p. 6), while denying the possibility of deducing *ð* from *ði*, still considers the Anglo- and Old Saxon *j*-forms primitive. His position is thus stated: "Es lässt sich nicht absehen, warum wir gezwungen sein sollten, ein got. *salbð*, *salbðs* um jeden preis auf vorhistorisches *\*salbðjð*, *\*salbðjis* u. s. w. zurückzuführen, es also einem litauischen *pasakoju* gleichzusetzen; warum es nicht vielmehr ebensowohl erlaubt sein sollte, die genannten formen aus einem athematischen paradigma herzuleiten, sie also mit litauischem *kybau*, *kybome*, *kyboti* zu vergleichen. Diese letztere zusammenstellung gewinnt noch durch den umstand erhöhte wahrscheinlichkeit, dass wir z. b. auf ags. boden das paradigma der verba auf *ðjð*, *-ðjizi*<sup>2</sup> inversehrt erhalten haben. Warum sollten nun beide flexionstypen nicht im urgermanischen ebensogut neben einander bestanden haben wie im lit.: Lit. *pasakoju*; AgS. *sealfie* = Lit. *kybau*; G. *salbð*?"

Now, what is the evidence to be adduced for presupposing in Prim. Teut. such a double conjugation? Outside of the Saxon dialects, not a trace of *j*-formation is to be found, save in the optative of the Alemannian dialect (Weinhold, Alem. Gram. 368 sq.), where the regular ending is *-ðes*, *-ðe*. That these are the endings of the *j*-inflection is undeniable; still, it seems extremely improbable that a single tense in a single dialect should have preserved a primitive ending found nowhere else in Old High German and absent from Gothic. The forms, it seems to me, find ready explanation in an effort to differentiate the optative from the present indicative—partly, perhaps, in an effort toward the general equalization of endings. The present opt. endings *-es*, *-e* belong not only to weak *j*-verbs, but to all strong verbs as well. The Alemannian dialect has simply chosen to consider *e*, *-es*, *e* the general optative endings, irrespective of class-stem.

On the ground, then, of Anglo- and Old Saxon alone, we must accept the *ðj*-forms as original. Now, in Old Saxon, which in this

<sup>1</sup>See Johansson, De deriv. contr. 182: "Nullum aliud eiusmodi mutationis exemplum ostentum est. . . . Cur non, si *ði* > *ai*, *ði* > *ði*?"

<sup>2</sup>Streitberg (22) holds that *sealfast*, *sealfað* = Prim. WG. *\*sa.baiþ*, *\*salbais* = Prim. Teut. *\*salbðjisi*, *\*salbðjirði*. Thus Str. explains the likeness in form between *sealfast*, *sealfað* and *hafast*, *hafað*.

respect, as in many others, is in an intermediate condition between OHG. and AgS., shows a fully developed  $\delta$ -inflection in all respects like the Gothic. But at the same time, every  $\delta$ -verb may assume this inflection: inf. *scaw-o-jan*; ind. pres. *scaw-on*, *scaw-os*, *scaw-od*; pl. *scaw-o-jad*; opt. *scaw-o-ja*, *scaw-o-jas*, *scaw-o-ja*, i. e. wherever *-ja-* appears in the inflection of the first class, it may be inserted after the *o*. Further, the *-o-* may be lost, and we have as the result, apparently, a verb of the first class, e. g. *thagian*, *thagon*; *tholon*, *tholian*, *tholoian* noted above (p. 439).<sup>1</sup>

Such forms as *thagoian*, *tholoian*, *wakoian*, etc., make upon one, it seems to me, as little the impression of originality as do Goth. *hausjan*, *hausjōn*, *beistjan*, *beistjōn*. Furthermore, the instability of the development seen in *tholoian*, *tholian*; *lathoian*, *lathian* would seem to indicate a late dialectic growth. It would be natural to expect that a dialect which had retained with such remarkable tenacity the ancient inflection should present it in some consistent form.

In *thagian*, *tholian* is found the connecting link between the Anglo-Saxon and Old Saxon  $\delta$ -inflection. The tendency in Old Saxon to *j*-forms, which are but occasional usurpers of a still complete  $\delta$ -conjugation, has in AgS. destroyed the older condition. The present system in the AgS. second conjugation, aside from the lack of umlaut, differs from that of the first only in the second and third persons sg. of the ind. and in the imper. sing.

But if the condition of the  $\delta$ -class in AgS. shows only a further development of that found in Old Saxon, we should expect to find, at least in the older AgS. dialects, traces of a pure  $\delta$ -conjugation. Such traces are seen in the North. endings: sg. pres. ind. sg. 1, *-a*, pl. *-að*; part. pres. *-ande*. Instances of the intermediate condition seen in Old Saxon are not uncommon, e. g. North. inf. in *-ogia*, *-age*, *-ege*, pres. ind. pl. in *-ageð*, *-egeð*, etc. These examples are important, for they indicate that AgS., like OS., once possessed a pure  $\delta$ -conj. Later the *-j-* of the first class was introduced. The characteristic ending of the second stem was at first retained with the *-j-*, but was finally given up altogether.

The mixed  $\delta$ -inflection of AgS. and OS. can hardly be considered original, in face of the evidence for a formerly universal pure  $\delta$ -conjugation. It is far easier to understand the late intro-

<sup>1</sup> Same remark found in Mahlow, *Die langen Voc.* 43.

duction of *j*-forms within the conj. than to see how a dialect so far from original in its general condition as AgS. should have retained a primitive conjugation lost entirely in Goth., in OHG. and in ON.

Furthermore, it seems unnecessary to presuppose for Prim. Teut. two conjugations, in order to account for the AgS. *-j-*. The argument for the two prim. *ð*-verbs is based mainly upon the conditions of the class in Lithuanian. Streitberg shows the parallelism between Teut. and Lithuanian in the form of a proportion. Lit. *pasakoju* : AgS. *sealfie* = Lit. *kybau* : Goth. *salbþ*. But, unfortunately, Lithuanian is exceedingly untrustworthy in this respect. To quote a remark of Bremer's<sup>1</sup> on the *-j-* in the Lith. weak classes: "The *j*-formations are so numerous, in comparison with the other languages, that we may hardly avoid the conclusion that the *j*-inflection has overstepped its original limits, and has come to include many verbs not originally belonging there. Not only numberless derived verbs have a *-j-* in the present, it is found also in the present of primary verbs. The primary verbs in *-uti* furnish evidence that the process of *j*-formation has been carried on within the historical period." Lith., then, in respect to the extension of the *j*-class, is as unoriginal as are the Saxon dialects.<sup>2</sup>

In considering the original *ai*-inflection of the present, the general course of the argument is much the same as that just followed with the *ð*-inflection. The AgS. *ai*-conjugation, like the *-ð-*, has *-j-* wherever there is *-j-* in the first class. As in the former case, AgS. and O. Sax. furnish the main evidence for an interchange of *-j-* and *ai-* in the original inflection. But here, however, O. Sax. throws no direct light upon the possible process of development within the conjugation.

<sup>1</sup> PBB. XI 58 sq.

<sup>2</sup> Johansson, De deriv. Verb. contr. 201, gives the following explanation of the *ð*-development, to satisfy the conditions of Latin and Teut.: "Erant enim 1) verba *-āio* e stirpibus in longas vocales proficiscentia sive nominalibus, ut *curā-re*, sive 'verbalibus,' ut *domā-re*; 2) praesentia aoristica nullo suffixi derivationis adhibito ab ipsis stirpibus in longas vocales desinentibus ducta, sive temporibus ieu. orta sunt, sive postea ex aoristis in praesentia sunt mutata. Ad utramque classem eadem respondebat stirps ad temp. non-praes. fingenda usurpata; atque hac similitudine mota praesentia *í* suffixo formata, si quae erant I conjugationis ad analogiam praesentium aoristicorum mutata sunt. . . . Simile quiddam in germanicis dialectis occurrit; atque, ut jam dixi, verborum *salbþn* eandem fuisse rationem puto: *amo, amās, amat* = *salbþ, salbþs, salbþp*."

Again, Lithuanian is quoted in support of the argument for an original *j-* in the third weak inflection. In (O. Bulg.) *sěžda* (= \**sedja*), *sědisi* beside *sěděchŭ*, *sědēti*: (Lith.) *sėdzu* (= \**sėdju*), *sėdi* beside *sėdėjau*, *sėdėsiu* show, it is argued, the thematic and athematic conjugations which combined to form the inflection of Goth. *haban*, *liban*, etc. But, whatever should be concluded from these data about the verb \**sědja* in Teut.-Slavic, it is difficult to see what bearing the result would have upon the question of the original *ai*-inflection. Teut. \**sitjan* is a strong verb like \**bidjan*, \**ligjan*, etc., without a trace of relation with the Teut. *ai*-class.<sup>1</sup> The relation of L. *sedeo* to Teut. \**sitjan* cannot be that of Lat. *habeo* to Teut. *haban*.

What evidence may be found within Teutonic for an interchanging *ai-* and *j-*inflection, outside, of course, of Anglo- and Old Saxon? Mahlow sees in *habēe* (late *habēie*) of the Alemanian (Weinhold, 368 sq.), as in the case of parallel *salbō(g)e*, a trace of the old *j*-inflection. But in the *ē*-conj., as in the *ō*-, these forms may be explained as a comparatively late attempt at differentiation. Further *j*-forms in OHG. are sg. 2 *hebis*, 3 *hebit*; *segis*, *segit*; *libis*, *libil*, but never \**hebiu*. The fact that *j*-formations appear just where they are not expected, while there is no trace of them where they should occur, is evidence that in OHG. at least a present inflection like that of AgS. never existed.

Of far more importance in the discussion are the *j*-forms in ON. inflection of *hafa* (pres. *hef*, *hefe*, *heft*), *segja* and *þegja*. Says Johansson (De deriv. Verbis, 183): "Ac ipsa isl. flexio *hefe*, *hef*, *sege*, *seg*, *þege* demonstrare videtur \**habjð*, \**sagjð*, \**pagjð* quarandum formarum propria esse. . . . Itaque nulla alia explicandi ratio esse videtur, quam variationem iam ieu. formarum sumere \**khab.ið* et \**khabhai.mi*." Sievers (PBB. VIII 93), by an ingenious method of comparison, arrives at a fixed inflection for Norse, showing the ancient interchange of forms:

	Inf. * <i>hefja</i> , <i>hafa</i>	<i>segja</i>	<i>þegja</i>
Pres. ind. sg. 1,	<i>hef</i> , <i>hefi</i>	<i>seg</i> , <i>segi</i>	* <i>þeg</i> , <i>þegi</i>
2 and 3,	* <i>hafir</i> , <i>hefr</i>	* <i>sagir</i> , <i>segr</i>	* <i>þagir</i> , <i>þegir</i>

<sup>1</sup> Latin *sedeo* does not seem to me to be the same at all as Lith. \**sědja*, but the latter is on a line with Teut. \**sitjan*, Greek *ἕζομαι*. If so, the proof of Lith. for Latin mixture of thematic and athematic conj. has no force. Why not simply identify the *e* of Lat. *habeo*, *habēs*, *habet* with the *η* of the Aiolic inflection *φίλημι*, *φίλης*, *φίλη*?

pl. 1, * <i>hefjom</i> , <i>hofom</i>	<i>segjom</i>	<i>pegjom</i>
2, <i>hafð</i>	* <i>sagð</i>	* <i>pagð</i> , <i>pegð</i>
3, * <i>hefja</i> , <i>hafa</i>	<i>segja</i>	<i>pegja</i>
Opt. 1, * <i>hefja</i> , <i>hafa</i>	<i>segja</i>	<i>pegja</i>
2 and 3, * <i>hefir</i> , <i>hafir</i>	<i>segir</i>	<i>pegir</i>

The weakness in Sievers' method is that, although it is possible, by careful arrangement, to form a model inflection out of the material at hand, there is no evidence that such an inflection ever existed. If it did, why have we not \**hefja*? If there was originally *hef*, \**hafir* in the present, how shall we explain the consistent *j*-inflection in the sing. of the three verbs? Assuming the original Norse inflection to be \**hefja*, *hef*, \**hafir*, pl. \**hefjom*, *hafð*, \**hefja*, is there any explanation for the fully developed regular inflection of Norse, which is in every respect the same as that of the Goth., except in the 1 sg. pres. ind.? It is impossible to see how Norse *hafa* should have developed from \**hefja*, *vaka* from \**vekja*, etc. Recognizing the impossibility of such a development, Johansson resorts again to the supposition of two original conjugations. The supposition makes the problem assume a form apparently simple. But it still remains to be explained how two independent Prim. Teut. conjugations should have developed as we find them in the dialects. Why does only the one appear in Goth. and OHG., while in the Saxon dialects the two are preserved in a curious mixed conjugation, and, finally, in ON. alone the two are kept independent?

It seems to me much simpler and more natural to consider the Norse *j*-forms a late development, after the analogy of the *j*-class. They may have arisen from the same cause as did the parallel forms in Anglo- and Old Saxon—as will be noticed later in the discussion—but, at the same time, they must be considered an independent development. The forms *segja*, *pegja* are late. Original \**sagjan*, \**pagjan* should be in ON. *seggja*, *peggja* (Wimmer, Altnord. Gram. 23). Pres. ind. sg. 1 should be \**segg* (as *hygg* (*hyggjan*), *legg* (*leggjan*), etc.

Turning now to the condition of Anglo-Saxon and Old Saxon, one of the most striking characteristics of the *ai*-inflection in both those dialects is the instability of umlaut. The Heliand shows the following inconsistencies in the inflection of *hebbian*: inf. *hebbian*, l. 134, 169, 373, 443, 1013, 1254, 1328, 1666, 2064, 2529, 2824, 2893, 4521, 5297 (Cott.), 5353, 5364, 5618; *habbian*, 3224, 3573,

3863; ind. prs. sg. 1 *hebbiu* (*habbiu* does not occur); pl. *hebbead*, 1315, 1338, 1740, 5354; *habbiad*, 2990, 2991, 3004, 3159, 3244, 3705; imp. pl. *hebbiad*, 405, 943, 1877, 1886, 4787; *habbiad*, 4649, 4655; opt. sg. *hebbea*, *hebbie*; pl. *hebbian* (never *habbea*, *habbian*). The inflection of *seggian* shows no forms without umlaut where umlaut is expected.

No dialect of AgS. gives *habban* with umlaut, though umlaut forms do occur occasionally in other parts of the verb, e. g. *hebbe*, opt. sg., quoted by Sievers (PBB. VIII 92) from the Durham Book (Lindisfarne Gospels). Still, it would be unfair to ascribe such a form to North. as a regular occurrence, for even in that MS the common form is *hæbbe*. Sievers, again, gives for *sæcg(e)an* a complete inflection with umlaut *seggenne*, *seggende*, *secgu*, *secgað*, etc.; but the irregularity in this respect is everywhere noticeable in AgS. In the Rushworth and Lindisfarne MSS, for instance, inf. *secgan* is found, but most commonly *sæcge*, *sæcgað* (R. *secgað* and *sæcgað*) occur.

This irregularity in use of umlaut is very strong evidence that the Anglo-Saxon *j*-forms are of comparatively late development; and, adding this to the evidence furnished by the other dialects, I am unable, for myself, to avoid the conclusion that, whatever may have been the actual inflection of the present in the original *ai*-conjugation, it at least did not contain an interchange of *j*- and *ai*-forms.

If we reject the AgS. as the original inflection, the choice then lies between Goth. *haba*, *habam*, *haband* and OHG. *habē-m*, *habēm-es*, *habēnt*. ON. *trúe*, *-i* supports OHG.; the plural, however, is the same in form as the Goth. But ON. plural is of no actual weight in the argument, since that dialect has no longer any distinction between pres. pl. endings of the strong and weak conj. Still, these OHG. forms in the sg. and pl., and Norse sg., may be readily explained as the result of a natural adoption of *ai* for the characteristic stem. The tendency in development is, of course, always a tendency toward uniformity of inflection. On the other hand, the strong forms of the Goth. are inexplicable, save as remnants of an older condition. AgS. and Old Saxon point to a former interchange of endings within the tensé, although the character of the interchange has been modified in accordance with the development of the whole weak verbal system in those dialects.

The Northumbrian *hafu*, *sagu*, commonly considered new formations, impress me as more probably remnants of the original inflection. At least, they hardly admit another explanation. It is improbable that Anglo-Saxon, with its predilection for *j*-forms—as has been seen, in the condition of the *ð*-inflection—should displace an already fixed *hæbbe* by a strong form quite out of keeping with the rest of the conj. From the likeness of *hafast* and *sealfast*, such a new formation as *\*hafge*—like *lifge* instead of *libbe*, from *\*lifast*, *leofast*—might be conceivable; but for *hafu*, *sagu* there is no such explanation. They seem to me, without doubt, remnants of an older inflection.

Anglo-Saxon, then, through *hafu*, *sægo*, bears direct evidence to the antiquity of the Gothic condition of the present. With the natural tendency of language toward regularity of form, characteristic strong forms in the weak conjugations were not tolerated. Each dialect replaced the irregular forms by others, in accordance with the special dialectic tendencies.

Now, the question arises, Is there anything in the condition of the inflection itself to account for the *j*-formation in Anglo-Saxon, and is there any connection between the Anglo-Saxon *j*-forms and those of Norse and Old High German? On the ground of Anglo-Saxon and Old Norse the explanation is simple: the point of agreement between the first and third classes is plainly in the preterit, which has the same form as that of the short-stemmed verbs of the *j*-class. Do not facts justify our assigning the same explanation to the OHG. *hebis*, *hebit*; *segis*, *segit*; *libis*, *libit*; *libita*, *hebila*? The preterit *segita* bears apparently the same relation to *\*sagta* and *libita* to *\*lipta* that *hapta* bears to *hebila*. Abundant evidence for such treatment of the pret. is found in the verbs of the first class, e. g. *zalta* : *zelita*, *ratta* : *retita*, *scutta* : *scutita*, *frewita* : *frouwita* (see Braune, Ahd. Gram. 356, 368, anm. 2).

Such a view of the common development of *j*-forms in the *ai*-inflection is conditioned by the antiquity of the Norse and AgS. short preterit. This brings us to the second important point in the discussion of the original inflection: What was the original form of the preterit?<sup>1</sup> Here Norse and West Germanic seem undoubtedly older than Gothic. Old Norse *sagði*, *hafði*, *lifði*, *hugði*; OHG. *\*sagta* (*segita*), *hapla* (*hebila*), *\*lipta* (*libita*), *hocta*; AgS. *sagde*, *hafde*, *lifde*, *hogde*, cannot be explained as new

<sup>1</sup> Möller, PBB. VII 747 sq.; Sievers, VIII 90 sq.; Kögel, IX 519 sq.

formations; nor could they have been developed by contraction from *\*libaida*, *\*sagaida*, *\*hugaida*, *\*habaida*. Goth. *gahugds* gives testimony for an original short pret. OHG. *dult* (OS. *githuld*, AgS. *geðyld*) shows an old pret. to Goth. *þulan*, *\*pulda* = ON. *polda* (Möller, PBB. VII 474; Johansson, De deriv. verb. 183).

As Möller (Kunpa und das *t*-Praet., PBB. VII) was the first to point out, there is a serious difficulty in the way of considering *ga-hugds*, *hæfde*, *sagde*, *lifde* original—and that difficulty lies in the consonant combinations. Why not *\*hohta*, *\*sahta*, *\*hafta*, as in Goth. *mahta*, *þaurfta*, etc.? It is no longer possible to escape the difficulty, as Paul does (Das schwache Praet., PBB. VII 136), by presupposing for the weak verbs a preterit in *-ða*. Möller on the negative side, Prof. Collitz<sup>1</sup> on the positive side, have made the continuance of such a supposition impossible. At the same time, Möller's proposed explanation fails to meet the present difficulty. His theory is based upon the supposition of a pre-Teut. present stem in *ō-jō-*, Prim. Teut. *a-jō-*, pret. *-a-da*: *\*habada*, *\*hugada*, etc. From *\*habada* Möller gets to *habda* by means of a Prim. Teut. law regarding the treatment of *-a-* in middle syllables, viz. "Urgerm. *a* in der zweiten von zwei unbetonten kurzen silben schwindet vor folgender hochbetonter silbe, die mit einfachem verschluss- oder reibelaut anlautet." The loss of the *a*, then, must have taken place before the Teutonic change of accent. The objections to the explanation are: (1) no other support is found for such a law; (2) *a* cannot be considered the stem vowel of this conj.; (3) if such a vowel did exist but was lost before the change of accent, why should the preterit not fall together with others originally without vowel—*mahta*, *þaurfta*, *þāhta*, etc.—and receive then the same treatment in the Teutonic dialects?

Kögel (PBB. 516 sq.) proposes short *i* as the lost vowel, on the basis of the Latin perfect participle in *-itus* of the *ē*-conj., e. g. as *habēre* to *habitus*, so *\*habē-jan* to *\*habida*. Traces of Prim. Teut. condition he would see in *hebila*, *segita* of OHG. Johansson,<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The Origin of the Teut. Weak Preterit, Hermann Collitz: Transactions of the Modern Language Association of America, vol. III, 1887.

<sup>2</sup> Johansson, 183: "Ita Kögelo assentior, ut credam utramque formam ad temp. comm. germ. referendam esse: *-i-ta* = *taci-tus*, *habi-tus*, *moni-tus*: neque tamen ita, ut existimem *sagda* < *\*saghida* per syncopam germ. quandam (sg. *\*sagips*, pl. *sagde*), sed formas gemellas jam ieu. constituendas esse: *μενε-ρός*, *σκελε-τός*, *taci-tus*, *moni-tus*, *doc-tus*, *cap-tus*, *δόκ-σω* sim."



who accepts Kögel's view partially, contends that *hapta* and *hebita* point to an original double formation of the pret. like Lat. *habitus* (*habeo*), *doc-tus* (*doceo*). But OHG. preservation of an original short middle vowel lost everywhere else in Teut. is contrary to the established laws of phonetic development. Moreover, *hapta*, *hebita*, as has been already seen, are readily explained by comparison with the *j*-preterit.

Further, Goth. *gahugds*, \**gapulds* (OHG. *dult*, OS. *gi-thuld*, AgS. *ge-ðyld*) show that the preterit of these verbs was formed originally without connecting vowel. Both these words are abstracts formed by original suffix *-ti*, and are remnants of a formation which goes back to Prim. Aryan. Though different in form and function from the part. in *-tō*, they are still of value in proving that the pret. of these verbs may have been formed originally without connecting vowel; for the suffix *-ti* of these feminine abstracts, the suffix *-tō* of the past part., and the ending *-tai* of the 3d sg. in the pret. middle are, as a rule, connected with the preceding verbal stem in the same manner. E. g. Skr. abstr. *bhṛ-ti-s*, ptc. *bhṛ-tā-s*; Gr. *ποίη-σι-s*, *ποίη-τό-s*, *πε-ποίη-ται*, *λέξι-s* (for \**λεκ-τι-s*), *λεκ-τό-s*, *λέ-λεκ-ται*, *λύ-σι-s*, *λυ-τό-s*, *λέ-λυ-ται*, etc.; Lat. *mor-s* (stem *mor-ti-*), ptc. *mor-tuus*, etc. *Ga-hug-d(i)-s*, formed originally without connecting vowel, renders at once possible original \**hug-d(a)-s*, preterit \**hugda*.

But even though we must admit that the oldest preterit of the third weak class was formed without a vowel between stem and ending, is it still impossible that already in Prim. Teut. a second enlarged preterit was formed, after the analogy of the other weak classes? OHG. *-ēta* = Goth. *-aida* would go to prove such a supposition, although their development may have taken place independently. Sievers (PBB. VIII 93) holds that the explanation of the passage of Old and Anglo-Saxon *ai*-verbs into the *ō*-class is to be found in two Prim. Teut. divisions of the *ai*-class, the one consisting of verbs with short stem syllable, the other of verbs with long stem syllable. Although the whole argument upon which he bases his theory is wrong, the theory itself may be considered from a different standpoint. If we might conceive of Prim. Teut. long-stemmed verbs with an *ai*-preterit, it would offer an easy solution for the AgS. and OS. tendency, for Prim. Teut. \**frāgaida* = Goth. \**frāgaida* = OHG. *frāgēta* = OS. *frāgada*. It would seem to account for the occasional interchange of *a* and *o* in the inf. and part. of the Old Saxon second weak

class. For the supposition of an original distinction of pret. according to the length of stem-syllable there can be no more than this said: no direct proof for the theory can be brought forward, but it furnishes a possible explanation for the variety of development seen in the third weak class in Teutonic.

## APPENDIX.

*List of Verbs in the Various Dialects from which the Collection of original ai-verbs was made.*

Goth.	OHG.	O. Sax.	AgS.	O. Norse.
	âbandên			
ainanan				
aistan				æsta
	altên			
	angên			
	argên			
arman	armên	armon	earmian	
	arnên, -ôn		earnian	
	baldên		bealdian	
	barrên			
bauan	bûwan	bûan (buon C)	bûwian	búa (st. v.)
	bazên <sup>1</sup>			
	bibên	bibon	bifian	bifa
	bittarên			
	bleichên		blácian	blaka <sup>2</sup>
	blintên <sup>3</sup>			
	plôdên, -ôn (blôd-)			
	bluotên			
	bogên <sup>4</sup>			
	borgên <sup>5</sup>		borgian	
	tagên		dagian	brosa
	touwên, -ôn			döggva
	tragên, -ôn <sup>6</sup>			
	truknên (druganên)			
	trunkanên			
	truobên <sup>7</sup>			

<sup>1</sup> OHG. *bazên* = Goth. *batnan*.

<sup>2</sup> Verbs in the Norse list that are italicized actually belong to the *ai*-class in Norse.

<sup>3</sup> = ON. *blindna*

<sup>4</sup> To st. v. *biugan*, *baug*.

<sup>5</sup> To st. v. *bërgan*, *barg*.

<sup>6</sup> To st. v. *tragan*, *truog*.

<sup>7</sup> = Goth. *drôðnan*.

Goth.	OHG.	O. Sax.	AgS.	O. Norse.
	trûrên			<i>drupa</i>
	tunchelên			<i>duga</i> <sup>1</sup>
	êrên <sup>2</sup>	êron	árian	
faian	fârên	fâron, -an		
fastan	fastên			
feinan				
	ferrên			
fijan	fiên		féogan	fjá
	finstarên			
	fiurên			
	flucchên			
	fluohhên, -ôn			<i>flaka</i>
	fôhên			
	folgên	folgon	folgian <sup>3</sup>	
	frâgên	frâgon		
	frostên			frosta
	fûlên, -ôn			
				<i>gá</i>
				<i>gana</i>
				<i>glotta</i>
				<i>gnapa</i>
				<i>göwa</i>
	garawên <sup>4</sup>	garuwian	gearwian	
	gi-nâdên	gi-náthon		
	gebên	gebon	geofian	
	geilên			
geigan (faihu)				
	gingên			
	ginên (giên)	ginon	ginian	
	grâwên			
	grôzên			
	grûên			
				<i>grufa</i>
	gruonên			

<sup>1</sup> N. *duga* to st. v. *duga*.

<sup>2</sup> Also *êrôn*, *êrôn*, and *êran*. Given by Sievers (PBB. VIII 90) as one of the original *ê*-verbs. No clear proof.

<sup>3</sup> AgS. *fylg(e)an*, ON. *fylgja*—one original form?

<sup>4</sup> OHG. *garawjan* more common; AgS. *gearwan* also, and *gyrwan*.

Goth.	OHG.	O. Sax.	AgS.	O. Norse.
haban	habên haftên haldên <sup>1</sup>	hebbian hafton	habban	<i>hafa</i>
hâhan	hangên halên, -ôn harên harmên	hangon halon	hangian	hanga
hatan	hazzên (-ôn) hlinên hlosên, -ôn hlûttarên hnêgên	haton hlinon	hatian hlinian  hluttrian	hata
*hóban (ga-)				<i>horfa</i> <sup>2</sup>
	hornên hriuwên, -ôn	hriwon		hryggva
hruskan (and-)	huggan hogên	huggian	hycg(e)an	<i>hvalfa</i>
*weilan (ga-)	hwilôn hwizên isên italên		hwílian	
jiukan				<i>kaupa</i> <sup>3</sup>
	klagên klebên kraftên kuolên	klagon clibon  kôlon	clifian  côlian	klifa <i>kligja</i> koela
kunnan	kunnên labên, -ôn lachên <sup>4</sup> lâgên lamên langên leidên leidlihhên, -ôn	kunnon gi-lavon  lamon langon	cunnian  langian	hlakka <i>lafa</i>
liban	lebên	libbjan	libban, lifgan	<i>lifa</i>
leikan	lihhên	licon	lician	líka

<sup>1</sup> *Haldên* to st. v. *haldan*.<sup>2</sup> *Horfa* to st. v. *hverfa*.<sup>3</sup> ON. *kaupa* = AgS. *clapian*, OHG. *koufôn*, Goth. *kaupôn*.<sup>4</sup> OHG. *lachên* to st. v. *hlahan*.

Goth.	OHG.	O. Sax.	AgS.	O. Norse.
liugan (ga-)				<i>ljá</i>
*luban	lobên, -ôn liubên lokkên	lobon	lofian	lofa  lokka loka <i>loða</i>
	loskên loubên luogên lûzên magên <sup>1</sup> mâlên, -ôn <sup>2</sup> manên, -ôn <sup>3</sup>	mâlon		<i>mara</i>
maurnan	mêrên mornên meldên, -ôn metemên mihhilên	mornon meldon	murnan (?) meldian medmian miclian	morna
munan	far-monên			<i>ná</i>
	nahtên narrên nazzên			
nauan (bi-)	quëkkên rastên, -ôn reidên	quikon	cwician	
reiran	rêrên rifên richên rostên rozên	rîpon	rárian rípian	
rûnan	rûnên (-jan) ruowên sagên	roton  séggian	rotian rúnian sæcɣ(e)an } secɣ(e)an }	rýna  segja <i>sama</i>
	salawên serawên			

<sup>1</sup> *Magên* to st. v. *magan*.

<sup>2</sup> *Mâlên* = Goth. *mtljan*.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Lat. *monēre*.

Goth.	OHG.	O. Sax.	AgS.	O. Norse.
	sêrên			
	sêwên			
	siechên, -ôn			
sifan				
silan				
	scadên, -ôn			
skaman	scamên, -ôn	scamon	sceamian	skamma
	scorrên			
	slaffên			<i>skolla</i>
slavan				<i>skorta</i>
	slêwên			
	smachên			
	smâhên			
	sôrên		séarian	
saurgan	sorgên	sorgon	sorgian	sorga
	sparên, -ôn		sparian	<i>spara</i>
	spilên, -ôn	spilon		
	spottên, -ôn			
	stabên, -ôn			
	starên		starian	<i>stara</i>
	starkên			
staurran	storrên			<i>stúra</i>
	stillên	stillon		
	stornên			
stopanan				
	stracchên			
	strangên			
	strûbên			
	stummên			
	suozen			
	sûrên			
swêran	swâren			
*sweipan				
	swebên			
	swîgên	swîgon	swîgian	
	zagên			
	zalên, -ôn	talon	talian	tala
				<i>tolla</i>
trauan	trûwên	trûon	trûwian	trúa
	zundên <sup>1</sup>			

<sup>1</sup> *Zundên* = Goth. *tundnan*.

Goth.	OHG.	O. Sax.	AgS.	O. Norse.
þahan	dagên	thagon		þegja
þarban	darbên	tharbon	þearfian	þarfa
	diemuotên			
	dicchên			
þiwan	donên		þéowian	
	druoên		þrówian	
þulan	dolên	tholon, tholian	þolian	þola
				ugga
	wachên	wakon	wacian	vaka
*wanan	wanôn		wanian	
	warnên, -ôn			
	wartên	wardon	weardian	
weiþan	wihjan	wian		vígja
	welkên			
	warôn	waron		vava
	wernên, -ôn			
	wesanên <sup>1</sup>		weosnian	visna
witan	wizzên		witian	
wókan				
wriskan				
wulan				
*wunan	wonên, -ôn	wonon	wunian	una

MARGUERITE SWEET.

<sup>1</sup> Probably a Teutonic weak verb in *-n-en*.

## II.—ON THE JUDAEO-GERMAN SPOKEN BY THE RUSSIAN JEWS.

### PART II.

#### *The Verb.*

The Jargon verb shows more than any other part of speech the thorough amalgamation of the three elements, Hebrew, Slavic, German. In its main features the verb is Germanic, but it has lost the imperfect tense and the subjunctive mood, at least as they are in German, and in its shades of meaning reproduces more correctly the Russian verb; besides, there are several ways of forming verbs from the Hebrew. The Jargon is richer in its verbs than any other of the European languages.

#### *Derivation of Verbs.*

The majority of verbs are derived from the German, and generally preserve the same meaning as in that language; but a number of them have a different signification, and many that have become obsolete or rare in German are in common use in the Jargon. Such verbs are *lernen* 'teach'; *folgen* 'do a favor,' as in *folg mir a gang* 'please go on an errand for me'; *zich rajben* 'move about,' as in *er hot zich geriben zwischen chazonim* 'he has moved in the society of cantors'; *kwelen* 'rejoice,' *iberfiren* 'spoil,' *zich gezegebenen* 'bid good-bye,' etc. A number of German verbs appear in a Slavic form, having added the suffix *ew* to the stem; these verbs generally get the meaning of the corresponding Slavic form, as *winschen* 'wish,' *winschewen* 'congratulate.' Under the influence of the Slavic a very large number of German verbs become middle, that is, they are conjugated with the reflexive *zich*.

Verbs from the Russian and Polish are treated like German verbs, as regards their conjugation; they generally keep the same meaning as in the Slavic, and are fully domesticated; such verbs are *zich farkatschen* (Rus. *zakatitj sebje*) 'roll up,' viz. the sleeves, *zukowen* (Rus. *kowatj*) 'weld,' *katewen* (Rus. *katitj*)



'strike,' *zich mutschen* (Rus. mutschitjsa) 'vex oneself,' *brukewen* (Pol. brukować) 'pave,' *farschpilen* (Pol. zaszpilić) 'pin,' *trejseln* (Rus. trasti) 'shake.'

A number of verbs are onomatopoetic or of foreign origin: *schmizern* 'chirp,' *terelajken* 'trill,' *bentschen* (benedicere) 'bless,' *zidlen* (?) 'call names,' etc.<sup>1</sup>

There are three ways in which verbs may be derived from Hebrew roots: 1. From nouns, by adding the usual ending *en* or *nen*, and sometimes German prefixes, for example: *zich cholemen* (H. חָלַם) 'dream,' *ganwenen* (H. גָּנַב) 'steal,' *opsamen* (T. סָם) 'poison,' *cheschbenen* (H. חִשְׁבֵּן) 'calculate,' *pejgern* (H. פָּגַר) 'die like an animal.' 2. By attaching the auxiliary *zajn* to the participle of Hebrew verbs: *zich mejaschew* (H. מֵיַשֵּׁב) *zajn* 'consider,' *matriach* (T. מְטַרֵּחַ) *zajn* 'ask a favor,' *mechabed* (H. מְכַבֵּד) *zajn* 'welcome,' *mekane* (H. מְקַנֵּא) *zajn* 'envy'; an adverbial form is sometimes used in the same way: *beköjach* (H. בְּקֵיַח) *zajn* 'be able.' 3. Adjectives, nouns, sometimes participles, are used with *hoben*, *weren*, *machen* and similar verbs: *möjre* (H. מִוְרֵא) *hoben* 'be afraid,' *chasene* (H. חֹתֵנָה) *hoben* 'get married,' *chöjzek* (H. חֲזִיקִים) *machen* 'ridicule,' *poter* (H. פֹּטֵר) *weren* 'get rid of.' These are real verbs, as many of them take the direct object.

The verbs are further changed in their meaning by special prefixes, all of German origin; many of them have, however, the strength of the corresponding Slavic ones, so that it is often easier to translate Jargon verbs into Russian and Polish than into German. The prefixes are separable or inseparable.

*The separable prefixes*, but little differing from the corresponding German ones, are *ous*, *ajn*, *on*, *ouf*, *um*. For example: *oushallen* 'endure,' *ousarbajten* 'work out,' *zich ajnhallen* 'abstain,'

<sup>1</sup>Since writing this I have been preparing an Idiotikon of Slavo-Judaeo-German, and many etymologies given here as problematic have been precisely located. The most important fact so far discovered during my work is, that by far the greatest part of words of Slavic origin belong to the *White Russian* dialect. An investigation of registers and documents written in White Russian previous to the Lublin Union discloses to me the further fact that nearly all such words were introduced in Slavo-Judaeo-German previous to that Union. The Idiotikon will contain upwards of 100,000 quotations. I take this opportunity of acknowledging my indebtedness to Dr. W. Muss-Arnolt for the reading of the proof-sheets of the first part of this article, and to Dr. I. M. Casanowicz for the reading of the second part and for valuable assistance in my work.

*zich ajnheren* 'listen attentively,' *onkuken* 'look at,' *onhejben* 'begin,' *onkwelen* 'rejoice fully,' *zich onfchapen* (Rus. chapatj 'grasp') 'startle,' *zich umkeren* 'turn back.' *Op* expresses accomplished action, as in *opschlarben* 'decay, die,' *opschiken* 'send away,' as *er hot im opgeschikt in chejder arajn* 'he sent him to school'; otherwise it has the same meaning as the German *ab*, as in *oplejkenen* (G. ableugnen) 'deny.' *Iber* corresponds more to the Russian *pere*, Polish *prze*: *ibernemen* 'imitate,' *iberchazern* 'repeat,' *iberzomen* 'fence off.'

All the above-mentioned prefixes may be strengthened by *ar* = G. *her*: *aropkumen* 'come down,' *aropnemen* 'take off,' *arouskrichen* 'crawl out,' *arousgeben* 'give out,' *arajnkumen* 'come in,' *arajnolozen* 'let in,' *aribergejn* 'go over,' *arouffiren* 'lead up,' *arumgejn* 'go around,' *arumtrogen* 'carry around.'

The following are also separable: *awek* = G. *weg* and *hin*, *durch* = G. *durch* and Rus. *pere*, *zunouf* = G. *zusammen*, *anider* = G. *nieder* and *hin*, *noch* = G. *nach*, *fanander* = G. *auseinander*, and rarely *for*: *zich awekzezen* 'to sit down' (for a long time), *zich aweklozen* 'to start suddenly,' *durchforen* 'drive through,' *zich durchgejn* 'take a walk,' *zunoufklajben* 'gather together,' *zunoufskompanjen* 'make friends,' *zich aniderlejgen* 'lie down,' *nochmachen* 'imitate,' *zich fananderreden* 'get heated up in conversation,' *zich forschtelen* 'imagine.'

The inseparable prefixes are: *be*, *ge*, *far*, *der* = G. *er*, *ant* = G. *ent*. Examples: *zich bedingen* 'make an agreement,' *betrachten* 'look at,' *gefinen* 'find,' *gedenken* 'remember,' *zich glusten* 'have a desire,' *derheren* 'hear suddenly,' *derleben* 'live to see,' *antlöffen* 'run away.' *Far* has more the meaning of the Russian *za*, and expresses sudden action; it is most frequently met with with participles: *farwarfen* 'toss up' (the head), *farmachen* 'close, shut,' *farflamt* 'all aflame,' *fartracht* 'deep in thoughts,' *farchöjschecht* (H. חֲשֵׁךְ) 'blackened, worked down.' *Zu* when separable = G. *zu*: *zügejn* 'walk up to'; when inseparable = G. *zer*, and is sometimes written *ze*: *zugéjn* 'melt.'

There are two aspects in the Jargon: The imperfect, to which the majority of verbs belong, and which expresses continuous or unfinished action: *gejn* 'go,' *chapen* 'seize,' *cheschbenen* 'calculate'; the perfect aspect expresses sudden or completed action, and is formed from the imperfect aspect by conjugating the simple verbal noun *gej*, *chap*, *cheschben* with one of the three verbs *tun*, *geben*, *derlangen*. For example: *er derlangt a chap* 'he suddenly seizes,' *er wet geben a cheschben* 'he will quickly calculate.'

There are five moods: indicative, conditional, infinitive, imperative, and the participle; and four tenses: present, imperfect, perfect, future.

*Conjugation.*

The auxiliaries *hoben*, *zajn*, *weren* are conjugated as follows:

*Indicative.*

Present Tense.

<i>ich hob (ch'o)</i>	<i>ich bin</i>	<i>ich wer</i>
<i>du host</i>	<i>du bist</i>	<i>du werst (west)</i>
<i>er hot</i>	<i>er iz</i>	<i>er wert (wet)</i>
<i>mir hoben</i>	<i>mir zenen (zajnen)</i>	<i>mir weren</i>
<i>ir hot</i>	<i>ir zent (zajnt)</i>	<i>ir wert</i>
<i>zej hoben</i>	<i>zej zenen (zajnen)</i>	<i>zej weren</i>

Imperfect.

<i>ich fleg</i>	} <i>hoben, zajn, weren.</i>
<i>du flegst</i>	
<i>er fleg (flegt)</i>	
<i>mir flegen</i>	
<i>ir flegt</i>	
<i>zej flegen</i>	

Perfect.

<i>ich hob (ch'o) gehat</i>	<i>ich bin gewezen (gewén)</i>	<i>ich bin geworden</i>
etc.	etc.	etc.

Future.

<i>ich wel (ich el)</i>	} <i>hoben, zajn, weren.</i>
<i>du west (du est)</i>	
<i>er wet (er et)</i>	
<i>mir welen (mir elen)</i>	
<i>ir wet (ir et)</i>	
<i>zej welen (zej elen)</i>	

*Conditional.*

Present.—1st Form.

<i>ich zol</i>	} <i>hoben, zajn, weren.</i>
<i>du zolst</i>	
<i>er zol</i>	
<i>mir zolen</i>	
<i>ir zoll</i>	
<i>zej zolen</i>	

## 2d Form.

<i>ich wolt</i>	}	<i>hoben, zajn, weren.</i>
<i>du wolst</i>		
<i>er wolt</i>		
<i>mir wolten</i>		
<i>ir wolt</i>		
<i>zej wolten</i>		

## Past.—1st Form.

*ich zol hoben gehat, hoben gewén, hoben geworden.*  
etc., etc.

## 2d Form.

*ich wolt hoben gehat, hoben gewén, hoben geworden.*  
or *ich wolt gehat, gewén, geworden.*  
etc., etc.

## Infinitive.

*hoben                      zajn                      weren*

## Imperative.

<i>lomich hoben,</i>	<i>zajn, weren</i>
<i>hob,</i>	<i>zaj, wer</i>
<i>loz er or zol er hoben,</i>	<i>zajn, weren</i>
<i>lomir hoben,</i>	<i>zajn, weren</i>
<i>hot,</i>	<i>zajt, wert</i>
<i>lozen zej or zolen zej hoben,</i>	<i>zajn, weren</i>

## Participle.

Present,	<i>hobendig</i>	<i>zajendig</i>	<i>werendig</i>
Past,	<i>gehat</i>	<i>gewezén (gewén)</i>	<i>geworen</i>

The present indicative presents no great peculiarities. The imperfect has disappeared, and the combination *ich fleg hoben* 'solebam habere, habebam' has been substituted instead; this is by no means a casual combination, but a tense-form used very frequently in description.<sup>1</sup> The future is very peculiar, not only

<sup>1</sup> I cannot help quoting a long passage from Scholem Alejchem's (S. Rabinowitsch's) novel 'Jöjsele Solowój' to illustrate the use of the imperfect tense; it will also serve as a sample of Jargon style: "In der zajt wen ale chejder-junglech weren befrajt noch halben tog, me farschtekt di poles un me lozt zich iber der schtot löjfen, schpringen, schpilen zich in ferdlech uchdöjme, fleg zich Jöjsele farklajben wajt, wajt ouf jener zajt bod, intern barg, un dort,

in that a form of the verb *welen* (cf. Eng. *will*, M. Greek *θῆλω*) is used, but also in that the form is not the same as the present tense of *welen*; I am inclined to think that the second and third persons singular and the second person plural are forms of the verb *weren*. How and when the amalgamation of these two verb-forms took place I have not yet investigated. I have never met with a future perfect of the auxiliaries, but such a form as *ich wel hoben gehat* seems to me to be admissible.

There are two forms for the conditional, and their uses will be explained later; the first form of the past is rare; the form *ichzol hoben gewén* is strange, but a similar mixture of *hoben* with *gewén* we shall meet later. The second form consists in the present of the imperfect of *welen*—(this and *fleg* are the only German imperfects left in Jargon)—with the infinitive of the auxiliary. In the past *ich wollt hoben* is attached to the past participle of the auxiliary; this form is rare, and instead the past participle is placed directly after the imperfect of *welen*. This is due to Slavic influence, which will become more evident when I shall treat of the conjugation of the verbs.

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gumerleb, zich zuléjgen oufn grinem gro3 mitn ponim arouf, betrachten Gots weltel mit ale 3ajne beschefenischlech, fun di grójse fejglen wos schweben in himel arajn biz di klejne rójte gepintelte žuklech, wos hejsen ouf chejderloschen 'Mójsche-rabejnu's ferdelech,' mit di breklech mureschkkes wos krichen, borblen zich in 3amd trogendig un schlependig mit zich ganze schtikler gro3 oder schtrój un lőjfen mit dem shtark fartareramt zu zich in der nore arajn. Ligendig dort a3đj fleg zich Jőjsele lib hoben ajnuheren in di ferschiedene kőjles un alerlej minim gezangen fun di fejgelech wos zenen iber 3ajn kop gefłőjgen on a schir. . . . Nit ejn mol fleg er zich durchschmuesen mit der kúkuschke wos hot zich geloszt heren fun dem grőjsen monastirske gorten; őjch di iberige schpilfejgelech, kanarkelech, fleg Jőjsele a3đj kunzig iberkrumen a3 im alejn i3 nischt gring gewén zu trefen welchs zingt er un welchs 3ej, nor ajn solowėtschik hot Jőjsele beschumđjfen nischt gekont nochmachen." Chejderjunglech = schoolboys, poles (Rus. poly) = skirts of dress, uchđjme (H. וְיָכְרָהּ) = and so forth, farklajben = betake oneself, bod = bath-house, gumerleb = all summer-day long, ponim (H. פָּנִים) = face, beschefenischlech = little creatures, gepintelte = dappled, žuklech (Rus. žuk) = little bugs, chejderloschen (H. חֶדְרֵי לֹשְׁכָן) = school-language, breklech = little bits, mureschkkes (Rus. muraschki) = little ants, fartareramt = excited, nore (Rus. nora) = hole, kőjles (H. קוֹלֹת) = voices, minim (H. מִיָּנִים) = kinds, on a schir (G. Schier?) = without end, durchschmuesen (H. שָׁמַעְתִּי?) = have a talk, kúkuschke (Rus. kukuschka) = cuckoo, monastirske (Rus.) = belonging to cloister, kanarkelech (Pol. kanarek) = little canaries, iberkrumen = imitate, solowejtschik (Rus. solowěj) = little nightingale, beschumđjfen (H. בְּשָׂאֵם אֶפְסָה) = by no means.

A past infinitive I have never seen, and the present with *zu* used substantively has almost the value of a future infinitive. The present participle corresponds to the Russian gerundive (djejepritschastije) and is a verbal adverb; by getting the proper endings it becomes an adjective.

The imperative renders exactly the meaning of the Russian *pustj* and the Polish *niech* imperatives; the first and third persons express a concession. *Lomich* is evidently a contraction of *loz mich*, and *lomir* of *lozen mir*; it is strange that in the first person singular the accusative should be used and elsewhere the nominative of the pronoun; some authors write  $\text{לֹמִיךְ}$  *lom ich*, but, I believe, without any good reason. By suffixing the Polish particle *že* in the following manner: *lomirže hoben*, *lozerže hoben*, etc., we get a precative form similar to the Polish in meaning.

The Jargon has more modal auxiliaries than the German; they are: *zolen* 'shall,' *kenen* 'can,' *muzen* 'must,' *welen* 'will,' *darfen*, *bedarfen* 'ought,' *megen* 'may,' *toren* 'be allowed'; their past participles are: *gezolt*, *gekent* (*gekont*), *gemuht*, *gewolt*, *gedarft*, *bedarft*, *gemegt*, *getort*. They are conjugated like *hoben*. The present goes as follows: *ich muh*, *du must*, *er muh*, *mir muzen*, *ir must*, *zej muzen*. The other verbs are similarly conjugated, except *welen*, which has in the present *ich wil*, *du wilt*, etc. *Toren* is good Middle High German, and occurs as late as the sixteenth century; for example, in one of Paul Melissus Schede's songs:

" Teutschland (sags mit vergunst)  
Begabet ist mit mancher Kunst  
Derer sichs gar nit schemen thar."

Instead of *ich zol hoben gemuht*, etc., which is rare, the Polish dialect uses *ich zol gewen muzen*, and for *ich wolt gemuht* sometimes *ich wolt gewen muzen* is used; this is clearly an echo from the Polish form *gdybym ja był musiał*, and even the form *ich wolt gemuht* is Slavic (cf. Rus. *jesliby ja mog*), where the participle and the verb 'to be' are used respectively in the formation of the conditional.

The other verbs present few difficulties in the conjugation. The present of *zogen* 'say' is *ich zog*, *du zogst*, *er zogt*, *mir zogen*, *ir zogt*, *zej zogen*; the other tenses are conjugated like the auxiliaries. The verbs *töjgen* (G. *taugen*) 'valere,' *geheren* 'belong' have in the third person sing. of the pres. tense *töjg* and *gehér*. *Geben* is irregular in the present: *ich gib*, *du gist*, *er git*,

*mir giben, ir git, zej giben*; so also *wisen* 'know': *ich wejs, du wejst, er wejst, mir wejsen, ir wejst, zej wejsen*. Reflexive, reciprocal and middle verbs are conjugated with the reflexive *zich*, which, as in Slavic, remains the same for all persons, except when special emphasis is expressed. As in German, a number of verbs are conjugated with *zajn*, but their number is somewhat larger; such verbs are *blajben* 'remain,' *schtejn* 'stand,' *foren* 'ride,' *gejn* 'go,' *gefelen* 'please,' *krichen* 'crawl,' *fligen* 'fly,' *zizen* 'sit,' *schlofen* 'sleep.' The past conditional of *schtejn*, for example, would be *ich zol hoben geschtanen* (rare) and *ich wolt geschlanen*; in Poland we hear *ich wolt gewén schtejn* and, even more Slavic in form, *ich wolt gewén geschtanen*. Very peculiar is the perfect of such verb-combinations as *mekane* (H. מֵקָנֶה) *zajn* 'envy,' in that it is invariably formed with *hoben*: *ich hob mekane gewén*.

The passive voice is formed with *weren*, as in German. Ind. pres., *ich wer geschlogen*; imperf., *ich fleg weren geschlogen* (or *geschlogen weren*); perf., *ich bin geworden geschlogen*; fut., *ich wel weren geschlogen*; cond. pres., *ich zol weren geschlogen* and *ich wolt weren geschlogen*; cond. past, *ich zol gewén geschlogen weren* and *ich wolt geworden geschlogen* and *ich wolt gewén geschlogen weren* (or *geworen*); inf., *weren geschlogen*; imp., *lomich geschlogen weren*, etc. Passives with *zajn*, as in German, are rare.

Most past participles of verbs of German origin are formed as in German, observing the rules treated in the chapter on Phonology, for example: *bajsen gebisen* 'bite,' *bigen geböjgen* 'bend,' *beten gebeten* 'bid,' *blozen geblozen* 'blow,' *blajben gebliben* 'remain,' *brengen gebracht* 'bring,' *foren geforen* 'drive,' *fligen geflōjgen* 'fly,' *gejn gegangen* 'go,' *gisen gegosen* 'pour,' *hejben gehejben* 'raise,' *kumen gekumen* 'come,' *lōjfen gelosen* 'run,' *ligen gelegen* 'lie,' *mesen gemosen* 'measure,' *nemen genumen* 'take,' *kwelen gekwolen* 'rejoice,' *rajben geriben* 'rub,' *schlofen geschlofen* 'sleep,' *schrajben gescriben* 'write,' *schrajen geschrigen* 'cry,' *schwaiggen geschwigen* 'be silent,' *schweren geschworen* 'swear,' *schtejn geschtanen* 'stand,' *schtarben geschtorben* 'die,' *schlōjsen geschlōjsen* 'push,' *tun (ton) getun* 'do,' *warfen geworfen* 'throw,' *zwingen gezwungen* 'compel.' Many verbs that are irregular or of the old conjugation in German end in *t* in the Jargon: *baken gebakt* (also *gebaken*) 'bake,' *brenen gebrent* 'burn,' *gedenken gedenkt* 'remember,' *zich flajsen geflajst* 'exert one's self,' *glaj-*

*chen geglajcht* 'compare,' *kenen gekent* 'know,' *lozen gelozt* and *gelozen* 'let,' *melken gemelkt* 'milk.'

Verbs of Slavic or Hebrew origin get *t* in the participle, as *farkatschen farkatschet* 'roll up' (the sleeves), *mutschen gemutschet* 'vex,' *cheschbenen gecheschbent* 'figure.' *Ganwenen* 'steal' has *geganwet* and *dawnen* 'pray' has *gedawent*.

### Adverbs.

Adverbs are derived mainly from German and Hebrew roots. Adverbs of place (motion is expressed by the suffix *a*): *arous* 'out'; *nischts* 'there is not,' for example: *kajn guter wind iz nischts* 'there is no good wind'; *inderhejm* (generally pronounced *indrejm*) 'at home'; *ahejm* 'home'; *fardn* (= Ger. vorhanden) 'in existence,' as in *es iz nischts fardn* 'there does not exist'; *fun forint* 'in front'; *arop* 'down'; *aher* 'thither'; *ergiz* 'somewhere'; *hi* 'here'; *fun derwajlens* 'from afar'; *umetum* (= Ger. um und um) 'everywhere'; *inwejnig* 'within,' etc.

Adverbs of time: *densmol* 'at that time'; *pluzling* or *pluzim* 'suddenly'; *farzajten* 'formerly'; *gich* 'quickly'; *azund* or *zund* (*izt* in Lithuania) 'now'; *schlendig* 'always'; *hejn hejn* (H. הֵן) 'at times, at others,' as in *hejn in hebrejisch hejn in žargon* 'at times in Hebrew, at others in Jargon'; *tomid* (H. תָּמִיד) 'always'; *kesejder* (H. בְּסֻדֵּר) 'in succession.'

Adverbs of manner generally end in *lich*, *isch* and *dig*: *beschajmperlich* (Ger. scheinbar?) 'evidently,' *lajtisch* 'gentlemanly,' *knapisch* 'hardly,' *umberachmónesdig* (H. רַחֲמָנִית) 'merciless.' Many adverbs of manner are formed from plural nouns by the addition of *wajz* (Ger. weise): *schureswajz* (Tal. שְׂוֹרֶזֶת) 'by lines,' *pudenwajz* (Rus. pud) 'by the 40 pounds,' *porlechwajz* 'by pairs'; also by the addition of a preposition: *zubislechwajz* 'little by little.' *Kløjmerscht* and *kløjmperscht* (Tal. בְּלֹמֶר) 'so to say.'

Hebrew and Talmudic adverbs generally keep the original form: *bewade* and *awade* (Tal. וְדֵא) 'surely,' *bekizer* (Tal. בְּקִיצוֹר) 'in short,' *aderabe* (Tal. אֲדֵרְבָּא) 'on the contrary,' *mistome* (Tal. מִסְתָּמָא) 'perhaps, of course.'

Other adverbs are: *lejrech* (H. לְעֵרֵךְ) 'nearly'; *(ajn)emes* (H. אֵמֶס) 'for a fact'; *amér* 'rather,' as in *amér fregt a kasche* (Tal. מַשְׁיָה) 'why do you not rather ask a question'; *umzist* 'in vain'; *borfes* 'barefoot'; *fort* 'in spite of it,' as in *zej muzen zich doch fort ajnreden* 'they imagine in spite of it'; *chotsche* (Rus.



chotjá) 'at least'; *kimat* (H. כִּמְאֵד) 'scarcely'; *až* (Polish *až*) 'almost'; *hendum pendum* 'helter-skelter'; *efscher* (Tal. אָפֶשֶׁר) 'perhaps'; *lemoschel* (H. לְמֹשֶׁל) 'for example.' *Mischléjnsgezogt* is an expression of compassion like the German *leider*; the etymology of the word is hard to ascertain; perhaps it is a corruption of *nischt uns gezogt*, which in the South is pronounced *nischt ins gezogt* and would mean 'not in our case be it said'; a similar formula is frequently used when some misfortune is mentioned, as if to ward off the evil influence.

Under the head of adverbs mention must be made of the particles that form an important factor in Jargon style. The German particles *gor*, *doch*, *je* (Ger. *ja*), *den* are used in a slightly different sense. The Slavic *ot* (Rus. *wot*), *že*, *take* are of frequent occurrence. Examples: *a doktor ken amól gor zajn a kelbel* 'a doctor may sometimes indeed be a little calf,' *ot schlelt men im arajn zen zelner zu hodewen* 'behold, they station ten soldiers in his house to take care of them.' *Take* may precede and follow the emphasized word: *Take beemes take wer iz er azöjns gewên?* 'Who, in reality, was he?' Several particles may be used together: *nor wos den že?* 'what else could it be?' *zej hoben doch take je gemogt halten fun der gemore* 'they surely ought to have observed the rulings of the Gemara.' The indefinite pronoun *epes* (Ger. *etwas*) is frequently only a particle: *do muz epes zajn a krezele* 'there must be some trouble there.' The Hebrew word *schum* (Tal. שִׁמּוּם) is used as an expletive: *kajn schum mensch* 'not a man.'

### *Prepositions.*

The most of the prepositions are of German origin, but their use is more in accord with the corresponding Slavic ones. All prepositions in the Jargon take the dative case after them. Examples: *ich hob geschlofen leben* (or *neben*) *zajn wigel* 'I slept near his cradle,' *jiden hoben getanzt arum dem goldenem kalb* 'Jews danced around the golden calf,' *der mensch iz derschaffen geworen noch dem zejlem* (H. אֶלֶם) *fun Got* 'man was created in the image of God,' *zej zolen gut ton dem ger* (H. גֵּר) *wos wöjnt zwischen zej* 'they ought to be good to the unbeliever who lives among them,' *di wos hoben gelacht ous der libe* 'those who ridiculed love,' *wegen zajn zdoke* (H. צְדָקָה) *geben erzellt zich azá majse* (H. מַעֲשֵׂה) 'the following story is told in regard to his giving alms.'

The following prepositions, of frequent occurrence and greatly differing in their use from the German ones, must be treated separately:—

*Fun* is used like the English *of*, where in German the genitive would stand: *in der shtot iz men derfun gewor geworen* 'they found that out in town.' It generally corresponds to the German *von* in the sense of *from* and *by*: *di friere chawejrim* (H. חברים) *hoben zich fun im derwajert* 'his former friends were alienated from him,' *ousgemutschet* (Rus.) *fun der schwerer togarbajt* 'worn out by the heavy daily work,' *Chajim hot geleyent höjch fun a geschriben bichel* 'Chajim read aloud from a written book,' *Jöjsef iz farköjft geworen fun zajne brider* 'Joseph was sold by his brothers.' Sometimes it corresponds to the English *in*: *di uroken* (Rus. uroki) *zenen beschtanen fun schrajben jidisch* 'his lessons consisted in writing Hebrew.' After comparatives *fun* may be used instead of *wi*, precisely as in Russian the genitive is used there: *wos darf ich mer schtolz zajn funm oremán?* 'why should I be prouder than the poor man?'

The use of *ouf* will be seen from the following examples: *kejner hot zich ouf im nischt arumgekukt* 'nobody paid any attention to him,' *er iz nischt mekáne* (H. מקנה) *gewén ouf kajn rajchkajt* 'he did not envy his riches,' *mir hoben ouf zej a chöjw* (H. חוב) 'we have a bill against them,' *iz es meglich du zolst zajn ouf azöj fil karg?* 'is it possible that you are stingy to such a degree?' *ich wel dich konen oushelfen ouf dajn eller* 'I shall be able to assist you in your old age,' *ich muz horewen* (Pol.) *tog un nacht oufn trukenem schtikel bröjt* 'I must work day and night for a piece of dry bread,' *men ruft dos hep ouf zejer loschen* (H. לשון) 'they call it hep in their language,' *zej hoben im farbrent ouf köjl* 'they burned him to coal.'

*Mit* renders precisely the Russian *s* with the ablative or the ablative without a preposition: *jederer wos interesirt zich mit der žargonischer literatur* 'every one who is interested in Jargon literature,' *ale wajber hoben zich mit im gebentscht* 'all women said a benediction over him,' *er hot ongehejben zu firen a leben ful mit zores* (H. צרות) 'he began leading a life full of troubles,' *er hot zich frajndlich mit im gezegent* 'he bid him a friendly adieu,' *ich wil mich zuschejden mit majne chawejrim* (H. חברים) 'I shall part with all my friends,' *zurik mit etliche teg* 'a few days ago,' *winziger mit a chawer* 'a friend less,' *eller mit a jor zen* 'some ten years older.'

*Far* stands for the German *für* and *vor*: *er hot ongezogt farn töjt* 'he commanded them before his death,' *ot azöj hot Leje zich ousgeret dos harz far ir guten frajnd Nechame* 'thus did Lea open her heart to her good friend Naomi,' *zum sof* (H. סוף) *hot er gefunen far nejtig* 'finally he found it necessary.'

'Into' is expressed in Jargon by *in*—*arajn*: *zej hoben im gefirt jungerhejd in kejwer* (H. בקבר) *arajn* 'they took him to his grave while he was still young,' *zi hot illichen gezogt dem emes* (H. אמת) *in ponim* (H. פנים) *arajn* 'she told the truth to everybody's face.'

There is only one Slavic preposition used in Jargon; namely, *wedlig* (Pol. *według*) 'according to': *zi zet ous jinger wedlig ire joren* 'she looks younger than her years.' Hebrew prepositions are of frequent occurrence: *achuz* or *chuz* (H. חוץ) 'besides,' *machmäs* (T. סבב) 'on account of,' *beéjs* (H. בעת), *beschäs* (Tal. בשעת) 'during.'

### Conjunctions.

By far the greatest number of conjunctions are of German origin; among these *a3* occurs most frequently and has the greatest variety of meanings; it is the German 'dass, als, da, wenn': *er farschlejt nischt a3 dos umglik ken zajn* 'he does not understand that the misfortune may happen,' *a3 er iz schöjn gor der frumer* 'if he pretends to be pious.' *A3* enters into combinations with prepositions, thus changing them into conjunctions: *nochdem a3 zi hot zich arumgekukt* 'after she had looked around.' *Wi* has the meaning of 'as, however': *wi du wejst* 'as you know,' *wi umgerecht der mensch iz* 'however wrong the man may be'; *wi* enters into combinations with a number of adverbs, as *wi bald köjfen* 'if at all we buy,' *azöj wi zej hoben gedenkt zajn talen* 'since they remembered his father.' Other conjunctions are *nor*, *worum*, *zint*, *öjb*, *ejder*, *sajden*, *biz*: *nor wos macht men azöjne lajt far kol?* (H. למה) 'but why do they choose such men to the congregation?' *worum di negidim* (H. נגידים) *zenen ejns mit kol* 'for the rich are one with the congregation,' *zint* (G. *sei*) *me nemt rekruten* 'from the time that men have been recruited,' *öjb* (G. *ob*) *zi firt zich nischt ordentlich* 'if she does not behave,' *ejder* (G. *ehe*, perhaps elliptic for *eh' der Zeit*) *ich hob mich arumgekukt* 'before I looked around,' *sajden* (G. *es sei denn*) *er ken nischt kumen* 'except, indeed, he cannot come,' *biz di böjd fort zu zu der achsanje* (Tal. אכסנייה) 'while the wagon drives up to the inn.'

Three Polish conjunctions are of very frequent occurrence: *abi* (Pol. *aby*), *chotsche* (Pol. *choć*), *zi* (Pol. *czy*). Examples: *abi zej zenen gut* 'if only they are good,' *chotsche er wejs nischt* 'although he does not know,' *du bist meschuge* (H. מְשֻׁעַ) *zi choser deje* (H. חֲסִידֵי) 'you are crazy or beside yourself.'

### Interjections.

The Jargon is remarkably rich in interjections, of which some are onomatopoeic or mere sounds, others are corruptions of words or whole sentences. To the first class belong such as *ach*, *i*, *oj*, *ha*, *och*, *ta*, *nu*, *na*, *scha*, *et et*, *fe*, *aha*. Examples: *Ach, Senderl, ich hob fargesen* 'O, Alec, I have forgotten,' *i, Binjomin, was falt dir ajn?* 'go away, Benjamin, what are you talking about?' *oj, biler, oj* 'oh, bitter it is,' *ha?* 'what's that?' *och iz mir* 'woe to me,' *ta, es iz do* 'granted there is,' *nu?* 'well, what of that?' *et et, es ken nischt zajn* 'I do not believe it, it is impossible,' *fe* 'be ashamed,' *aha* expresses surprise, *na dir* (Rus. *na tjebjé*) 'there you have it,' *scha* 'be silent.' The last two have a plural formed like the imperative: *nat ajch* 'there you have,' *schat kinder* 'be silent, children.' To the second class belong words like *hajda*, *nebich*, *chleben*, *stajtsch*, *mischlejnsggezogt*. *Hajda* is German and expresses quick motion: *hajda ahejm* 'let us be gone.' The origin of *nebich*, which means nearly the same as the German 'leider,' I am unable to give: *er ken nebich nit kumen* 'poor fellow, he cannot come.' *Chleben* is a contraction of *ich zol leben*: *zej hoben ale gemegt chleben blajben in der hejm* 'they all might have stayed at home, upon my word.' *Stajtsch* is frequently used in expressing surprise or expecting an explanation, and is evidently a contraction of *iz tajtsch?* 'what is that in German?' i. e. 'what is the meaning of it?' just as *fartajtschen* means 'translate': *stajtsch, un di well?* 'well, and the world, what will it say?'

### IV.—INTERRELATION OF COMPONENT ELEMENTS.

The previous chapters contain sufficient explanation of the manner in which Hebrew and Slavic words enter into the composition of the Jargon. It now remains to ascertain the numerical relation between the three elements. For this purpose one thousand consecutive words in three different stories written by

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps *nebich* is the Polish *niech Bóg* in the sentence *niech Bóg bromi* 'may God avert,' a very common phrase in the mouths of Poles.

different authors were investigated, and the following result was obtained: In Benami's 'Di kindersche joren,' out of 1000 words 51 are of Hebrew, 34 of Slavic origin; in S. Rabinowitsch's 'Stempenju,' out of the same number 69 words are Hebrew, 17 Slavic; while in Sch. J. Abramowitsch's 'Dos klejne menschele,' 88 were found to be of Hebrew, 23 of Slavic origin. Averaging all three we would get 6.9 per cent. Hebrew and 2.5 per cent. Slavic words, or less than 10 per cent. of non-Germanic words composing Jargon speech.

By compiling a vocabulary out of some 20 pages quite different results were obtained. The text gave 1897 words, of which 1342 were of German, 320 of Hebrew, 131 of Slavic, 68 of uncertain origin, and 36 proper names. This would make the proportion as follows: 70.7 per cent. German, 16.8 per cent. Hebrew, 6.9 per cent. Slavic, 3.6 per cent. uncertain, and 2 per cent. proper names; thus about 30 per cent. of the Jargon vocabulary (not Jargon speech) are of non-Germanic origin. On a closer investigation this proportion, I believe, will be found to be about the correct one.

Of the 1342 German words the following have become obsolete in German or show marked deviations in meaning or form from the corresponding German words: *achtung* 'care,' *ajnglejgen (di welt)* 'make much ado,' *aksel* 'shoulder,' *arbel* 'sleeve,' *aweklozen zich* 'start travelling,' *azund* 'now,' *behalten zich* 'hide,' *bejgel* 'doughnut,' *bejnken zich* 'be homesick,' *bezezen zich* 'settle,' *bekleren* 'consider,' *benemen* 'grasp, conceive,' *beschajmperlich* 'evidently,' *bewajbt* 'married,' *brikel* 'stile, front steps,' *brimblen* 'hum' (a song), *dachten zich* 'seem,' *ejgener* 'relation by blood,' *ek* 'end, tail,' *eken zich* 'come to an end,' *eller (di)* 'old age,' *emizer* 'somebody,' *epes* 'something, somehow,' *ergez* 'somewhere,' *etliche* 'some,' *farbinden (a schmues)* 'engage' (in a conversation), *farfalen* 'lost, in vain,' *fargejn zich* 'faint,' *farglozt* 'staring,' *farklajben zich* 'betake oneself,' *farnumen* 'busy,' *farschlept* 'chronic,' *farschtelen zich* 'mask,' *fartrachten zich* 'fall to musing,' *fartrogen* 'busy,' *farwist* 'disconsolate,' *farzin* 'start a tune,' *farzéenisch* 'appearance,' *feter* 'uncle,' *flajsen zich* 'attempt,' *fort* 'still, nevertheless,' *gefinen* 'find,' *gel* 'yellow,' *gepilder* 'noise,' *geschmak* 'considerably,' *gewaldernisch* 'loud screaming,' *gich* (G. gach, jäh) 'quick,' *glajch wi* 'just if,' *glajche wertlech* 'bon mots,' *glat* 'simply,' *gring weren* 'feel better,' *gwald* 'noise,' *harzklemenisch* 'heart-pain,' *hentschke* 'glove,' *hi* 'here,' *iberbeten*

*zich* (Rus. pereprositjsja) 'make peace,' *iberkeren zich* 'change religion,' *iberkrumen*, *ibernemen* 'imitate,' *iberrajsen* 'interrupt,' *iberschrajbechz* 'correspondence,' *illicher* 'everybody,' *jöjch* (G. Jauche) 'soup,' *kest esen* 'board,' *klajben zich* 'get ready,' *klejn-warg* 'little children,' *kleren* 'meditate,' *kochenisch* 'excitement,' *krenk* (*di*) 'disease,' *kuken* 'look,' *kwelen* 'rejoice,' *lajblich* 'staunch,' *lajtisch* 'gentlemanly,' *lichtig* 'bright, glorious,' *mansbil* 'man,' *mume* 'aunt,' *mejnst* 'most,' *nechten* 'yesterday,' *nechtigen* 'stay over night,' *obschaj* 'respect, awe,' *oftlich* 'somewhat often,' *ombajsen* 'breakfast,' *ongrejten* 'prepare,' *onhejben* 'begin,' *onhöjb* 'beginning,' *onkeren zich* 'belong,' *onkumenisch* 'happy occurrence,' *onwajzen* 'point out,' *opgejn* 'lack,' *opgeschlisen* 'ragged,' *oplejkenen* 'deny,' *oprufen zich* 'echo,' *opzegnen zich* 'bid good-bye,' *ousgejn* 'faint,' *ousgeschlrozelt* 'decked out,' *ousgezwoogen* 'combed, fixed up,' *ouswalgern zich* 'wallow,' *ouswajzen* 'appear,' *öjberkepel* 'guide,' *pizel* 'little piece,' *pluzim*, *pluzling* 'suddenly,' *redel* 'crowd,' *rudern* 'stir,' *rumplen* 'make a noise,' *schmek* (*tábeke*) 'pinch,' *schmeken* 'smell,' *schmiz* 'thrust,' *schnur* 'daughter-in-law,' *schparen zich* 'be obstinate, press forward,' *schlark* 'very much,' *schlattel* 'posture,' *schlendig* 'always,' *schul* 'synagogue,' *schwer* 'father-in-law,' *schwiger* 'mother-in-law,' *toren* 'be allowed,' *trer* 'tear,' *tromejl* 'trumpet,' *umgelumpert* 'awkward,' *umedum* (G. um und um) 'everywhere,' *umetig* 'sad,' *unterhaller* 'second' (in music), *warmes* 'dinner,' *werllen* 'exchange words,' *winzig wos* 'hardly any,' *worum* 'because,' *wu nit wu* 'somewhere,' *züleb* (G. zu lieb) 'on account of,' *zunemen* 'unfold,' *zunemenisch* 'surname,' *zúzogen* 'promise.'

Dr. Zunz's remarks<sup>1</sup> in regard to the rôle that the Hebrew plays in the Judæo-German will also hold true with the Jargon. He says that the Hebrew words are used for things from the sphere of Judaism and Jewish life, for conceptions with which Jews got acquainted through the study of Jewish lore, for several expressions from the language of every-day life, and for objects for which Jews purposely would give no German name. Avé-Lallemant has given a copious dictionary<sup>2</sup> of the Hebrew constituent of the Judæo-German, but he errs in giving entirely too much, as it contains purely Hebrew expressions that have never become domesticated and forms of verbs which do not occur in the Judæo-German. Of 320 Hebrew words received by the

<sup>1</sup> Die gottesdienstlichen Vorträge der Juden von Dr. Zunz, p. 453 sqq.

<sup>2</sup> Das deutsche Gaunerthum von Avé-Lallemant, vierter Theil.

above-mentioned method, 56 are adverbs, conjunctions, prepositions, mainly from the Talmud; ten are participial forms conjugated with *jajn*, as *בְּחַל* 'be so kind,' *בְּקַנְיָא* 'envy,' *יוֹצֵא* 'do one's duty,' *בְּטַרְיָה* 'ask a favor'; one with *weren*: *פֿאַר* 'get rid of.' Ten verbs are formed with German prefixes and suffixes: *schadchenen* (Tal. *שְׂחַדְכֵן*) 'make a match,' *chanfenen* (H. *חָנַף*) 'flatter,' *ganwenen* (H. *גָּנַב*) 'steal,' *farganwenen zich*, *unterganwenen zich* 'sneak in,' *tajnen* (Tal. *טַעְנָה*) 'argue,' *farsamen* (Tal. *פָּם*) 'poison,' *arouspatern* (H. *פֿאַר*) 'get rid of,' *farschikert* (H. *שָׁפַר*) 'drunk.' Ten adjectives end in *dig*, *isch*, *er*; for example, *möj-redig* (H. *מִוֶּדָּע*) 'terrible,' *chazonisch* (Tal. *חָזֵן*) 'of a cantor,' *emeser* (H. *אִמְרָה*) 'true.' Twenty-three words not verbs have German or Russian affixes, as *kalewajz* (H. *כָּלָה* + G. *weise*) 'while being a bride,' *widerköjl* (G. *wieder* + H. *קוֹל*) 'echo,' *chewrenik* (H. *חֶבְרָה* + R. *nik*) 'one of a company.' The rest consists of nouns used in the form in which they occur in Hebrew, only the pronunciation being changed.

Of the Slavic words about one-half are taken directly from the Russian, nearly the same number from the Polish, and the rest either from Little Russian or local dialects. These words represent a variety of ideas; they are the names of plants and animals: *jágede* 'blackberry,' *ágres* 'gooseberry,' *indik* 'turkey'; or special Slavic dishes: *moróžne* 'ice cream,' *barschtsch* 'cream soup with turnips and cucumbers,' *welschere* 'supper.' Others express endearment, as *ljubke* 'darling,' *chwat* 'fine fellow'; or family relations: *tate* 'father,' *mame* 'mother,' *bobe* 'grandmother.' Objects of native industry or imported goods have the Slavic form: *lópete* 'spade,' *smik* 'bow of a violin,' *schpakulen* 'spectacles,' *stejngel* 'ribbon,' *sloj* 'jar,' *bulke* 'small loaf of bread,' *barabán* 'drum,' *kápelesch* 'hat,' *kawe* 'coffee.' Verbs expressing order and command are derived from Slavic: *prawen* 'order about,' *poradkewen* 'make order,' *komandewen* 'command.' Scientific terms get the Russian form, with the ending *e*, however: *biografije* 'biography,' *reforme* 'reform.' A number of adjectives, hard to classify, are derived mainly from the Polish: *pisne* 'beautiful,' *same* 'very,' *prikre* 'bitter, disagreeable,' *pust* 'empty,' *modne* 'newfangled,' *ženske* 'female,' *kollenewate* 'having the plica.' Also many abstract nouns come from the same source: *postempek* 'deed,' *zekawest* 'curiosity,' *nówine* 'news,' *dolje* 'lot,' *antik* 'delicacy.' Objects and ideas of country life are nearly all Polish: *snop* 'garb,' *horewen* 'work hard,' *hodewen* 'bring up,

rear,' *penten* 'put on the fetlock, fetter,' *grude* 'pile,' *torbe* 'wallet,' *majontek* 'possession, farm,' *scharjen* 'dawn.' Many verbs from the Slavic are hard to classify, but the most of them seem to be onomatopoeitic: *chripen* 'squeak,' *chrapen* 'snore,' *leptschen* 'mumble,' *swistschen* 'blow, whistle,' *achken*, *ochken* 'wonder,' *katschen* 'roll,' *chapen* 'seize,' *blischtschen* 'glimmer,' *smalen* 'roast,' *mutschen* 'vex,' *chlipen* 'sob.'

Of the words of uncertain origin some have a German, others a Slavic appearance, others again are either of foreign origin or onomatopoeitic; such words are *lokschen* 'vermicelli,' *onwveren* 'lose,' *schlek* 'plague,' *grajz* 'mistake,' *zideln* 'call names, quarrel,' *nebich* 'alas,' *schir* (*on a schir*)<sup>1</sup> 'limit,' *lekach* (G. Lebkuch?) 'cake,' *schtifsen* 'cut up,' *sarwer* (French servir?) 'usher,' *schlag* 'cage,' *klejt* 'store,' *schlejtger* 'manner,' *bentschen* (L. benedicere) 'bless,' *aren* 'worry,' *zejde* 'grandfather,' *zubúzken* 'strike against each other,' *arumblankewen* 'fidget about,' *kajkel* (Greek κύκλος?) 'circle,' *kajlechtig* 'round,' *zutipen* 'beat time,' *mizkedrinen* 'all of a sudden (?)', *rendel* 'rouble,' *zuplézt* 'flat' (nose), *schmizern* 'chirp,' *terelajken* 'trill,' *ampfern zich* 'talk lively,' *arumpadkewen* 'pay constant attention.'

#### V.—SYNTAX.

##### *Order of Words in Jargon Speech.*

The transposed order of the German subordinate clause does not appear in the Jargon. In the direct order the subject with its modifiers comes first; the auxiliary and short modifiers of the predicate and the personal pronouns (direct and indirect objects or with prepositions) follow; then is placed the predicate, followed by the modifiers of the same: *ich hob akegen a por minut zich geborbet in der buzemkeschene un arousbekumen fun dort geschribene papiren* 'for a few minutes I rummaged in my coat-pocket and brought out from there some written documents,' *di köjles hoben zich alz derwajtert un zich fartrogen gor in an ander zajt* 'the voices were carried further and further and took an entirely different direction.' The same order is used in subordinate clauses: *ich bin gegangen biz ich bin gekumen zu a ganz gröjsen plaz farwoksen mit groz* 'I walked until I came to a very large spot entirely covered with grass,' *az ich bin abisel zu zich gekumen hob ich derzén wi di kljatsche kajt hej ganz ruig* 'when I came

<sup>1</sup> There may be compared the post-Bibl. מִשְׁעָר 'measure, pensum,' and מִשְׁעָרָה 'estimation, calculation'; comp. also מִשְׁעָר, Prov. 23, 7.



to I noticed the mare chewing quietly hay.' The pronoun may sometimes follow the infinitive or participle; *illicher hot lib arajnzuschlupen zich* 'everybody likes to meddle,' or it may stand before the auxiliary: *wos ich hob gezeen un wos mit mir hot zich pasirt* 'what I have seen and what has occurred to me.' Frequently, however, the infinitive or participle stands at the end, either in analogy with a preceding short sentence, where the same would naturally be at the end, or for the sake of rhythm, which influences even Jargon prose: *ot wos di mame hot mir mit a wejnendig kol derzejlt* 'as to what mother told me while weeping,' *jene narische majses mit welche du host dir dem kop far-schlogen* 'those foolish stories with which you have crammed your head full.' The separable prefix generally stands near the verb: *zej schterchen ouf di welt et a zöj mit gornischt* 'they make a great ado about nothing.'

The inverted order is used in the same cases in which it occurs in German; *zajn nomen wet ir gefinen do ongeschriben ouf di zachen welche er hot gemacht* 'his name you will find written in the works which he has produced,' *un wemen andersch hoben mir gekent ousklajben wen take nischt ajch?* 'whom else could we have chosen if not you?' *zol priwen ejner machen epes a gescheftel bald take tut im der iberiger öjlom noch* 'let any one attempt openly some business, at once the other people will imitate him,' *far wos nischt zi? ruf ich mich on* 'why not she? I exclaimed,' *es hot mir denstmol epes schrecklich zich gedrejt der kop* 'at that time my head was fearfully dizzy.' Infinitives and participles head the sentences much more frequently than in German, causing inversion: *köjfen an andersch hob ich nit gehat far epes* 'I did not have any money to buy another,' *gehodewet hob ich zich wi a wild ferd in step* 'I was raised like a wild horse in the steppe.' In Jargon, as in Russian, emphasis in the verb is produced by repeating it in the infinitive and placing it at the beginning of the sentence; as before, it causes inversion: *schlepen schlept zich es schtendig arum un horewet efscher noch mer fun jene wos firen tajere s-chöjre un esen ober est es makes* 'it is walking around all the time and works perhaps more than those that carry costly goods, yet it gets nothing to eat.' The inverted order occurs as frequently in subordinate clauses: *ich hob geklert a z bald west du zurik ahejm kumen* 'I thought that you would soon come back home,' *es art ajch klal nischt a z dort machen ferd umgliklich fil menschen* 'you do not care at all that the

horses there are bringing misfortune on many men.' In subordinate clauses the direct question is frequently used instead of the indirect one; in this case the order may be inverted: *der kop wert mir zuschpotten trachtendig wos ken es zajn* 'my head cracks with thinking what it may be.' A present participle used as a gerundive (q. v.) heads the sentence: *oufsefendig di öjgen hob ich gezèn ich lig ousgezöjgen ouf dem pol leben bet* 'as I opened the eyes I saw that I was lying stretched out on the ground near the bed.' A story frequently begins with a Hebrew quotation and a close translation of it into Jargon, in the manner in which Hebrew scripture and the Talmud are translated in the schools; in this case the inverted order or disorder is allowable; for example, *אמר מענדעל מוכר ספרים zagt Mendeles möjchersforim* 'Mendele, the bookseller, says.' Sometimes the subject is followed by a long subordinate clause; in this case the verb of the principal clause is again followed by the personal pronoun as its subject: *a jid, az er wet zich nischt schtupen mit geweld, wet er megen ejbig take dort warten* 'if a Jew will not press forward with all his might and main he will have to wait there forever.' An answer to a rhetorical question may be inverted: *wos-ze hot er geton az me hot im gehejsen onwajzen dem ganew? iz er gefalen ouf an ejze un hot ongehejben geben simonim* 'what did he do when they asked him to point out the thief? He thought of a scheme and began giving signs.'

#### *Agreement.*

In general the rules for agreement are the same as in German. No case-form is used after words expressing measure, weight, etc., but this is carried much further in the Jargon; we find not only such forms as *a schok epel* 'three-score apples,' *di chevre klezmer* 'the band of musicians,' but also *a lefel gekechz* 'a spoonful of soup,' *a ganejden frejd* 'a paradise of joy.' Frequently an auxiliary verb is made to serve two purposes, as in *dos harz wert ful, zuwejkt un es schtelen zich treren in di öjgen* 'the heart becomes full, is softened, and tears fill the eyes,' where *ful* is an adjective and *zuwejkt* with *wert* the passive. One of the most common anacolutha occurs when a number of perfect tenses follow each other; the first auxiliary alone remains, although a different one would be used with the other verbs: *du bist geworden alz schlafer un schlafer un zich arajngelejt zum sof in bet* 'you kept on growing weaker and finally you went to bed,' *ich bin*,

*farschlejt zich, gegangen, geweint, gebeten* 'of course I went, cried, asked,' *di mejdelech zenen gor gebliben schlejn zugekowet zu zejere erter wi di token, kukendig ouf Stempenjun mit zajn zouberlick fidele, nischt gerirt mit kejn ejwer, nischt gepintelt mit kejn öjg* 'the girls stopped spellbound, like dolls, looking at Stempenju with his magic violin; they did not move a limb, did not wink an eye.' The first may be a reflexive verb, the second one not: *ich hob mich gelapt un gekukt zejz farwundert in ale zajten* 'I groped around and looked astonished on all sides.'

Russian influence is clearly seen in the manner in which the verb *zajn* is used; a plural subject may stand with the singular *iz*, especially if the subject comes last: *oufn harz iz azöj fil wejtigen* 'there are so many pains in the heart,' *s'iz du* 'it is you,' *junge lajt iz do umetum* 'young men are to be found everywhere.' The verb *zajn* may be omitted if some form of it occurs in the following sentence, closely connected with the first: *wu zwej zol er zajn a driter* 'where two are let him be the third.' A collective word, though in the singular, generally takes the predicate in the plural: *a tejl hoben gezogt* 'a part of them said.' As in Russian, *mit* is frequently used for the connective *un*; the predicate remains in the plural: *ich mit majn bruder gejn in drousen* 'I and my brother are walking out.'

#### *Moods and Tenses.*

The first form of the conditional is used in almost the same way as the English *should* form; for example, *mir farlangen fun ajch ir zoll gut iberkuchen di papiren* 'we want you carefully to look over the documents,' *ale zajne frajnd glust zich zejz az zajne majses zolen kesejder opgedrukt un farköjft weren* 'all his friends want to see his stories, one after the other, printed and sold,' *keděj ich zol schpeter nizlich zajn in der welt* 'in order that I may be later on useful in the world,' *ach, wen di doktöjrim zolen beser farschlejn un mich befragen fun jene schmochtelajen* 'oh, if the physicians only knew better and would deliver me from those trifles.' Sometimes it represents exactly the Russian subjunctive: *nor az zi hot gezén az es iz arousgeworfene rejz wifil zi zol nischt reden* 'but when she saw that her speech was in vain, no matter how much she spoke' (cf. Rus. skóljko oná by nje goworfla). In conditional sentences the second form is used, but in the protasis the first is preferred: *wen zi zol nischt gewén machen mit di zajten un sapen wolt men zicher gemejnt do ligt a newejle*

'if she did not move her sides and breathe heavily one would think that there lay a corpse'; so also the second form is used in sentences that may be construed as apodoses of defective conditional clauses: *ich wolt awade geköjft nor wu nemt men di kaz?* 'I certainly should have bought, but where can one find the purse?'

The infinitive without *zu* is much more frequently used than in German: *lejj zich schlofen* 'go to bed,' *er hot zich genumen schrajben a brif* 'he sat down to write a letter,' *jeder iz najgirig a kuk tun* 'everybody is curious to look.' The infinitive with *zu* after verbs of motion is equal to the German past participle: *er kumt zu foren* 'er kommt gefahren.' A number of prepositions, especially those of Hebrew origin, may stand with the infinitive: *ejn jor far majn geböjren weren* 'a year before my birth,' *bichdêj zu derkenen di welt* 'in order to recognize the world,' *er krechtz nebich beêjs dem schmajszen* 'the poor fellow groans while being whipped,' *beschás lejenen* 'during the reading'; a similar use of the infinitive occurs in *nischt recht zu wisen* 'without well knowing.' The repetition of the verb in the infinitive, as in Russian, for emphasis, has been discussed before: *nor tun tut men gornischt* 'but they do absolutely nothing.'

The participle is used in precisely the same manner as in Russian. It is used to express time: *tundig dos zogt zi mit a zifz* 'doing this she said with a sob,' *opgezungen dem הַגְּרוּת הַלֵּלִי me wascht zich un me zezt zich esen wetschere* 'having sung the הַגְּרוּת הַלֵּלִי they wash themselves and sit down to supper.' With the negative *nischt* it is to be translated into English by the participle with 'without': *Mechtsche pajkler krazt zich dos bewaksene halbe ponim nischt kukendig ouf kejnem* 'Mechtsche, the drummer, scratched his hirsute side of the face without looking at any one.' Stranger cases are the following: *es nemt on a schrek ousherendig zej* 'it seizes one with terror to listen to them,' *zwischen uns rejdendig* 'between us speaking,' *schrekliche zachen wos herendig werd farkilt dos blut* 'terrible things, hearing which the blood coagulates,' *wer es hot nischt Got in harzen zezt zich ouf im rajtendig* 'everybody who has not God in his heart mounts him.'

Since there are practically only three tenses in the Jargon, not much can be said of them. In vivid relation the present is used, and suddenness is expressed by the perfect aspect; for example, *pluzim git es mich a trog arouf, es trogt mich alz hecher, hecher biz ich tap on di erd wu ich bin gelegen un derfil wi di zun bakt*

*mir in dem riken* 'suddenly I was lifted up, I was carried higher and higher until I touched the earth, where I was lying and felt the sun roasting my back'; continued action is expressed by repeating the verb: *di milch schlejt un zit un zit* 'the milk is standing and keeps on boiling'; sometimes the present is used for the future, as in German: *wos far a nomen git men dem najem nefesch dajnem?* 'what name shall we give to your new soul?' The imperfect tense is used to express usual or repeated action: *zajn esen iz geweintlich gewên abisel sitschke, amol elliche dare schtiklech bröjt wos ich fleg awekköjfen baj oremelajt mit torbes* 'his food generally consisted of a little chopped oats, at times a few pieces of dry bread that I used to buy from poor people with wallets.'

### Style.

Jargon prose is rhythmic. To meet these exigencies of rhythm recourse is frequently had to repetitions, as *zajne öjgen hoben gekukt wajt, wajt* 'his eyes looked into the distance,' *zej hoben geklert geklert, zich nebich gekrazt, gekrazt un hoben zum sof azöj gezogt* 'they thought for a long time, scratched their heads and finally said,' *gej schöjn, gej* 'do go,' *wos schrajst du, wos?* 'why are you crying?' Often a noun is repeated when only the second one gets the modifying adjective: *jeder fartift zich in zajne gedanken, in zajne trourige gedanken* 'every one is lost in his sad thoughts,' *baj Mechtsche hejbt zich on ouszuschilen a berdel, a gel berdel* 'a yellow beard is making its appearance on Mechtsche's face'; so also the repeated verb may have its modifiers: *der öjлом geht ous mit ale köjches, me schtarbt, me schtarbt mit ale ejwrim* 'the people's strength is failing, they are faint in all their limbs'; in some repetitions Slavic influence is evident, as in *ich hob geklert, geklert un hob derklert* 'I long thought and came to a conclusion' (cf. Rus. ja dupal, dupal i wydupal).

The most common repetition occurs when synonyms from different languages are given: *der doziger benmejlech hot in der jugent gewandrewet* (Pol.), *gemacht rajzen* 'the above-mentioned prince had travelled much in his youth,' *wu gefint zich azund der schlimmazeldiger* (Ger. + Heb.), *der umgliklicher prinz?* 'where is now the unfortunate prince to be found?' *wos iz mit dir di simche* (Heb.), *di frejd?* 'what cause have you for joy?'; or a Hebrew phrase may be freely translated: *un azöj alz wajler, wajler, biz es kumt ous* וְכִּי יָבֹא, *ale kabzonim in ejnem* 'and so

on until all beggars turn out to be together'; frequently the synonyms are all of the same language: *di ejgene hor zenen schön lang behalten, farborgen ouf tomid* 'her natural hair had been put away long ago and forever,' *zores on an ek, on an ousher, on opru* 'troubles without end.'

Alliterations and rhyming of words are not unusual in prose: *mit kind un köjt* (G. Kot?) 'with bag and baggage,' *opgerisen opgeschlisen* 'tattered and torn,' *nischt geschlötjen* (G. gestiegen?) *nischt geflötjen* 'a fictitious story'; disgust is expressed by changing the initial consonant to *sch*: *lib schmiß* 'do not talk to me about love,' *bang schmang* 'you have no right to be frightened.'

The Jargon style becomes abrupt in vivid narration; this shows itself pre-eminently in the omission of connectives: *nem trog aweek ahejm ot a zwej frische bejgel* 'take these two or three fresh doughnuts and carry them home,' *ich wart acht tog—du kumst nischt, noch acht tog—bist nischto* 'I waited eight days and you did not come, eight days longer, and still you were not here'; by leaving out the verb the expression becomes very elliptic: *ot noch ejn minut—ous Stempenju* 'one more minute and Stempenju is gone,' *er schtuft zich azöj op dos ganze leben—un gornischt* 'he thus ekes out his whole life, and that is all.' To this also must be added certain elliptic questions that are very hard to render into English: *Jiden zifzen, Jiden krechzen, Jiden wejnen, un Stempenju? Wer—Stempenju? Was Stempenju?* 'The Jews are sighing, the Jews are groaning, the Jews are crying, and what was Stempenju doing? He was beside himself with enthusiasm.' Rhetorical questions are exceedingly frequent in the Jargon: *er fleg a chap tun dos fidele un a fir tun mitn smik, ejn fir tun, nischt mer, fleg dos schön onhejben baj im reden, ober wi mejnt ir reden?* 'he would get hold of his violin and draw over it the bow just once, not more, when it would begin to speak divinely.' The same abruptness of style causes a main clause to take the place of a temporal or causal subordinate clause: *ich wel ob-risewen di schlot mit ale ire pischtschewkes mit ale mit anander, wet zich schön der lezer mistome onschlötjen was me mejnt do* 'if I shall describe the town with all its smallest details, the reader will certainly understand what is meant by it.'

As in the Slavic and M. H. G., double negatives are used: *dos iz nischt kejn nomen* 'that is no name,' in *Kabzansk iz far zej nischto kejn schum parnose* 'they can earn no livelihood whatsoever in Kabzansk'; a single negative sometimes occurs: *zej*

*zenen epes nischt azelche gröjse berjes* 'they somehow are no great experts'; otherwise one negative has a restrictive meaning: *lejent in di bichlech wet ir zen a3 nischt ejn prinz, nischt ejn mejlech iz durch zej ibergekert geworen in a zap* 'read in books and you will see that more than one prince, more than one king, had been changed by them into goats'; sometimes the negative expresses indefiniteness: *wu nit wu* 'somewhere.'

Out of religious piety or for the sake of averting evil influences and the evil eye, a number of formulas are used, which are invariably inserted in connected narratives, no matter whether the writer has any superstitious feelings or not. Such expressions are *nebich, mischlejnsgesogt* 'alas,' *nischt far ajch gedacht* 'may you not be considered in this light,' *kejn anore* (H. עין הרע) 'may no evil eye affect you.' So also in speaking of deceased persons, stereotyped phrases are used, as *zajn late alwescholem* (H. עֲלֵי הַשָּׁלוֹם) 'his father of blessed memory,' *zajn late zol hoben a lichtigen ganejden* 'his father, may he enter paradise.' An ugly excrescence of these invocations are the oft-occurring protestations and curses: *wi ich bin a fid* 'as I am a Jew,' *ouf kejn guten ort zol er nit treten* 'may he never enter the good place,' *kejn guten sof zol er nit hoben* 'may he have no good end.'

## VI.—EXTRACTS.

The following extracts have been chosen with the view of indicating the different varieties of the Jargon. I begin with the remoter dialects of the South and end with the Germanized form of the Lithuanian. The first extract is from the introduction of O. M. Lifschiz's Russian-Jargon dictionary (*Rúsko-Nowojewréjski Slowár*), third edition, printed at Kieff, 1881:—

נאך איין נאך מן איך באווארענען, איך ווייס אז דעם עולם  
וועט אביסיל פריקדע ויין מיין היסלעגען, דאס איז אבער  
נאר אין דער דהתחלה, וועט מען זען אבער איינגענוועהנען  
מיט דיא עטליכע בללים פין'ס שליסעל, וועט עס געהן וויא  
אפידעל.

<sup>1</sup> = G. bewarnen. <sup>2</sup> Hebrew, public. <sup>3</sup> Polish, disagreeable. <sup>4</sup> = G. auslegen, expound. <sup>5</sup> Hebrew, beginning. <sup>6</sup> = zich. <sup>7</sup> Hebrew, rules. <sup>8</sup> = funn.  
<sup>9</sup> it will go like a fiddle = it will be easy.

To illustrate the manner of printing without vowel-signs I quote from the same author's introduction to his Jargon-Russian dictionary, *Žitomir*, 1876:—

סי' איז א ציקאוועי זאך צי זעהען וויא שווער סי קימט אן איידער א נייע זאך ווערד אנגענימען אף דער וועלט, געניג האט מיין רוסיש-יודישער ווערטערביך געהאט צי מיהן איידער ער איז איבערגעקומען זיינע סטיגאטערס<sup>1</sup> מיט זייע שאלות<sup>2</sup>.

The next extract is from S. M. Abramowitsch's satire 'Di Kljatsche' (2d edition, Odessa, 1889):—

א פריש, געשמאק ווינטעלע האט פאמעליד<sup>3</sup> געבלאזען אונ פון דיא וואלקענס, פון דעם שטורמ ווינט איז נישט געווען אפילי קיין זכר<sup>4</sup> דער אפגעטובעלטער<sup>5</sup>, אוסגעצוואנגענער<sup>6</sup> וואלד, איז געשטאנען וויא א חתן-בדור<sup>7</sup>, אגגעטאן אין א גייער, גרינער זיפעמזע<sup>8</sup>, ערשט פון דער קאדעל, געשיינט אונ געלויבטען<sup>9</sup> וויא דער ליבטיגער מארגענשטערען, וואס האט ערשט טאק<sup>10</sup> געבראכט דיא פֿרעהליכע בשורה<sup>11</sup>, אז אט באלד קומט צופאהרען דיא זון, דיא טהייערע, גילדענע מחתנת<sup>12</sup> טע<sup>13</sup>, אונ דיא חתונה<sup>14</sup> וועט זיך אנהויבען. אלסדינג האט געלויבטען, געפינקעלט, אלסדינג האט וויא עפֿים זיך מכין<sup>15</sup> געווען, אלסדינג האט עפֿים אויסגעזעהען וויא יום-טובֿדינג<sup>16</sup> אונ אומעטום האט געשמעקט<sup>17</sup> געווייזן, זיסע, ליבע ריחות<sup>18</sup> פון בשמים<sup>19</sup>. — שיין איז דער אנברוד אויף טאג וועסנע-צייט<sup>20</sup> איז דעם וואלד, שיין, זעהר שיין! דער בע-

<sup>1</sup> = es. <sup>2</sup> Polish, curious. <sup>3</sup> In the South *o* is frequently pronounced like *u*; the author indicates this sound by *u*, but his etymologies are not always reliable. <sup>4</sup> before. <sup>5</sup> = instigators (?), opponents. <sup>6</sup> Hebrew, questionings. <sup>7</sup> pleasant. <sup>8</sup> Polish, pomalu (?), slowly. <sup>9</sup> Hebrew, even. <sup>10</sup> Hebrew, mention, sign. <sup>11</sup> dressed up (?). <sup>12</sup> combed, decked out. <sup>13</sup> Hebrew, bridegroom. <sup>14</sup> blouse (?). <sup>15</sup> shining. <sup>16</sup> Slavic, just then. <sup>17</sup> news. <sup>18</sup> Hebrew, groom's or bride's mother. <sup>19</sup> Hebrew, wedding. <sup>20</sup> Hebrew, prepare oneself. <sup>21</sup> Hebrew, in holiday attire. <sup>22</sup> smell. <sup>23</sup> odors. <sup>24</sup> Hebrew, spices. <sup>25</sup> Russian and German, springtime.



ריהמטער פליזמר, דער סאלאווייא, האט אנגעשטעלט ווין  
פידעל, אפצושפילען א שיינעם, א פיינעם, דאברידזען.<sup>1</sup>

The Russian poet Sch. Frug has also written in Jargon; his dialect has a leaning towards the Lithuanian; the stanza quoted is from his poem *א פלאטעל ווי* published in 'Di Jidische Folksbibliothek,' 1889:—

די גאנצע גאטור איז מיין רבי געווען:  
זיא האט מיך געלערענט אי וינגען, אי שפילען,  
זי האט מיך געלערענט אי דענקען אי פיהלען  
זי האט מיר געצייגט וואס איז מיאום און וואס שוין,  
דאס הארץ זאל ווין פריש און דער קאפ זאל ווין גיכטער.  
צו אלץ זאל איך האבען א וואג און א מאס....  
און איך בין געווארען, צו מזל א.... וואס?  
א דיכטער, רבותים, א יודישער דיכטער

A. M. Dick writes in the Lithuanian dialect, but with a tendency to introduce German words and constructions; the following passage from the introduction to one of his stories (*דער שבעים-מאלייט*) Wilna, 1877) illustrates that tendency:—

### איינע קליינע הקדמה

אלע מיראליסטען (דיא פרומע מוכיחים) פערגלייבען דיא  
וועלט צו איינעם גרויסען יארמארק (יריד) וואס האט אין זיך  
טויזענדע קאל טויזענדע קראמען<sup>2</sup> וואס וויינען פול אונד פאק  
מיט אלער האנד וואארע (סחורה) מאטעריעלע (מגושמדיקע)  
דאס הייסט אלער האנד קליידונג און עסענווארג<sup>3</sup> וואס ווערען  
געברויכט אום צוא ערהאלטען גור דעם קערפער. און  
ווידער אלער האנד גייסטליכע וואארע (רוחניות). דאס  
הייסט ספרים און ביכער וואס וויינען גימאכט אום צוא

<sup>1</sup> Hebrew, musician. <sup>2</sup> Russian, nightingale. <sup>3</sup> Polish, good-morning.

<sup>4</sup> Hebrew, teacher. <sup>5</sup> Slavic, both—and. <sup>6</sup> Hebrew, ugly. <sup>7</sup> Hebrew, fortune.

<sup>8</sup> Hebrew, gentlemen. <sup>9</sup> Hebrew, introduction. <sup>10</sup> stores. <sup>11</sup> eatables.

גענערען נור דעם גייסט. דאס הייסט איין צו פליסען אין דעם  
מענטשען תורה, חכמה, און מוסר, וויא צו בעגייין זיך מיט  
גאט און מיט לייטען. און דעם מענטשען האבן וויא פערגליקען  
צו איינעם אונדערפארעהנעם (אונגעניטען) קויפמאן וואס איז  
גיקומען אויף דיעם גרויסען וועלט מארק צו מאכען איינקויף  
מיט איינעם גאנץ קליינעם קאפיטאל (דאס הייסט מיט קנאפ  
שקל<sup>1</sup> און מיט קנאפע יארין).

The last extract is from a novel in the same dialect as it is  
spoken to-day in New York City (by a גמון פון א נאך by a  
"litwischen Filo3of," J. Saphirstein, 40 Canal street, New York,  
March 25th, 1893):—

—איד, שרייבער פון דיעזע ציילען, בין א טויטער; איד  
בין געשטארבען. מען האט מיר בעגראבען און פערגעסען.  
איד קען אייך געהן ווייזען מיין קבר, אויב איהר גלויבט מיר  
ניט. פרובירט פרעגען אין מיין געבורט'ס שטאדט וועגען מיר.  
יעדער וועט אייך באלד זאגען, אז איד בין געווען איינער פון  
דיא קרבנות<sup>2</sup> וואס דיא כאלערא האט צוגענומען אין נעאפעל.  
אין יאהר 1884 און אין דיעזע שעהנע איטאליענישע שטאדט  
וועט מען אויך דערזעהלען מיט א זיפף, וויא יעדער איינער.  
קינד און קייט<sup>3</sup>, האט געטרויערט אויף מיין אונצייטיגען טויט.  
דאך, לעב איך יעצט! איך פיהל אין מייןע אדערן דיא  
הייסע בלוט פון דרייסיג זומער'ס, איך הער וויא מיין ברוסט  
קלאפט, איך זעה יעצט אין שפיעגעל דיא פארבען אויף מיין  
געזיכט. און דעד טויט האט מיר נור איבערגעלאזען איין  
קליינעם סימן<sup>4</sup>: מייןע שווארצע האר זיינען ווייס געווארען  
וויא שנעע און מיין יונגער קאפ איז איינגעפאסט אין א ווייסען  
ראהם.

LEO WIENER.

UNIVERSITY OF MISSOURI, COLUMBIA, Mo., April, 1893.

<sup>1</sup> Hebrew, knowledge. <sup>2</sup> Hebrew, wisdom. <sup>3</sup> Hebrew, instruction. <sup>4</sup> act.

<sup>5</sup> Hebrew, understanding. <sup>6</sup> few. <sup>7</sup> Hebrew, grave. <sup>8</sup> Hebrew, victims. <sup>9</sup> sob.

<sup>10</sup> bag and baggage. <sup>11</sup> Hebrew, sign.

### III.—NOTES ON THE USE OF GERUND AND GERUNDIVE IN PLAUTUS AND TERENCE.

In this paper are presented some results obtained from a comparison of the various uses of gerunds and gerundives in Plautus and Terence. In vol. IX, Nos. 2 and 4 of this Journal, there were given statistics and results of a similar investigation in Tacitus and Pliny the Younger. In the Silver Age there was, of course, a much larger development of this peculiar Latin usage than could be expected in an earlier stage of the language, but it is evident upon investigation that even in Plautus there is a sufficient number of cases of gerunds and gerundives to make it clear that most of the later constructions and idioms had already been developed to a very considerable extent. It would be improper to institute an exact comparison between such totally different literary forms as Comedy and History or Correspondence, but some conclusions may perhaps be based on such a comparison. An analysis and classification of all the occurrences of these forms in Plautus and Terence may be of value, by stating the exact frequency of such uses, by giving an idea of the style of each writer in employing these forms, and by making possible an exact comparison of their Latinity in this respect, as well as some inferences concerning the growth of this method of expression during the few years intervening between them.

The most noticeable result of this analysis is the fact that in Early Latin the gerund is more frequently employed than the gerundive. Exactly the opposite was found to be the case in Silver Latin, as was to be expected, especially if it is assumed that the latter is a development from the former. In this comparison it should be remembered that in the 30 plays of Plautus there are in round numbers 30,000 lines, and in the 6 plays of Terence only about 6000. Therefore, if about the same absolute number of occurrences of any given usage is found in each, a much larger relative frequency in the later writer is indicated. It will be clearly seen that in Terence's time the language had advanced in this respect, and that these forms of expression play a more important part than they had done a few years before.

To facilitate comparison with the previous papers, precisely the same system of classification and numbering is employed here.

1. Genitive of gerund depending upon a substantive and used absolutely, without any modifying or dependent words. (Plautus) Dependent upon *copia*: dormitandi neque cunctandi Epid. 162, adeundi atque impetrandi Mil. 1226; with *tempus*: adeundi Pers. 4. 2. 21, Trin. 432; with *occasio*: fugiendi Capt. 117, faciundi Epid. 271; — modus dandi Asin. 167; partem loquendi Asin. 515; loquendi locum Capt. 212; dicundi gratia Curc. 706; ornandi satietas Poen. 215; compendium pultandi Pseud. 605; ducendi lubido Trin. 745. (Terence) Dependent upon *copia*: crescendi Heaut. 28, inspiciundi Eun. 21, tangendi Eun. 638, videndi Eun. 639; with *causa*: obiurgandi And. 158, mittundi Phor. 50, (understood with) adsentandi Ad. 270; — obiurgandi locus And. 154; facilitatem pariundi And. 233; orandi finem And. 822; tempus consulendi Hec. 746; spatium vocandi sacrificandi Phor. 702; otium auscultandi Ad. 420.

There are 15 of these gerunds in Plautus and 14 in Terence, indicating a greater relative frequency, but a comparison of the passages furnishes no indication of any marked difference in the object or character of this usage. In general the same governing words are found which occur in every stage of the language, and the relation expressed is objective.

(a) In a few cases some modifying words occur depending on the gerund. (Plautus) Dependent on *copia*: recte conciliandi Pers. 4. 3. 77, in capite tuo conflandi Rud. 765; — male loquendi viam Poen. 629; male facundist potestas Stich. 117; respondendi mihi (labori) Pseud. 6. (Terence) liberius vivendi potestas And. 52; spatium cogitandi ad disturbandas nuptias And. 182; in aliis potius peccandi locum And. 232; causa retinendi apud vos Hec. 255; de integro potestas consulendi Phor. 174. This form was always rather sparingly employed—compared, that is, with the absolute use—and there seem to be no differences between Plautus and Terence sufficient to warrant any conclusions.

(b) In Terence there are two lines where gerunds occur in dependence upon an adjective, and none at all in Plautus. Cupida huc redeundi, abeundi a milite Vosque hic videndi Hec. 92-3, and ejus videndi cupidus Hec. 372, where *eius* is fem. and therefore *videndi* is the gerund; cf. XII. Plautus is not the only writer who does not use this construction, although it is not infrequent later. Its use even in few cases may perhaps be counted as slight evidence of the development of the gerundial form.

2. Genitive of the gerund depending upon a substantive and used transitively with a dependent accusative expressed or directly

understood. (Plautus) *spatiumst perferundi quae minitas Capt.* 743; *ius optinendi optio Cas.* 190; *te defrudandi causa Men.* 687; *te rogandi (labori) Pseud.* 6; *potestas adipiscundist gloriam Stich.* 280; *rem perdundi gratia Curc.* 706. (Terence) *quae narrandi locus And.* 354; *existumandi copiam consuetudinem Heaut.* 282; *spatium adparandi nuptias Phor.* 701; *eludendi occasio senes Phor.* 885; *potestas condecorandi ludos Hec.* 45 (cf. also *Hec.* 93, quoted under 1 *b*), *spatium amandi amicam* 684.

Here again there is practically an equal number of cases, which gives the relatively greater frequency to Terence. In character there seems to be no perceptible variation.

3. Gerund used with a preposition. (*a*) With *ad*: (Plautus) after a verb or past participle—*magis cita ad perdundum ad scribundum Bacch.* 738, *ad male faciundum nimis doctus Epid.* 378, *conductus venio. Ad furandum quidem Pseud.* 850; after a noun—*ad loquendum atque ad tacendum habeas portisculum Asin.* 516, *benignitas ad auscultandum Mil.* 80, *in ad pervestigandum operam sumam Merc.* 935 there might be a question whether the gerund depended on the noun or verb; after an adjective—*aetas sat est ad perdiscendum Truc.* 1. (Terence) After a noun or adjective—*animum ad scribendum adpulit And.* 1, *canes ad venandum And.* 57, *causae ad obiurgandum And.* 138 and 150, *dies non satis ad agendum, me vocivom ad narrandum And.* 706, *aetas ad ducendum Phor.* 423, *otium ad potandum Phor.* 832.

The number of occurrences is almost the same, 9 and 8, and there appears in this class only an extremely slight variation in usage. In Terence, in every case (unless the first-quoted be excepted), the gerund depends upon a noun or adjective; in Plautus there are three cases of its dependence upon a verb or participle. If the participles be regarded as adjectives, only one case of the use of a verb is quoted from Plautus.

(*b*) With *in*: (Plautus) *linguam in tussiendo proserat Asin.* 795, *in sortiundo sors delicuerit Cas.* 399, *in cogitando dolorem indipiscor Trin.* 224. (Terence) *in pariundo adfuerunt liberae And.* 771, *tuom esse in potiundo periculum Heaut.* 323, *in cognoscendo tute ipse aderis Eun.* 894, *in deterrendo operam sumere Hec.* 25, *in experiundo ut essem Hec.* 38, *in agendo partem ostendent Ad.* 24, *in experiundo ut repudies Ad.* 858, *contrivi in quaerundo vitam Ad.* 869, *in adparando consumunt diem Ad.* 900.

Here the first very marked difference in frequency of use is noticed, Terence in his 6 plays having this construction 9 times,

while Plautus in 20 plays has it only 3 times. Moreover, the relations expressed by this form in Terence are much more various than in Plautus, as may be clearly seen by examining the passages quoted.

(c) With *ex*: (Plautus) *ex gratulando vix eminebam* Capt. 504. (Terence) *id fieri . . . ex adsentando, indulgendo et largiendo* Ad. 988.

With *pro*: (Plautus) *pro vapulando hercle ego abs te mercedem petam* Aul. 456.

Nothing but the great infrequency of prepositions, except *ad* and *in*, is to be noted here.

4. Dative of gerund, used with or without object. This usage occurs in Plautus only, in the following cases:—Dependent on *modus*: *quid modist ductando, amando?* Asin. 169, *quid modi amplexando facies?* Asin. 882, *quid modi flendo facies?* Mil. 1311; with *pausa*: *osculando pausam fieri* Rud. 1205; with *opera*: *Epidicum operam quaerendo dabo* Epid. 605, *Eae nos lavando eluendo operam dederunt* Poen. 223, *auscultando operam dare* Amph. 1006; — *curando id me adlegavit* Stich. 681; in one case, *exemplum experiundo habebas* Mil. 637, the reading is very doubtful, so no conclusion can be drawn from it.

This is, in all stages of the language, a rare construction, and it is said that there is no instance of an object occurring after a gerund used thus, except these two or three in Plautus. It seems clear that this construction did not commend itself to Terence, and that it is a survival of the rudeness of an illiterate age. In the examples quoted it will be noticed that the usage is exceedingly limited in extent. In all but two of the cases the gerund depends upon an idea of limit or attention.

5. Ablative of the gerund without a preposition denoting manner or means. (a) With an object accusative: (Plautus) *manendo medicum* Men. 883, *hominem<sup>1</sup> investigando* Mil. 260, *male fidem servando* Trin. 1048. (Terence) *eadem et graviter audiendo victus* Heaut. 114, *bene vortendo et easdem scribendo male . . . fecit* Eun. 7, *oculos terendo expresserit* Eun. 68, *defessa te ridendo* Eun. 1008, *ea refellendo aut purgando* Hec. 254.

(d) Used absolutely without modifiers; (Plautus) *pugnando* Amph. 414, Asin. 555, Men. 1054, Mil. 267; *pultando* Most. 456, Stich. 313; *lamentando* Merc. 218, Truc. 731; *advorsando* Stich.

<sup>1</sup> There is here a variation in reading. Ritschl reads *homini*, which of course removes this case from this class. In any case, there are twice as many instances of this usage in Terence as in Plautus.

71, amando Merc. 312, ausculando Asin. 897, castigando Bacch. 981, dissimulando Most. 1015, exorando Stich. 71, experiundo Rud. 186, exspectando Epid. 320, fando Amph. 588, fricando Poen. 231, lavando Poen. 231, luctando Bacch. 428, mendicando Bacch. 514, negando Poen. 778, osculando Asin. 223, parasitando Pers. 1. 2. 4, pernegando Rud. 1017, potando Rud. 361, quassando Epid. 432, restitendo retinendo Capt. 502, rogitando Epid. 200, saliendo Bacch. 429, sedendo spectando Men. 882, vapulando Curc. 215. (Terence) accusando Phor. 1034, ambulando Hec. 435, 815, Adel. 713, consolando Heaut. 86, coquendo Ad. 847, cursando Hec. 815, experiundo Heaut. 331, gratulando Heaut. 879, intelligendo And. 17, molendo Ad. 847, orando And. 544, Heaut. 330, pollicitando And. 912, quaerundo Heaut. 675, sollicitando And. 912, tundendo Hec. 123, vapulando verberando Ad. 213.

34 cases in Plautus, 19 in Terence, a relatively greater number. There are some peculiarities of this form worth noting. For instance, in the four places in Plautus where *pugnando* occurs, it is always preceded by *vi*, showing that to Plautus this gerund corresponded precisely to a substantive. This is also shown by the combinations in some of the other cases, but not so strikingly. On the whole, however, there seems to be no perceptible change in manner of use between Plautus and Terence.

(e) Used with some modifying word or phrase: (Plautus) apud omnis aedis sacras quaeritando Amph. 1014, bene salutando compellando blanditer Asin. 222, pultando assulatim Capt. 832, male suadendo Curc. 508, cubando in lecto Truc. 916. (Terence) male narrando Phor. 697. Some of the cases quoted under (a) might be counted here too, as in them the gerund has a modifying word beside the object accusative.

To sum up under this head: there are 43 cases of the ablative of the gerund in Plautus and 27 in Terence. The relative frequency of use in Terence is therefore twice as great in the later poet. In the actual occurrences there seems to be no difference in method of employment.

### *The Gerundive.*

6. Genitive of the gerundive agreeing with noun or pronoun, expressed or understood, and dependent upon another substantive. (Plautus) illius inspectandi copia Bacch. 487, conveniundi ejus copiam Merc. 850, eius conveniundi copiam Capt. 748, lucis tuendi copiam Capt. 1008, liberorum quaerundorum causa Capt. 889,

potestatem caloris ulli capiendi Truc. 293, spes vostrum cognoscendum Rud. 1145. (Terence) et cognoscendi et ignoscendi dabitur peccati locus Heaut. 218, retinendi illius causa Eun. 620, eius amittendi nec retinendi copia Phor. 176, spes hujusce habendae Phor. 827, tempus conveniundi patris Phor. 828, potestatem ejus adhibendae Phor. 880.

There are of this usage 7 cases in Plautus and 8 in Terence. If now we look back at 2 (a), it will be seen that in each writer there are 6 cases of the genitive of the gerund used with an accusative object. In later times the tendency was to replace this latter construction by the former, but that tendency is hardly visible before 150 B. C. It is to be noted, however, that this form is relatively very much more frequent in Terence than in Plautus.

7. Dative of gerundive and substantive used as final clause after verbal or adjectival expression. (Plautus) argento<sup>1</sup> comparando fingere fallaciam Asin. 250, inveniundo<sup>1</sup> argento ut fingeres fallaciam Asin. 252, rei quaerundae operam dare Merc. 551, rei agendae operam dare Merc. 987, da diem meis rebus agendis Poen. 1189, ius iurandum rei servandae non perdundae conditumst Rud. 1374, metriculis moeniendis rem coegit Truc. 310, armamentis complandis componendis studuimus Merc. 192, lectis sternendis studuimus munditiisque adparandis Stich. 678, lucro faciundo auspicari Pers. 4. 6. 7, nox scitast exercendo scorto Amph. 288, salutare sit liberis procreandis Aul. 148, centuplex murus rebus servandis parum est Pers. 4. 4. 11, optimum esse operi faciundo corium Rud. 757. (Terence) his rebus anulus fuit initium inveniundis Hec. 821, natum ferundis miseriis Ad. 545.

8. Gerundive used in a passive sense in the predicate, after certain verbs, to denote the object of their action. (Plautus) with *dare*: hanc servandam Asin. 676, spectandum anulum Asin. 778, te elinguandam Aul. 250, famem utendam Aul. 311, aurum servandum Bacch. 338, puellam exponendam Cist. 1. 3. 18, adglutinandam totam Cist. 3. 3. 17, statuam faciundam Curc. 440, anulum utendum Curc. 603, pallium utendum Men. 659, (hanc) concinandam Men. 733, quam servandam Merc. 238, excruciantum me

<sup>1</sup> The first two cases quoted from Plautus are probably interpolations, but leaving them out, there are 14 cases in Plautus for 2 in Terence. The frequency of this construction in Silver Latin is well known, and it may have been characteristic of the earliest stage of the language, regarded with disfavor by such cultivated writers as Terence, and brought into vogue again through the antiquarian tendencies of the later writers, like Tacitus, who uses it more than any other writer.



Mil. 567, quaerundas duas Mil. 803, nummos utendos Pers. 1. 3. 38, filiam utendam Pers. 1. 3. 47, (filiam) utendam Pers. 1. 3. 48, hoc spectandum Pers. 3. 3. 36, pulchram spectandam Poen. 338, illunc excruciantum Poen. 1302; with *locare*: me castrandum Aul. 251, eferendum (illum) Aul. 568, caedundos agnos Capt. 819, praebenda Pers. 1. 3. 80; with other verbs: artoptam utendam *pelo* Aul. 400, caedundum illum *conduxi* Aul. 567, oculos nec *rogo* utendos foris Mil. 347, utenda vasa rogant Aul. 96. (Terence) with *dare*: (puellam) exponendam Heaut. 630 and 650, servandum quicquam Eun. 903, quem adoptandum Ad. 463; with other verbs: hunc comedendum vobis *propino* et deridendum Eun. 1087, agrum de nostro patre colendum habebat Phor. 365.

(In two cases in Plautus—caedundus tu homo's Cas. 518, and faciunda pondo duam nummum stalagmia, da inauris mihi Men. 541—the gerundive seems to have almost a simple adjective value.)

It will be seen that this usage is almost a stereotyped formula, and that in Plautus, in two-thirds of all the cases of its occurrence, it is with the verb *dare*, and in four more with *locare*. In Terence the proportion is somewhat less, but the inference seems warranted that the ordinary earliest usage was with *dare*, and one or two verbs like *locare* and *conducere*, and that its use with other verbs like *petere* and *rogare* was the result of analogy and a somewhat later development.

10. Gerundive and substantive used with prepositions. (a) With *ad*: (Plautus) ad aquam praebendam Amph. 669, ad sufferundas plagas Asin. 557, advortendum ad animum Merc. 11, ad enarrandum hoc Mil. 79, ad te diripiundum Poen. 646, ad aetatem agundam Trin. 232, ad quaerundum honorem Trin. 646. (Terence) ad haec utenda Heaut. 133, ad defendendam noxiam Phor. 225, ad dicendam causam Phor. 266, ad disturbandas nuptias And. 182.

This construction, so common in the later stages of the language, shows a slightly greater frequency in the later of the two writers under consideration, but calls for no further comment.

(c) With *in*: (Plautus) in mercimoniis emundis vendundisque Amph. 2, in aetate agunda Amph. 633. (Terence) in prologis scribundis And. 5, in opere faciundo Heaut. 73, in illis exercendis Heaut. 74, in re incipiunda Phor. 225.

This construction became very common later, and shows a greater absolute, and consequently much greater relative, frequency in Terence than in Plautus.

(d) With *de*: (only in Terence) de redducenda (ea) Hec. 391 and 403, de occludendis aedibus Eun. 784.

It is rather strange that no case of this kind occurs in Plautus, for three cases in Terence are enough to show that in his time it was a thoroughly good usage.

(*g*) With *inter*: only once in Plautus—*inter rem agendam istam* Cist. 4. 2. 56—an extremely rare use, quoted once from Enn. (fr. inc. 1. 2) and twice from Livy, and a very few times besides. Terence would not be expected to use such an idiom.

(*h*) With *pro*: only once in Plautus and not in Terence—*pro liberanda amica Persa* 426. This construction is found in all stages of the language, but must always have been infrequent.

It is to be noted that the numbers of these different usages are 11 in Terence to 12 in Plautus, marking a distinct gain in frequency.

11. Ablative of gerundive and substantive used after verbs, verbal phrases and adjectives. (Plautus) *opere faciundo lassus* Asin. 873, *te aggerunda curvom aqua faciam* Cas. 124, *dirumpi cantando hymenaeo* Cas. 809, *aggerundaque aqua defessi* Poen. 224, *retunsumst oppugnando pectore* Pseud. 1045, *pugnis memorandum meis eradicabam hominis aures* Epid. 446. (Terence) *opere rustico faciundo sumptum exercirent suum* Heaut. 142, *animus commotus mirando tanto bono* And. 938.

This is a comparatively frequent construction in classical Latin, but always strikes the ear as slightly strained, and evidently was rare enough in earlier times. Terence could not have liked it much, although he can hardly be said to have greatly preferred the ablative of the gerund with an accusative object.

12. There are two or three cases in each writer of uses which do not come under any of the above classes.

(*a*) As examples of the construction which stands between the gen. of the gerund and its object in the acc., and the gen. of the gerundive agreeing with its logical object, we find: (Plautus) *nominandi istorum tibi erit magis quam edundi copia* Capt. 852; (Terence) *novarumque spectandi faciunt copiam* Heaut. 29. Also (Plautus) *tui (fem.) videndi copias* Truc. 370; (Terence) *ejus (fem.) videndi cupidus* Hec. 372.

Such sporadic cases occur at all stages of the language. The use of a gen. of the pronoun with the gen. of the gerund is less unusual than that of a noun in the same dependence.

In the *Persa* 4. 3. 60 *forma expetenda liberalem mulierem* we have the gerundive used as a simple attributive adjective.

SAMUEL BALL PLATNER.

## REVIEWS AND BOOK NOTICES.

Vedische Mythologie. Von ALFRED HILLEBRANDT. Erster Band. Soma und verwandte Götter. Breslau, Wilhelm Koebner, 1891.

The widely celebrated plant which the Hindus designate by the word *soma* and the Iranians by the word *haoma* is the subject of the exhaustive study of the learned professor of Sanskrit in the University of Breslau. Professor Hillebrandt's qualifications for such an investigation are unsurpassed; his general knowledge of the Vedas, as well as his very special and extensive knowledge of the Vedic ritual, points to him as the very scholar best fitted for the delicate task. In the Veda and the Avesta alike, the earliest practices are strongly permeated with the cult of this plant. The earliest religious heroes of the Avesta are represented in Yasna IX as having successively pressed the *haoma* for their own good and for the happiness of their subjects. The *haoma* is the plant and its juice the drink of the golden age of Zoroastrian antiquities. A French savant, the late Abel Bergaigne, in a posthumous essay published in the Journal Asiatique, vol. XIII (1888), following sundry indications of Professor Ludwig's, pointed out certain very significant circumstances which tend to show that the so-called 'family-books' of the Rig-Veda (books II-VIII) are essentially Soma-books; that is, they were composed as songs or prayers accompanying a *soma*-sacrifice which is the prototype of the *jyotiṣṭoma* of the later formal ritual, as described in the Sūtras. The *soma* is the expressed or implied centre of Vedic religious life to an extent which cannot easily be paralleled from the religious history of any other people: every part and characteristic of the plant, every act in the pressing of the intoxicating and inspiring liquor, is noticed with sedulous care, and made the basis of religious speculation. The precise extent to which the *soma* engages sacerdotal activity in the Veda does not as yet, even after Professor Hillebrandt's careful analysis, appear with sufficient emphasis. I venture to say that the adjustment in correct perspective of the *soma*-cult will ultimately show better than anything else what the Rig-Veda really is. Even now one may venture to state that the great mass of the hymns of that collection were composed as a part of the *soma*-ritual, that the Rig-Veda is essentially a *soma*-book.

The body of Professor Hillebrandt's work is divided, very naturally, into two parts. The first deals with the plant and the liquor which is expressed from it. Every descriptive detail concerning the branches, the stems, the color, the places where the plant grows, and the modes by which it is procured, is discussed with great care, in order to establish the biological character of the plant. Every circumstance connected with the pressure, the instruments with which the juice is extracted, the vessels into which it is gathered, the times and occasions on which it is drunk, the admixtures by which it is

enriched and modified—all these are stated in order, and stated strictly upon the basis of the documents. This part of the investigation may be regarded as approximately final, notwithstanding the essentially negative result; for the author concludes that the plant which was considered as the most excellent by the Indo-Iranians, the remoter ancestors of the Vedic people, was not necessarily the one whose praises are sung in the Veda, and the plant described in the Veda need not be the *sarcostemma* of the later tradition. Only one statement occurs with unflinching persistence: the fluid is extracted from bright-colored shoots and branches, and this, according to the author, is necessarily so, since the Soma is the 'moon-plant' (p. 13). The bright shoots of the plant are the rays of the moon.

This brings us to the second part, the mythological interpretation of Soma, which Professor Hillebrandt establishes with great skill and well-nigh exhaustive philological learning. Vedic scholars in general had noticed the positive identification of the moon with Soma; this is, indeed, a commonplace in the 'second period' of Vedic literature, the Brāhmanas, and continues from that time on through Sanskrit literature. It had been admitted also that this identification is expressed roundly in parts of the Rig-Veda itself, which are supposed to be of somewhat later date than the body of that collection. Here and there a voice had been raised, more or less clearly and confidently, calling for a complete identification of Soma and the moon, even in the earliest parts of the Veda (Professors De Gubernatis and Pischel). Now Professor Hillebrandt undertakes to clarify and establish this view. The moon, in the view of the Vedic Hindu, is not only the silent illuminer and ruler of the night: that is only one side of its character, and by no means the most important. Incomparably more momentous is the following: the moon contains the drink of the gods, the *amṛtam*, the ambrosia. As the stems of the Soma swell in order to yield the juice, so does the moon swell for their nurture. The moon is a drop, or a wave, or a well in heaven full of sweet nourishment for the gods. In this sense the name Soma came to be the most common designation of the moon among the Hindu writers of the classical period. The Rig-Veda says: 'The moon moves along in the (heavenly) waters.' This simple physical conception is attributed to Soma as well, and with much fantastic modulation. Thus Soma is spoken of as the friend and husband of the waters. Since the clouds are constantly designated as cows, Soma, the moon, is compared with the bull who stands in the midst of the cows, or, with a quick turn of the imagination, the moon is the young calf of the cloud-cows. In short, the heavenly Soma is the moon throughout the Hindu religious writings, the 'earliest' parts of the Rig-Veda not excluded. So frequent are these Somic ideas that the centre of gravity in the mass of Vedic conception must be shifted from solar mythology to lunar mythology. The sun recedes, and in his place the moon dominates Vedic religious thought.

I think the readers of Professor Hillebrandt's book should be cautioned against this last view, whose saliency and catchiness render it an especially dangerous tool in the hands of those who are not adepts in Vedic religion. The Vedic hymns present a naturalistic polytheism entirely too catholic in its appreciation of natural phenomena to make it possible to designate it either as solar or lunar. It is both and neither. Bearing in mind Indra and the

countless cloud-demons which he destroys, one might with equal justice designate it as a monsoon-religion; or bearing in mind Agni in his varied aspects and functions, one might speak of fire-worship. As a matter of fact, the anthropomorphic gods which arose upon the basis of solar perceptions did finally happen to prevail. Soma in the later mythology is the moon, and never more, and as such holds a position in the lower pantheon. But Savitar, the inspiring, enlivening principle of the sun, and Tvaṣṭar, the divine artificer (according to the author, another solar god), blend with certain more abstract conceptions in Prajāpati, 'the lord of the creatures.' And Prajāpati, together with his variants Viçvakarman, 'the fabricator of the universe,' Parameṣṭhin, 'he who occupies the highest summit,' Svayambhu, 'the self-existent being,' come as near the realization of monotheism as was ever possible in India. And these, as is well known, in their turn contributed to the development, or perhaps better, caused the development of the neuter *brahma* into Brahma, the ultimate pantheistic all-god, the final outcome of all Brahmanical speculation.

As to the main thesis of Professor Hillebrandt's book there can be no question. The moon is there in all those countless passages which describe Soma either in language so plain that one wonders now how it could ever have been misunderstood, or with a symbolism so fanciful as to remove, in part at least, the wonder. This investigation will help materially in removing the artificial barrier which has, until recent times, been kept around the hymnal literature, to the exclusion of the remaining Vedic and Hindu writings. About the pre-Vedic identity of Soma and the moon, however, I do not feel so certain. Professor Hillebrandt believes that Haoma in the Avesta is also to be identified with the moon, but the proofs which he adduces are few and, to my mind, inconclusive. The treatment of the *haoma*-plant in the Avesta is not reported with sufficient detail to justify the belief that the same *rapprochement* to the moon took place. The conception of the equivalence of Soma and the moon seems extremely difficult to conceive, if we eliminate the sacerdotal ritual of a highly-developed type, such as the songs of the Rig-Veda presuppose, to my thinking at least. In any case it seems difficult to imagine the identification of the moon with the *soma*-plant upon a basis of free popular thought. It is speculative; it is Talmudical; it savors of the priestly imagination. The presence of it in the Rig-Veda only tends, along with many other related facts, to show how far advanced in this direction 'the Aryan Bible' is. It does not by itself prove that the Indo-Iranians, or perchance the Indo-Europeans, knew of a 'moon-plant' from which they pressed an earthly ambrosia, emulating the gods whose nourishment was constantly replenished in the waning and increasing luminary of the night.

MAURICE BLOOMFIELD.

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Aristophanis Vespae cum prolegomenis et commentariis, ed. J. VAN LEEUWEN, J. F. L.-B., E. J. Brill, 1893.

A commentary on the Wasps, says van Leeuwen, is sadly needed. The text is well enough, but exegesis has been neglected. The latest commentary he knows is that of Richter, Berlin, 1858, and of Richter's competence as an interpreter of Aristophanes' jests van Leeuwen has a poor opinion, which he

justifies by some specimens of the German's obtuseness. But a commentator who is sufficiently acquainted with English to illustrate Aristophanes by Dickens ought not to have ignored Green, to whom Blaydes refers frequently; ought not to have ignored Rogers, who has dealt with the purpose of the play in an independent spirit and is by no means dead to the *facetiae* of the comic poet. Rogers does not share the ordinary view that the Wasps is an attack on the dicastic system, nor does he believe that Aristophanes was alive to its defects. He agrees with Fallex in thinking that the Philokleon of the Wasps is the Demos of the Knights in another form; and to him 'The one matter submitted to arbitration is this: Are the dicasts really lords of all, or are they in reality mere tools and slaves of the Demagogues themselves?' The Wasps 'has for its object,' according to Rogers, 'the rupture of the alliance which existed between the Demagogues on the one hand, and the dicasts who constituted their main support and stay in the popular assemblies, on the other.' But how could such a system be more effectively arraigned than it is arraigned by the caricature of a state trial that forms so large a part of the Wasps? And how is the desired rupture effected? In the Wasps there is nothing that corresponds to the resipiscence of the Demos in the Knights. The conversion of Philokleon from the error of his ways has no political significance, and the dénouement of the Wasps is, as has been said often enough, the dénouement of the Clouds turned round. Philokleon is converted by his son as Pheidipides is converted by his father, and the fun lies in the bewilderment of the teachers at the success of their instructions. In the Clouds, as we have it, the grimness of the catastrophe checks the merriment, but in the Wasps the outcome is a sheer farce, a sheer bit of self-mockery, such as is highly characteristic of Aristophanes, such as is alien to most of the solemn personages who undertake to edit Aristophanes. But to say that the disharmony is part of the play, that the *couac* is part of the *opéra bouffe*, would be a thesis utterly unworthy of the philological guild. Nor dare we appeal to the confessions of modern novel-writers, who tell us that their characters once created are utterly independent of their creators, and go their own way, regardless of the wishes of the authors of their being. All this superficiality must be frowned down and orthodox methods followed, to restore the artistic balance of the original Wasps. Needless to say, we have in van Leeuwen's presentation a *duplex recensio* after the fashion of the Clouds, and the extant Wasps is an *opus non integrum sed in fine ab imperita manu infeliciter admodum contaminatum*. But into the details of van Leeuwen's theory, into the traces of the *duplex recensio* and the *contaminatio*, those words of fear to unphilological readers, and to some philological readers as well, I will not go just now, but a rapid outline may be of interest.

As to the general scope of the play, van Leeuwen does not deny, as Rogers denies, that in the Wasps Aristophanes is attacking the dicastic system, but the attack on the dicastic system is a covert attack on Kleon, and as Kleon was the arch-demagogue, van L. and Rogers are not so far apart. Only we must remember that as a poet Aristophanes had to incarnate, had to have a being of flesh and blood for his model. Scratch Demos, scratch Dikaiopolis, and they will bleed. They are not mere personifications; and so it is better to take the concrete Kleon, now that we have him, for the target of Aris-

tophanes than the abstract Demagogue. But the concrete Kleon had shown himself a little too concrete for Aristophanes' comfort. He had been assailed in the poet's second play, the *Babylonians*, and the ogre—ὁ καρχαρόδων, as Aristophanes calls him—had shown his teeth to some purpose, for in the next play, the *Acharnians*, the poet's attitude is rather deprecatory. But the success of the *Acharnians* and the applause of the young Tories emboldened Aristophanes to a renewed and more effective assault on his enemy. The prudent counsel of his sponsor, Kallistratos, was disregarded, and he proceeded to make shoestrings of the tanner's hide. The *Knights* is a savage piece, and van Leeuwen thinks that the earnestness of the poet was a disadvantage to his art. There is none of the joyous fun of the *Acharnians*. Reprobate though he be, we are all in love with Dikaiopolis, whereas the reformed Demos is as disagreeable an object after he had ceased to be the dupe of the Paphlagonian as he had been before. But for all that the *Knights* was a great success, in fact too great a success, and was punished by a vindictive lawsuit, in which the Kydathenaian Kleon evidently got the better of the pseudo-Kydathenaian Aristophanes. Kallistratos and Philonides had to come forward as sponsors for the subsequent pieces, and Aristophanes had to seek another field for his comic exercises. This he found in the airy regions of Cloudland, and there he did battle with the new lights of the philosophic firmament—with Sokrates and Chairephon. But he failed—partly because the new education was an old joke, which he himself had used up in the *Δαιδαλῆς*, partly because the new Sokrates was not the old Sokrates that every man, woman and child in Athens was familiar with. Sore at his failure, the poet turned from the unsubstantial and unsatisfying realm of the clouds to the solid earth of public life, where his previous great successes had been won, and went into politics again. But he had not forgotten the lesson that Kleon had taught him, and selected a theme that was full of absurd contrasts and yet one that could be handled without a direct assault on his dangerous foe. Kleon had raised the dicast's fee to three oboli, and this advance was such a boon to the poor veterans of the Persian War that they went thronging to the courts as to a Soldiers' Home; and it was this ridiculous contrast between the heroic past of the men of Marathon and their pitiful present that, according to van Leeuwen, made the subject so attractive to the comic poet. One pauses to wonder how many Marathon men, how many Salaminians, were left to serve on the jury. Some of the reminiscences of the chorus, it is true, go very far back, but they are decidedly of the 'bummer' order, and one fails to see the contrast between the heroic youth and the sordid old age of the men of the Persian War, that contrast which is supposed to have furnished so happy a theme for the comic poet. The bummers and the malingerers and the bounty-jumpers of our own war are precisely those who are most eager for pensions, and the sordid old age is only the sequel of a sordid youth. But no one will seriously insist on the chronological exactness of the *choreutai* of the Wasps. They may have stepped down out of the picture in the Stoa Poecile, for all we care. The bummers of the Wasps are quite as real as the Salaminian rearward of the Demos in the *Knights*, and no more so.

Now, in the opening of the piece, Aristophanes, or his mouthpiece Xan-

thias, renounces an attack on Kleon as he renounces an attack on Euripides. But he does not keep his word. The Cyclops of Euripides is parodied in the closing scene, and the covert attack on Kleon is changed into an open assault. Surely it would seem that the names of Philokleon and Bdelykleon are frank enough, but van Leeuwen thinks that they might have been explained away. κλέος would fit Κλεώνυμος and Κλεοφῶν, and Aristophanes might have sheltered himself behind these, if the attack were renewed. To be sure, everybody knew that Kleon was meant, but the poet could set up a fair defence in a court of law, if he were brought up again. After Kleon's death, continues van Leeuwen, there was not the same ground for caution, and when the play was revived, all those drastic passages in which Kleon is directly attacked were introduced, the well-known screed from the Peace was added as a *purpureus pannus*, and a new conclusion tacked on. So much for van Leeuwen's treatment of the play as a whole. Like all such hypotheses, it demands large space for an adequate criticism, and this *résumé*, with the occasional comments, must suffice for the present. It is to me always a pleasure to come back to the Wasps, which I have found a good centre of Aristophanic work, and which has been unduly neglected; but in what further space I can steal from my contributors, I will confine myself to some remarks on van Leeuwen's commentary.

Those who are possessed of the German mania for exhaustiveness might complain that van Leeuwen does not seem to have troubled himself about recent monographic work on Aristophanes and one seldom finds anything that does not belong to the old stock. Of course, he could not well overlook the 'Αθηναίων πολιτεία, which he discredits here as he has done elsewhere; and the Mimes of Herondas are cited. Of periodical literature there is just one reference to a stray article in the Classical Review, and he has also noticed a recent archaeological monograph. There is no systematic treatment of the metres, though we have an excursus on the measures of v. 273 foll.; nor does the editor discuss the doctrine of the ἄγων, though his note on v. 533 is a virtual acceptance of it. The stage directions are very full, and show a disposition to be amused by the action of the Wasps. Unfortunately, full stage directions are apt to be resented by the reader, and every one will remember that the late Dr. Kennedy was a great sinner in this regard. Every right-minded person repels the editorial nudge where the editorial nudge is not needed. The Dutch parallels, on the other hand, with which van Leeuwen enlivens his notes are not unwelcome, and are calculated to give a good impression of the Dutch version for which he is responsible. In matters grammatical van Leeuwen is somewhat hidebound, as one would expect from his habitat, though he is occasionally penetrated by a new observation, such as that made by Seaton in the Classical Review, 1889, according to which (see note on v. 269) the iterative ἄν with inq. has its chief home in familiar language. We knew before that it was Attic and not Homeric (Goodwin, M. and T. 249), for in the Homeric passage cited by Kühner, β 104 (cf. τ 149 and ω 139), ἐνθα κεν has given way to ἐνθα καί. Still, we must not be too quick in citing Herodotos for familiar language. In that great artist χάρις and ἀξίωμα were paired (D. Hal. de Admir. vi 1083 R.), and we are never to forget the sophistic element in his style. To cite Herodotos as a *naïf* writer is



itself *naïveté*.<sup>1</sup> But perhaps this is pressing a point too much, and one ought not to be too hard on a Dutch Hellenist when he shows openness of mind. Openness of mind, however, is hardly to be asserted of the note on the well-known γρίφος with which the play opens:

ἐδόκουν αἰτὸν  
καταπτόμενον εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν μέγαν πάννυ  
ἀναρπάσαντα τοῖς δυνξιν ἀσπίδα  
φέρειν ἐπὶ χαλκὸν ἀνεκὰς εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν  
κάπειτα ταύτην ἀποβαλεῖν Κλεώνυμον.—(vv. 15-19.)

The whole joke, the whole surprise, lies in the position of the two accusatives with the infinitive—first subject-object, then object-subject—and yet van Leeuwen, who enjoys the jest, as he shows by his punctuation, has the hardihood to say (v. 429) that there was less ἀμφιβολία in the position of acc. before and acc. after inf., because the acc. before inf. is regularly the object (*objectum tantum non semper praecedit*). In the first place it is not true, and in the second place ambiguity is ambiguity. When we invert in English, ambiguity may arise, as when Tennyson says:

"It is the land that freemen till,  
That sober-suited Freedom chose,  
The land where girt with friends or foes  
A man may speak the thing he will."

But ordinarily it matters not. The context will show. And so with the Greek. But the ἀμφιβολία is there, and we are warned against it by the Greeks themselves. See the passages of the Greek rhetoricians cited A. J. P. VI 489, to which add Rhet. ad Alex., c. 25 (Sp. I 212, 6; cf. III 243, 13). In fact, Aisch. Choëph. 886, 7, cited by van Leeuwen, dwells on the ambiguity:

ΟΙ. τὸν ζῶντα καίνειν τοὺς τεθνηκότας λέγω.  
ΚΛ. οἱ 'γώ. ξυνῆκα τοῦπος ἐξ αἰνιγμάτων.

However, it is fair to say that some commentators do not think that the αἰνιγμα lies there. Better, it does not lie wholly there. Of the ambiguous passages cited, Ar. Eq. 209 is an oracle, Eur. Med. 679 is an oracle, and in an oracle ambiguity might well be expected. Or are we to follow the example of rule-mongers and say that in oracles the regular order is reversed? μὴ γένοιτο. Add to the examples of subj.-obj. given in this Journal (u. s.) Eur. Tro. 655, 765, where, however, Reiske made a difficulty, Hdt. 3. 45, Ar. R. 31, Plat. Rpb. 6, 506 E, Xen. Cyr. I, 4, 28. But why multiply passages? A run through any Greek author will convince the attentive reader that *tantum non semper* is a mistake. An unlucky attempt to solve the much-discussed form involved in ἐξεφρίεμεν

<sup>1</sup> I cannot refrain from quoting here a passage from Kaibel's Stil und Text der ΠΟΛΙΤΕΙΑ ΑΘΗΝΑΙΩΝ, which fell under my eye as this notice was passing through the press: "Herodot schreibt ja nicht, wie man sich das gelegentlich vorgestellt hat, wie ein naives Naturkind, sein Stil ist das Product mühevoller Kunstübung, und nichts wäre unrichtiger als wenn man sich einbilden wollte, seine neun Bücher wären eine Musterprobe der λέξις εἰρουμένη" (p. 66). But see the whole passage. To be sure, Boeckh had long ago looked into the heart of Herodotos (Kl. Schr. VII 597), but so long as Herodotos is edited for schools, we shall have the old stock characteristic brought up for the benefit of the youthful mind.

is found in the note on v. 125. *ἐξεφριμεν* is written out *ἐξεπαριμεν*, *εἰσφρήσω* is *εἰσπαρήσω*, and so of the rest. Nauck's *προίημι* he does not accept; still less *πιφρημι*, *quod nullum fuit*. Brugmann's solution (A. J. P. II 137) he does not mention at all. Assuredly *ἐκπαρ-*, *εἰσπαρ-* are harder to swallow in that order than the process by which *φερ-*, *φρε-* is assimilated to *ῖημι*. v. 177 *ἐξάγειν δοκῶ* doubtless needs correction, but it is simply fetichism to follow Cobet's *ἐξαγ' ἐνδοθεν* when Elmsley's *ἐξάξειν* lies so near. v. 231 *ἰμὰς κύνειος* assuredly calls for a note, and so does *τὰς κάννας*, v. 394. *ἀρέσκειν* with acc. finds no mercy in the eyes of a Dutch uniformitarian, and we are ordered to elide *μοι* in Aristophanes (v. 776), after the pattern of epic poetry and after the example which Ar. himself has set in *οἶμοι*. This was to be expected, but it was utterly unexpected to find in van Leeuwen's fluent Latin *per aliquem stare* (Proleg. ix) in a sense against which the *plagosi Orbili* of my boyhood used to warn beginners in Latin composition.

B. L. GILDERSLEEVE.

Pindar: the Olympian and Pythian Odes. With Notes Explanatory and Critical, Introductions, and Introductory Essays by C. A. M. FENNELL. New Edition. Cambridge, At the University Press. New York, Macmillan & Co., 1893.

Mr. Fennell's edition of the Olympian and Pythian Odes of Pindar announces itself as a new work, and, though much of the old matter has been retained, the claim is not an idle one. The metres have received considerable attention; the echo theory has been pursued into all its details; and the principle that there must be a symmetry in contents corresponding to the symmetry in form has had a marked effect on the treatment of the structure of the odes. In all these points, however, Mr. Fennell has not only preserved but has been careful to assert his independence. The application of the principle of symmetry has not regularly yielded the results presented in my edition, though the divergences are not startling for the most part. The metrical schemes of the old edition have been abandoned, and the new metric is followed to a certain extent, but Mr. Fennell considers H. Schmidt's results as entirely too definite, and contents himself with recording the various metrical groups as they present themselves to him, and declines to take notice, at least regularly, of such symmetry as his own metrical schemes exhibit. The observation of the responsions has not been favorable to the theories of Mezger and Bury, and the contention of Bulle that there are too many verbal responsions for the catchword theory is confirmed by an almost fatiguing cumulation of examples. Words recurring in exactly the same position as regards metre, or, as Mr. Fennell calls them, 'tautometric' words, he considers, as a rule, to be without significance, whereas an obviously significant repetition is generally 'heterometric,' unless more than one word is recalled. At the same time, no explanation of the undeniable frequency of these repetitions is given beyond vague surmises.

In criticism and exegesis Mr. Fennell does not seem to have troubled himself much about the work that lies scattered through journals and dissertations, and one can imagine the rage of Bornemann when he finds that all

his Pindaric articles, including his marvellous reconstruction of Pythia VI (Philol. LI 465), have been left unnoticed. Granted that much of this literature is naught, still Mr. Fennell's edition is considered by his countrymen to be something more than a mere introduction to Pindar, and he cannot afford to pass over matters that a school edition might be excused for failing to notice. So, for instance, in the vexed passage O 6, 15 he proposes, evidently with great satisfaction, *τε δαισθέντων* as a conjecture of his own, but that conjecture was made long ago by van Herwerden (Jahrbh., XIII Suppl. Band, p. 10), and will be found in the last impression of my edition, with a parallel passage, not from Euripides, but from Pindar himself (N 9, 29). I might point out further that in O 10, 21, *διαλλάξαντο*, the gnomic aor., which relieves the situation entirely, has been suggested by a number of scholars—Lehrs, Schroeder, Wilamowitz (see A. J. P. XII 386)—but as every potential optative is a comfort to Mr. Fennell, I forbear. The notes, as in so many English editions, seem to have been prepared not so much to help the student as to emphasize those points where the editor has special views to advocate or special antagonists to rap. But, if Mr. Fennell has not been over-liberal in his notes, he has tried to make up for that deficiency by long stretches of translation, though it must be said that his renderings keep so close to the text that they are generally quite as obscure as the original. Many of the old notes have been retained unaltered, many have been abridged, and the space thus gained is largely occupied by criticisms of other editions, sometimes with, more frequently without, the mention of the sinners' names. My own share of the punishment I am disposed to take in perfectly good part, though I have here and there been tempted to exclaim 'Ne sis mihi tutor'; for in many, if not most, of the points mentioned the individual judgment of the editor must be respected and 'Beware' and 'Do not' are entirely out of place. The men who made the Xanthus of O 8, 47 the river of Troy and not, as the scholiast has it, the city of Lycia, are among the best commentators of Pindar, whom it is no shame to follow. Nor is a point of grammar settled by classing such a man as Bergk among the unsympathetic editors (P 4, 268), and he who prefers to consider the *ἀελπίτια βαλόν* of P 12, 31, not as the *dativus termini*, for which there is scant warrant in Pindar, but as the dative of the instrument, might invoke Pindar's own words: *μη βαλέτω με λίθω τραχεῖ φθόνος* (O 8, 55). In treating of *ἐπί* Mr. Fennell makes a point of rejecting my interpretation of the passages in which I prefer the more plastic notion of superposition to the more prosaic metaphorical renderings (cf. O 2, 12), just as in dealing with a poet I have not hesitated to revive the local notion that lies at the bottom of *καθορᾶν* (P 9, 53). Mr. Fennell may be right in both these points, but a ukase will not do away with the thesis that 'the sharp, local sense of the preposition is everywhere to be preferred' in Pindar.

Another matter of taste, in which it is impossible to lay down laws, is the translation of the opt. with *ἄν*. If the protasis is expressed or lies very near, then the rendering is fairly uniform. But if it is a potential, we have a wide range. The negative is regularly 'cannot,' the positive is often 'must,' not *ἀνάγκη*, not *δεῖ*, but simply the expression of moral assurance. So *οὐκ ἂν ἐμὸς εἴη* (Hdt. 6, 63) 'he can't be mine,' *εἴησαν ἂν οὗτοι Κρήτες* (Hdt. 1, 2) 'these must be or must have been Cretans'—to cite two familiar examples (see my

Just. Martyr Apol. I 4, 10). Comp. Plat. Apol. 28 C: φαῖλοι γὰρ ἂν τῷ γε σὺ λόγῳ εἴεν, *They must be, must have been, sorry fellows, according to your account*, and for the periphrastic perf. opt. with ἂν Legg. 678 E, 753 E, 782 A, 880 E, 896 C and 896 D, the last of which passages is actually echoed by ἀνάγκη. And so I am not quite convinced that 'must come, cannot fail to come' for γένοιτ' ἂν (O 2, 20) is so utterly indefensible. The opt. with ἂν is constantly used as a warmer future, and the context shows that the result is a certainty:

λάθα δὲ πότμῳ σὺν εὐδαίμονι γένοιτ' ἂν.  
 ἐσλὼν γὰρ ὑπὸ χαρμάτων πῆμα θνήσκει  
 παλίκοτον δαμασθέν.

Still, if any one prefers 'well may come,' I shall make no objection.

In my Introductory Essay I said: "The middle is no more causative than the active" (ci), a remark which may have been due to Mr. Fennell's favorite explanation of the middle as causative, and in O 5, 8 I was indiscreet enough to call ἐκάρυξε causative, and Mr. Fennell forthwith reminds me that it is not grammatically causative. The warning is doubtless well meant, but I wish Mr. Fennell had gone on to say that the causative use of both active and middle is extra-grammatical. Not so the reciprocal use of the middle, which Mr. Fennell cannot bring himself to recognize. The curious note of the first ed. on O 1, 95: ταχυντὰς ποδῶν ἐρίζεται, has disappeared, it is true, but instead of giving ἐρίζεται the reciprocal force that we find in μάχεται and the whole group, he contents himself with saying that ἐρίζεται is used in the same sense as the active, which is never very safe doctrine.

The 'short' subjunctive Mr. Fennell does not accept for Pindar, and in *ὄρα βάσομεν* (O 6, 23 f.) he considers βάσομεν a future, for which he cites two passages from Homer, and not three, as I have done, and cites both of them incorrectly. Read Od. 4, 163 and 17, 6 f. In the same ode, v. 44, κνιζομένα I ventured to refer to the familiar passage in Plato's Theaetetus, 151 C, in which young mothers 'wax savage about their babies,' when they are taken away from them, and though the situation of Euadne, who is forced to leave her child, is not absolutely parallel, is the passage after all 'quite irrelevant and the idea utterly out of place'? Is it really an *ἀνεμῆϊον* of mine or a *sic volo* of Mr. Fennell's?

O 8, 86 νέμεσιν διχόβουλον is rendered 'envy that divideth counsels,' which Mr. Fennell elicits from 'envy of divided counsels,' just as he elicits 'purifying' from καθαροῦ λέβητος of O 1, 26. The personification is stoutly impugned. "To pray that Zeus should not make Nemesis of divided mind would be equivalent to praying that Zeus should make Nemesis inflexible, which was unnecessary, or inflexible in bestowing blessings, which is not her function." Is there not a little too much *raison démonstrative* about this for the interpretation of poetry? To pray that the Goddess of Award should not be of divided counsels is to pray that she should always have a clear case in favor of the suppliants, ἀμφὶ καλῶν μοίρα. Mr. Fennell repeatedly warns against over-analysis. If we were to analyze P 10, 43 f. as closely as he has analyzed this passage, we should elicit a joke out of φηγόντες—Νέμεσιν (= 'Ἀδράστειαν). For making νέμεσιν mere envy Mr. Fennell has, it is true, the support of that 'unsympathetic editor' Bergk. But whatever becomes of διχόβουλον, I must ask, as Gurlitt asked more than eighty years ago, 'Wie kann nun *Nemesis* hier bloß *Neid* bezeichnen?'

The only passage in which Mr. Fennell attacks my English is in his note on O 11 73 (81), *παπαύβυζε*, and for this generosity I am duly grateful. One of my English critics said that my style was not very scholarly, but failed to particularize; another found fault with my use of 'aloofness,' but that was before the publication of AL in the Oxford Dictionary; another thought 'saliency' a horrid word,<sup>1</sup> and a chorus of indolent reviewers lifted up their ineffectual heels against the expression (Introductory Essay, xxxiii) 'an arrangement in God and Blood.' Was I to refer in a footnote to Mrs. Waterbrook in David Copperfield and to inform the world that I purposely made my phrase as crude as Pindar's youthful creed? So here Mr. Fennell tells me that 'flashing sound' is un-English. For that matter, *παπαύβυζε* as Pindar uses it is un-Greek, and by 'flashing sound' I intended to indicate the unwonted transfer from sight to sound. And after all, is 'flashing sound' any more unjustifiable than 'flashes of silence'—a *mot* that was successful in its day?

But I do not care to follow Mr. Fennell through all the passages—there are some scores—in which he arraigns the interpretations that I have accepted from others or haply struck out for myself. A reply to criticisms is apt to be sharper than the criticisms themselves, and what scholarly criticisms are, we can learn from Mr. Fennell himself. "The ill-natured criticisms and controversies of athletes," says Mr. Fennell in his Introduction to Ol. IX, "are now endless and probably have always been so. Scholarship, however, cannot in this particular vaunt itself over gymnastic." Perhaps there is a twinge of repentance discernible in this passing remark. At all events, I will not let Mr. Fennell's somewhat blunt expression of differences in details of interpretation interfere with my satisfaction at his approval of my general treatment of Pindaric composition; and in my hearty recognition of the services rendered to the study of Pindar by this new edition, to which I hope to return, I shall not be disturbed by the epithets 'idle,' 'rash,' 'fanciful,' 'far-fetched' and 'unsound' which he has bestowed on my exegesis. He who hears nothing worse from his brethren of the philological guild may count himself lucky. *θεὸς εἰη ἀπήμων κέαρ*, says the youthful Pindar, with an optative he might have learned from Hesiod. *ἐν δ' ὀλίγῳ βροτῶν τὸ τεργνὸν αὔξεται*, says Pindar, the aged.

B. L. GILDERSLEEVE.

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Der deutsche Satzbau, dargestellt von HERMANN WUNDERLICH. Stuttgart, 1892.

Believing that science ought, from time to time, to give an account of its progress to the general public, the author attempts a practical application of the latest detailed work in Germanics, in which he deals primarily with the sentence-structure of the modern period of the German language. He certainly deserves to be commended for his observance of the element of proportion, in keeping his historical foundation visible merely, instead of building it up so high as to be mistaken for the edifice itself. The student of German will realize that a work such as the one before us, however well

<sup>1</sup>"[The] pungent sayings [of W. H. Thompson] acquired their fame as much from the prominence of his position as from their own *saliency*."—C. Merivale in [English] *Journal of Philology*, XV 307.

executed, can be but temporary—resting, as it were, on such a foundation as detailed investigation has thus far been able to provide for it—imperfect in many respects, and scarcely begun on the Low-German side, where a well-developed syntax still awaits special study.

The work is divided into five chapters, viz. I. Verbs; II. Substantives; III. Adjectives; IV. Pronouns; V. Particles and Prepositions. In Chapter I Wunderlich disapproves of making the sentence synonymous with the logical proposition having a verb expressed or implied, and accepts the theory that the sentence is the primitive form of expression, which may, in the course of its development, be resolved into different parts of speech. Hence he concludes that the verb is not essential to the formation of a sentence. Excluding the infinitive and participles, which he regards as substantive and adjective respectively, he maintains that the verb can form a complete sentence only in the imperative, because in all other cases some substantive is required, and may be omitted only for stylistic effect.

In opposition to Erdmann, he rightly defends the native origin of the historical present, which he explains on psychological grounds, instead of ascribing it entirely to classical influence. In explanation of the double infinitive in compound tenses, he says (p. 53) that the real auxiliary verbs, which were properly preterit presents, were originally not employed in compound tenses. "Die eigentlichen Hilfsverba sind Praeterito-praesentia; vielleicht dass sie deshalb sich nicht dazu eigneten, *alleinige* Träger der Zeitanschauung zu werden, vielleicht auch mehr darum dass ihr Verbalgehalt dünner war als der von Verben wie hören und sehen. Jedenfalls ist der Unterschied da." Examples: (1) *wold in hân gehôret* and (2) *ich hân des hoeren jehen*. "Die alte Sprache hatte die Perfektschreibung am Verbum finitum durchgeführt (example 1), indem sie das Hilfsverb nur einfach in das Praeteritum kleidete." The compound tenses, he says, were first employed in the case of those auxiliaries that were not preterit presents, viz. *hören, sehen, lassen* and *heissen*, whose infinitive and perfect participle coincided in form, except *hören*, which he would explain by analogy to *sehen*. The prefix *ge* is then dropped by assimilation to the infinitive. This explanation is certainly a very ingenious one, and marks a decided advance in the solution of one of the most difficult problems in German grammar. One would like, however, to see statistical evidence produced for the influence of *sehen* on *hören*.

Wunderlich's theory of the 'excipirender Nebensatz' seems somewhat artificial and forced. On pp. 70-1 he says: "Meist ist diese unerlässliche Bedingung jedoch kein Ereignis das gewünscht wird, sondern im Gegenteil eines das gefürchtet wird, und deshalb bricht in den meisten Belegen die Negationspartikel als Ausfluss negativer Willenskraft durch (Tristan, *es enirre mich der tûl*), bis sie konventionell auch in Fügungen herübergenommen wurde mit denen sie nichts zu schaffen hatte, so in Handschrift A des Armen Heinrich, *got enwelle der arnât wesen*." In sum and substance he asserts that the reading of MS B of the Armer Heinrich—*got welle dan der arnât wesen*—is the original idiom, while the negative in MS A has been introduced secondarily by analogy to those cases where the particle *ne* is an *Ausfluss negativer Willenskraft* effected by fear. The passages cited by the author do not indicate whether he has established his theory by statistical evidence. Nor

does he prove that the idiom in B is older than the one in A. Moreover, Middle High German examples will not suffice, for the Old High German is really indispensable here. But in Old High German we find the particle *ne* even in those *excipiendo Nebensätze* where there is no likelihood of its being due to the will of the speaker actuated by fear lest the statement be fulfilled. Erdmann's theory that *ne* here is the rule, while its loss in Middle High German is a secondary development, is much more probable. To fortify his statement, Wunderlich would have to give examples of the Old High German *excipiendo Nebensatz* without *ne* and not denoting fear on the part of the speaker, that are used at an earlier date, or at least not later than those with *ne*.

Eighteen pages of the work before us are devoted to the position of the verb in the sentence, and especially in the dependent clause. Wackernagel (Idg. Forschungen, I 333 ff.) believes that the actual difference between the principal and subordinate clause lies in the stress on the verb, and since the verb of the independent clause receives little stress, it gravitates toward a position immediately following the first word of the clause, where the intonation is weak. On the other hand, in the dependent clause, where the verb is stressed, it gravitates to the end, a more prominent position. From this theory Wunderlich justly demands a conclusive proof for the existence of this system of accent in case of German, where the Nebensatz follows the Hauptsatz instead of preceding it, as in Old Indian. He also insists on an explanation of this peculiar verb-stress, without which we have a mere *petitio principii* before us. On pp. 91, 92, 194 our author advances the following theory of his own: "Am Hauptsatz arbeiteten Bewusstsein und Sprache fast gleichzeitig; beim Nebensatz geht das erstere der zweiten vorher; d. h. der Hauptsatz baut sich in einzelnen Momenten auf, der Nebensatz schiebt nach Steinthal abgeschlossene Vorstellungsreihen dazwischen, mit denen der Hauptsatz als mit einer Einheit operiert. Schon hieraus ergibt sich die veränderte Rolle die das Verbum im Haupt- und Nebensätze spielt: im ersten ist es einfach ein Moment wie andere auch, das je nach den Umständen in der Stellung mit den andern wechselt, im Nebensätze aber ist es der Träger des Einheitsgedankens, die Unterlage aller Bestimmungen, die deshalb auch nach einem deutschen Gesetz . . . die Reihe schliesst. 1. Composita haben den Hauptbestandteil am Ende. 2. Periphrastische Conjugation hat den Träger der Bestimmung am Ende. 3. Attribut vor dem Substantiv." He does not show why the verb is of such primary importance in the dependent clause, nor does he reconcile his acceptance of the paramount importance of the verb here with the statement that the verb is not essential to sentence-formation. Again, it is an open question whether every dependent clause need be a premeditated and finished unit. Must Bewusstsein precede Sprache in the dependent clause? If we should suddenly ask a bystander who a certain person in front of us is, and point out some peculiarity by way of supplementing our question, that peculiarity may occur to us only after having put the question, when we realize that a further description is necessary. Such a dependent clause would not be a preconceived unit.<sup>1</sup> Now, is it not dogmatic

<sup>1</sup> The following illustration crossed my track while I was reading Mr. Ferren's review:

Who's yonder,  
That does appear as if he were flay'd? O gods!  
He has the stamp of Marcus: and I have  
Before-time seen him thus.—Sh., *Cor.* 1, 6.

—B. L. G.

to speak of the dependent clause as '*eine abgeschlossene Einheit*' when so many of them contain afterthoughts and descriptions formed in the mind of the speaker at the moment when he has just uttered the principal clause?

The two sections on 'Endstellung des Verbums im Hauptsatze' and 'Die Normaltypen des Hauptsatzes' agree in substance with Erdmann's last chapter. W. believes that an appositive noun has a tendency in German to become independent.

The section on the article shows the influence of Binz's review of Wunderlich's former work, 'Zur Syntax Luthers.' While the development of the definite article is very clearly presented, somewhat too much stress is laid on its importance as a 'Geschlechts- und Flexionswort,' and not enough on its actual function as an article, called by Erdmann 'Kennzeichnung des Individuums.' The influence of the definite article as producing changes in gender seems to have been largely overestimated, especially in case of such Low German masculines as became feminine in High German. In treating the indefinite article W. pays no attention to the intensive meaning of *ein* (= Eng. *unique*) in Middle High German.

On p. 146 he explains the double accusative with verbs like *lehren* as the subject and object accusative respectively of an implied infinitive. This smacks of class-room parsing. As for the development of the factitive predicate, he tells us that the constructions with and without a preposition were both common in Luther's language.

The grammatical subject *es*, according to Wunderlich, p. 180, originated from a neuter *object* pronoun which stood for a following *object* clause. "Wenn nun ein solches *es* vor *Subjunctivsätze* trat war der Anstoss zu einem Vorläufer des Subjectes gegeben, vor allem in Sätzen wie *es ist unrichtig, dass; es ist ein Gerücht, dass; es geht ein Gerücht, dass,*" which (to follow up this line of argument) may in turn give rise to the further analogy *es steht ein Mann draussen*, where no *dass*-clause follows. The explanation is certainly very ingenious and more plausible than either Erdmann's or Grimm's.

W. calls attention to the fact that Luther preferred the stronger and fuller form of the demonstrative pronoun, without, however, excluding the other. In the relative clause of Luther he notices two important items: "1. Eindringen des Pronomens hinter denjenigen der ersten und zweiten Person. *Ich bin das lebendige Brot, ich do nidersteige vom Himmel*; later, *der ich vom hymel bin abgestiegen*. 2. Verdrängung des Demonstrativum durch das Indefinitum *welcher* beginnt . . . (ist aber) bei Luther fast nur in Anlehnung an Nomina verbreitet." In relative clauses Luther generally requires a demonstrative pronoun, and only rarely omits it, as English may do to-day, viz. *den ersten Fisch du siehst*. Wunderlich's chapter on the particles shows good philosophical reasoning with special reference to development. It is still an open question, however, whether *denn* and *dann* are masculine accusative forms corresponding to the neuter *das* (cf. also Behagel's review of the present work in the *Literaturbl. f. Germ. u. Rom. Phil.*).

In conclusion it may be said that Wunderlich's book deserves a cordial welcome on the part of German scholars. It is especially valuable on account of the emphasis it lays on the period of Luther, a period hitherto sadly neglected. As for the examples quoted, Middle High German is well repre-



sented, while Middle Low German, on the other hand, is entirely disregarded. Rather too many examples are taken from the 18th-century literature and hardly enough from the present period.

Wunderlich is more philosophical and purely theoretical than Erdmann, who deals more with historical detail. While many of Erdmann's statements are better adapted to practical application, Wunderlich is much happier in his psychological reasoning. Our author has certainly done a great deal of collateral reading, and his work gives evidence of considerable originality, which we are the more ready to concede when we consider how scrupulous he has been in acknowledging his obligations to others.

The present volume shows that the author is thoroughly in touch with modern scholarship, and that he knows how to profit by the reviews of his earlier works, in carefully avoiding a repetition of mistakes made in the past.

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HARRY M. FERREN.

## REPORTS.

HERMES, 1892.

### I.

Aeneas Piccolomini, *Ad Sapphus carmen in Venerem apparatus criticus auctus*. P. has recently been examining MSS of Dionysius Halicarn. de compositione verborum, which work contains the seven stanzas of the hymn to Venus, pp. 173-9 of Reiske's edition. In surveying the MSS of this treatise at Rome, P. came across a Vatican codex No. 64 of the year 1270, and beside this one he collated, either directly or through friends, nineteen MSS, of which, however, twelve contain but the epitome of the treatise. The newly collated MSS (collated for the poem of Sappho alone, however) are at Rome, Florence, Milan and Venice. A *stemma* of antiquity, resp. of dependency, cannot as yet be given. Some important conjectures of other critics have been confirmed by MS authority. Piccolomini's text (pp. 7-10) presents the following variants from the text of Bergk, *Poetae Lyr. Graec.*, vol. 3 (4th ed.): l. 9 ὑπασδεύξαισα, l. 10 ὠκεε στρούθω, l. 11 διννήντε, l. 17 κῶπτι ἐμψ, l. 25 χαλέπαν, l. 26 μερίμαν.

G. Thiele, *Das Lehrbuch des Isokrates*. Did Isocrates leave a *τέχνη* at all? Thiele takes up all the references to a supposed *τέχνη* of Isocrates, and argues with much good sense and sound knowledge against the genuineness of all the so-called fragments of that work.

E. Thomas, *Eine Studie zu den Epikurischen Sprüchen*. Critical remarks on the collection of Epicurean sentences found in cod. Vatic. gr. 1950 and published by K. Wotke in *Wiener Stud.* X, pp. 191-9.

K. Bürger, *Zu Xenophon von Ephesus*. The *Ἐφεσιακά* of Xenophon differs from the other amatory tales of the same type in being for the most part conspicuously free from the usual rhetorical embroidery of this class, even to the point of dryness, and Bürger believes that the present form of these tales is due to an excerptor who shortened his original by copying some portions with little change and contracting others greatly, in the same way in which the two books of *Metamorphoses* by Lucius of Patrae were condensed into the *Λοβικός ἢ ὄνας* preserved among the writings of Lucian.

U. Köhler, *Herakleides der Klazomenier*. This H. is the politician mentioned by Aristotle in the *Ἀθηναίων πολιτεία*, c. 41 s. f., and Plato, *Ion*, 541 d. In 1887 an inscription was found in the Acropolis, containing a decree bestowing various honors upon a certain Herakleides. Foucart, publishing the inscription in the *Bulletin de Corr. Hell.* 1888, p. 163 sqq., identified this Herakleides with H. the Byzantian who figured in the Corinthian war-times. But Köhler believes that the H. mentioned is the Clazomenian, and that he served the interests of Athens in diplomatic matters, intervening between

Athens and Persia after the accession of Darius II, 424 or 423 B. C., the *πορξεία* having been granted to Herakleides some twenty years earlier than the citizenship.

Th. Mommsen, Zum römischen Bodenrecht. I. Frontins Bodenkategorien. It was a public necessity to have official surveys made in the case of *agrorum adsignatio* or in the case of the letting of public lands. The habit was to measure out the land in squares or rectangular pieces. The surveyors' square, the *centuria*, is a fixed quantity of 100 *heredia*, containing 200 *iugera* of 120 × 240 feet. From the standpoint of the agrimensor there are three categories of ground or land: (1) private land, *ager divisus adsignatus coloniarum*, or (2) communal property, or (3) property of the Roman commonwealth, *ager arcifinius*. Private land requires not only the fixing of boundaries but *adsignatio* as well, whereas communal property requires the former only. We learn also from Frontinus how the imperial government ceded property rights to municipalities.

II. The marking of boundary-stones. Lack of space forbids a detailed report, but the analogy of surveying and of laying out a camp is particularly interesting; so also the etymology of *decumanus*, which term was used in surveying as well as in the *metatio castrorum*.

III. The field-chart of Arausio. The fragments of this chart are published by Hirschfeld in the C. I. L., vol. 12, No. 1244, with a supplement on p. 824.

IV. Colony and municipium. Mommsen insists that for centuries these types of communities differed as much from one another as e. g. the royal city of Magdeburg and the free city of Hamburg. After the social war there was an equalization of the two, the difference, if any, being only nominal. This is urged by Mommsen against the work of Max Weber, Römische Agrar-geschichte, which Mommsen otherwise commends.

V. Critical notes on Frontinus. Under this heading Mommsen emphasizes the grave and sometimes hopeless difficulties of the text, and makes a number of emendations.

H. von Arnim, Ineditum Vaticanum. v. A. found in the body of a MS of Synesius (Vaticanus 435) an extra sheet containing an unpublished fragment. It is ascribed to Plutarch in the superscription (14th century), but that is probably a mere conjecture. The fragment seems to have been written by a Greek teacher of rhetoric residing at Rome. The language is interesting and the question of date is very much so; the elements of history, especially in the address of *Κέων*, are sound, and even valuable.

Richard Wagner, Sostratos' Teiresias. Eustathius, p. 1665, 48 ff., gives an account of seven different metamorphoses of the seer Teiresias, and tells us that this account was taken from Sostratos' Teiresias, a *ποίημα ἐλεγειακόν*. With this so-called fragment as a basis, Wagner seeks to identify the author of the Teiresias, the Sostratos of Nysa mentioned by Strabo, XIV, p. 650, the Sostratos of the fragments collected by Müller, Hist. Gr. IV, p. 504 f., and the physician Sostratos, for whom see Wellmann, Hermes, 1891, pp. 321-50.

F. Knickenberg, Zur Anthologia Latina—Ueber das erste der beiden Hirtengedichte der Einsiedler Handschrift Nr. 266, S. 206.

Of the smaller papers (Miscellen) I mention Hude's Zur Urkunde bei Thucyd. V 47 (cf. Herbst in Hermes, 1890). The point in question is as to

what inferences should be drawn from the discrepancies noted between the text of the historian and the text of the corresponding document published in C. I. A. IV 14.

## II.

P. Stengel, Zu den griechischen Sacralalterthümern. *κάρπωσης* and *καρπών* in sacrificial language do not refer to fruit, but to offerings where complete destruction of the object sacrificed was practised. Festus' *prodigiæ hostiæ* (*hostiæ quæ consumuntur*) is possibly a translation of Greek *καρπώσεις, καρπόμενα*.—*δεπρά* (Dittenberger, Sylloge, 373) shows that in this case, by way of exception, the animals to be offered to the nether divinities are to be skinned after the killing.

E. v. Borries, Die Quellen zu den Feldzügen Julians des Abtrünnigen gegen die Germanen. Ammianus had two sources for his account of these operations, which sources he worked up in such a manner that contradictions and abruptness may be detected even now. In some places the person of Constantius is treated with a certain measure of respect, while elsewhere malevolence and satire are palpable, suggesting a pagan source. Further on v. Borries gives parallels with Libanius, whose *λόγος ἐπιτάφιος ἐπ' Ἰουλιανῷ* he places about 363 A. D. Both Ammianus and Libanius, on the whole, use common sources, the former, however, being very careful, the latter working hurriedly; Libanius is an orator rather than an historian. Zosimus is next presented. His time is not yet settled with absolute certainty. Rühl (Rhein. Mus. 1891, p. 146) makes him a contemporary of the Emperor Anastasius (491–518 A. D.), claiming that Zosimus composed his work after 501. Zosimus's chief source was Eunapius, who wrote about 400 A. D. Parallels with Ammianus and Libanius afford very little in the way of tangible results. An *ὑπόμνημα* of Oribasius (physician of Julian) was probably used by Ammianus and Eunapius.

C. Trieber, Die *διαλέξεις*. This treatise had been considered the work of a sophist even by Valckenaer, and later by Mullach in the preface to his second volume of the fragments of the Greek phil., p. xxxiv a. Generally, however, this composition has been regarded as the work of a genuine Pythagorean, on account of the Doric dialect in which it is written. Bergk computes 388–385 B. C. as the time of composition, and Blass thought of Simmias of Thebes as the author. Lexical traces (p. 214) point to very early times in the history of Greek prose, as do the references to philosophical schools and literary men. Furthermore, the success of Sparta and the defeat of Athens at the close of the Peloponnesian war are referred to as recent events. The author is a genuine representative of the old sophists in maintaining the impossibility of defining truth and falsehood, good and evil. The discussion about mnemonics and *πολυμαθία* smack of the influence of Hippias. The scepticism of the *διαλέξεις* is to be traced to the doctrines of Heraclitus of Ephesus.

G. Kaibel, Theokrits *Ἑλένης ἐπιθαλάμιον*. K. claims that Theocr. XVIII was written in imitation of the Epithalamia of Sappho. "The poem of Theocritus (p. 258) is of the genuine Alexandrian type: it is intended to explain the origin of the *Ἑλένα δενδρόντις* in the Spartan grove of plane-trees."

F. Dümmler, *Die 'Αθηναίων πολιτεία* des Kritias. This is an ingenious and scholarly attempt to prove that Kritias, the leader of the Thirty, wrote a treatise entitled *'Αθηναίων πολιτεία*. Dümmler starts out with a passage from Aristotle, *'Αθην. πολ.*, c. 6. Aristotle there defends Solon's memory against *οἱ βουλόμενοι διαβάλλειν*, i. e. against those who charged Solon with jobbery or with being responsible for the jobbery of some of his friends, to whom he disclosed the plan for the relief of debtors. Names and details are given in Plutarch, Solon, 15. These jobbers are called *χρεωκοπίδαι*. Dümmler thinks of the short era of the Thirty when the anti-democratic reaction flourished, and thinks particularly of Critias, of whom Aelian, V. H. 10, 17, definitely says that he charged Themistocles and Kleon with enormous embezzlement of public moneys. Cf. also the *τινές* (Aristotle, *'Α. π.* 9), who charged Solon with purposely investing many of his statutes in obscure verbiage, in order to allow unlimited liberty to the popular jury-courts. Cf. further Aristotle, *'Αθ. πολ.* 35 (of the Thirty) *καὶ τῶν Σόλωνος θεσμῶν ὅσοι διαμφισβητήσεις εἶχον καὶ τὸ κύρος ὃ ἦν ἐν τοῖς δικάστοις κατέλυσαν* . . . Going on, D. cites an apologetic passage from Isocrates, Paneg. §110, *τολμῶσι κατηγορεῖν οἱ τῶν δεκαρχῶν κοινω- νήσαντες* . . . The words in §113 seem even more unmistakably to point to Critias. The Epitaphios of Gorgias too was probably a defence of the democratic leaders of the fifth century, whereas Plato, Xenophon and other *Socratici* were driven into a position of implacable hostility towards the Attic democracy, on account of the execution of Socrates. It is impossible to do full justice to the suggestive and vivid presentation of Dümmler in the limits of this report: we must note, however, in conclusion, that Dümmler, p. 285, incidentally says that the report of Aristotle as to the share of Themistocles in the overthrow of the Areopagus is *untenable* (unhaltbar).

U. Wilcken, *Bemerkungen zur aegyptischen Strategie in der Kaiserzeit*. This paper deals with matters relating to the provincial administration of Egypt. The *στρατηγοί* received their office for three years from the prefect. Romans were not excluded, v. Plinius Capito, C. I. G. 4955, and Papirius Domi, C. I. G. 4811. A *nomen gentile*, even though coupled with Greek or Asiatic names, indicates Roman citizenship; cf. Mommsen, *Str.* III 1, 200 sqq., 213. A recent acquisition among the Berlin papyri—probably of the date of Caracalla—contains the following passage (p. 290): *Αὐρήλιος Ζώσιμος πρὸ μὲν τῆς θίας (= θείας) δωρεᾶς καλούμενος Ζώσιμος Λεωνίδου*. The *θεία δωρεά* means 'imperial privilege' or 'patent.' The main purpose of this paper of W. is to present, from inscriptions and papyri, lists of *στρατηγοί*, generally with the districts to which they were appointed. After 212, if that was the year of the Constitutio Antonina, the *civitas* was a requisite for *στρατηγία*.

H. Kühlewein, Hippocratea.

F. Leo, Zum Culex.

Under Miscellen we note Emil Szanto, *Die Kleisthenischen Trittyen*. Cf. Aristotle, *'Αθ. πολ.*, c. 21, p. 69 Kenyon<sup>2</sup>. Each Phyle had three Trittyes, of which one belonged to Athens and its district, one to the interior, and one to the coast. Details are furnished by inscriptions.

E. G. SIHLER.

JOURNAL ASIATIQUE (Jan.-Dec., 1892).<sup>1</sup>

Vol. XIX.

Pp. 1-102 contain the last part of M. Rubens Duval's 'History of the political, religious and literary development of Edessa prior to the first crusade' (A. J. P. XIII 254 f.). The author gives a very exact and interesting sketch of the inner history of that city, and of the development of the monophysite doctrines preached by Jacob Baradeus, which definitely broke the bonds that had thus far united the Church of Edessa with the Greek and Latin Church. The religious controversies called forth a vast literature, which gave to the Syriac its classic form. Prominent in this literature are the works of Stephen bar Šudhailē, the reviver of Pantheism in Syria, and contemporary with Jacob of Šērūgh and of Philoxenus of Mabbōgh. At the same time lived Joshua the Stylite, author of the Chronicle, preserved to us through the thoughtfulness of Dionysius of Tell-Mahrī (died A. D. 845). Of real historical value is the anonymous *Chronicum Edessenum*, fortunately preserved in the Vatican MS CLXIII and edited by Assemani. Mention should also be made of a tripartite historical romance written by a monk of Edessa, a history of the Emperor Constantine and his three sons; of an account of Eusebius, bishop of Rome, and his sufferings at the hands of Julian the Apostate; and of a history of Jovian. In 616 Syria was subjugated for a brief period by the Persian Chosroes II, and for another brief period, 622-8, it was Byzantine again, the Emperor Heraclius having defeated the Persians. But the Jacobites, who were persecuted by Heraclius, considered it a great relief when, in 636 and the years immediately following, the Mohammedans conquered the country, and thereby brought to an end the Roman and Persian sway in the Orient. Mo'āwiya, the first Ommayad caliph, chose Damascus for his residence, but in 750 the capital of the empire was removed by the 'Abāsids to Baghdad. Among the most prominent hierarchs of Syria was Jacob of Edessa, author of the *Hexameron* and other works, and at the same time one of the best grammarians among Syriac writers.<sup>2</sup> There were fierce struggles in the following centuries among the Mohammedan dynasties for the possession of Syria, but throughout their course, Edessa and the country at large enjoyed a considerable degree of freedom and prosperity.

Pp. 103-50. M. Clermont-Ganneau has conceived the happy idea of opening his new courses on Semitic epigraphy and antiquities in the Collège de France with a resumé of the discoveries in that vast field during the year 1891. We are thus enabled, guided by a master's hand, to review in a small compass the results of the work done in Phoenician, Hebrew, Sabeian and Arabic epigraphy and inscriptions.

Pp. 189-200. The preliminary report of M. J. de Morgan on his mission to Persia and Luristan shows that the results of his investigations will be of the greatest importance for the history of linguistics, geography and archaeology of Western Persia. As the regions that the author has explored are especially those that have thus far been neglected by archaeologists, great expectations have been raised, and the detailed account is awaited with impatience.

<sup>1</sup>See A. J. P. XIII 256.

<sup>2</sup>A. J. P. V 211, 212.

Pp. 201-36. In 1883 M. S. Beal published, in the XIXth volume of the Sacred Books of the East, an English translation of the Fo-Sho-hing-Tsan-King, a life of Buddha (*Buddhakarita*), by Aṣvaghosha Bodhisattva, translated into Chinese by Dharmaraksha, A. D. 420. The original Sanskrit text had then not yet been edited, but, according to Sanskritists, it differed considerably, especially in the spelling of proper names, from the Chinese translation, which is an abridgment of the Lalita-vistara. The Sanskrit MS containing the original text is not complete, ending after the XVIIth song. M. Sylvain Lévi publishes in transliteration the headings of the seventeen songs and the first in full, with a translation into French, describing the birth of Bhagavat. The MS from which Lévi transcribes his text was written in 1830, by a scribe named Amṛtānanda. Hearing of Professor Cowell's intention to prepare a complete edition of the *Buddhakarita* in the Anecdota Oxoniensia, M. Lévi discontinues his work, begun so well.

Pp. 237-69. The civilized languages of the Indo-Chinese peninsula, or Farther India, are at present sufficiently known to us, or at least enough material has been gathered for a scientific study of these dialects. There remains, however, in the centre of the peninsula a mass of languages which have no literature and are spoken by the descendants of the ancient aboriginal population. Between the Thai, the Burmanese, Cambodian, Siamese and Annamite regions we find a linguistic chaos which remains to be sifted and classified. This group of languages or dialects contains some elements in common with the civilized languages surrounding them, due perhaps to a primitive common parentage. M. Pierre Lefèvre-Pontalis, a member of the 'Mission Pavie,' has spent eighteen months in the northern part of these regions of Indo-China, and he reports on fourteen distinct vocabularies. The mountains of Tonkin hide a linguistic problem which is analogous to that of the Caucasus, although it seems to be less complex and destined not to resist so long, if it be approached with patience and a sound philological method. M. Pontalis also announces, on p. 334, the gift by M. Pavie of sixteen MSS relating to the history, laws, civil and religious customs of the countries just mentioned, and publishes, on pp. 560-2, a list of the titles of these MSS.

Pp. 270-333, 499-555; vol. XX, pp. 233-75. M. Joseph Halévy continues and concludes his transliteration and translation of the correspondence of Amenophis III and Amenophis IV, kings of Egypt in the fifteenth century B. C., with the kings of Babylonia, governors of Jerusalem, etc. (see A. J. P. XII 254, 380, XIII 254).

Pp. 378-407. M. Max van Berchem prints some further notes on Arabic archaeology, discussing the monuments and inscriptions of the Toulunides and the Fatimides of Cairo. This second article was called forth by the many valuable suggestions communicated to van Berchem after the separate publication of his first article on the same subject (Journ. asiatique, May-June, July-Aug. 1891; A. J. P. XII 381, XIII 254). The author takes up the inscriptions of the Mosque of Aḥmad ibn Tūlūn, and publishes the Arabic text, with translation into French and a philological commentary. The article closes with additional remarks on the monuments of the Fatimides, supplementary to his first article, referred to above.

Pp. 408-71. Abulwefa wrote an Arabic translation of Ptolemy's *Almagest*, which, however, did not betray much originality, except in the chapter on trigonometry. This Arabic treatise was carefully studied by the late M. Marcel Devic, of Montpellier. After his death, in 1893, his notes on this treatise passed into the hands of M. L. Rodet, who, in turn, gave it to M. le Baron Carra de Vaux. C. de V. publishes the notes of M. Devic, with numerous additions of his own. The *Almagest* (المجسطى = *ô mégistos*)

of Abulwefa contained three parts, of which the first treats the subject of trigonometry, the second the application of trigonometrical formulae and similar observations, the third the theory of the planets, including the moon. Such is the division given by its author. As a matter of fact, however, the first part begins with four chapters on general cosmography, trigonometry being taken up with the fifth chapter. This chapter is perhaps the most important and original part of Abulwefa's work, and M. de Vaux reproduces it in French with explanatory notes. The treatise on the motions of the moon belongs to part III, but the Arabic MS (No. 1138 du supplément arabe à la Bibliothèque nationale) has suffered very much. It contained discourses 6, 7 and 8, of which half of No. 6, parts of No. 7 and the whole eighth discourse are lost. It is therefore rather difficult to gain an exact knowledge of the ideas of the Arabic author. M. de Vaux takes up, in particular, the account of the motion of the moon. He points the Arabic text and gives a translation into French. This is followed by an interesting account of the heated discussions which arose, over this part of the MS, in the French Academy, from 1836-42, between MM. Sédillot and Libri, with reference to the question whether the 'variation of the moon' had indeed been discovered by Abulwefa in saec. X, i. e. so many centuries before Tycho Brahe made the same discovery. The controversy turned on the interpretation of the terms *taθliθ* and *tasdis* as third and sixth octants. M. de Vaux explains the former as 'trisection.' The closing words of M. de Vaux's long article are worth quoting in full: "À Tycho-Brahe appartient la gloire entière, car jamais il ne put avoir sous les yeux aucun écrit d'un astronome arabe contenant une première découverte de la variation; à Ptolémée ou à ses prédécesseurs l'honneur d'une théorie plus exacte qu'on ne le croit généralement, et où la troisième anomalie lunaire est en germe; à Abū'l'wēfa et à ses compatriotes bien peu de chose en la question, tout au plus le mérite d'observations répétées mais stériles, capables de confirmer la science et non de l'avancer."

Pp. 472-98. M. E. Senart furnishes another instalment of his studies in Indian epigraphy (A. J. P. XII 252), publishing three new inscriptions of Açōka-Piyadasi which were discovered by Mr. Lewis Rice, chief of the archaeological bureau at Mysore. The original text is hewn into the rocks on the central plateau of the Dekhan, thus showing that Indian civilization was established in the southern part of India from the third century B. C. The inscriptions do not contain any new features differing from those discovered since 1877 (see e. g. A. J. P. X 488). M. Senart gives a number of geographical notes on the edicts, with text emendations and restorations, and then discusses, in particular, the new portion of the edict of Brahmagiri.



Vol. XX.

Pp. 5-38. Minutes of the annual meeting of the Society; report of the financial secretary, and list of the members, and the works published under the auspices of the Society.

Pp. 39-138. M. James Darmesteter presents to the Society his biennial report on the progress of Oriental learning in France. It mourns the loss of several prominent members, of whom the best known is M. Max de Rochemonteix, author of the well-known 'Stories from Berber' (A. J. P. XI 250 f.). Among foreign members deceased are Father Gorresio and Miss Amelia Edwards. Tribute is also paid to the memory of three great scholars who were not members of the Society, viz. Eduard Reuss, the veteran Biblical scholar at Strassburg, M. Henry Duveyrier and Rabbi Isidore Loeb, well known to the readers of the *Revue des études juives*. M. Darmesteter then gives short but clear summaries of the works published by French scholars, whether in book-form or articles, reviews or notes. High praise is justly bestowed upon M. Ph. Berger's *Histoire de l'écriture dans l'antiquité* (Paris, 1891) and upon the short histories of MM. Maspero and S. Reinach. The rest of the report is divided into the eight groups: (1) India and Indo-China, special mention being made of M. Sylvain Lévi and M. Victor Henry's work<sup>1</sup>; (2) Persia and Afghanistan; (3) Phoenicia, Judaea and Syria, epigraphy and antiquities; (4) Biblical criticism and later Jewish history; (5) Arabia and the Mussulman world, including Morocco and the Sudan; (6) Assyria, the Gudea inscriptions and the El-Amarna tablets still engaging the interest of scholars; (7) Egypt, and (8) China, Annam and Japan.

Pp. 139-56. M. Abel de Michels contributes an article on the Chinese poem *Bach Tū*, or 'the white mouse,' an Annamite morality play. The author, a Chinese Lafontaine, following the custom of his country, published the story anonymously. It refers to the period from A. D. 1226-1407, when the dynasty of the Trān ruled over Annam, and is a picture of the condition of life at the time when the poet wrote his poem. In its original form it must have been a satire on Hō-quily, in whose house the scene was laid. A pious hypocrite, he had by his intrigues usurped the Annamite throne in A. D. 1406, but was soon after captured by the invading Chinese.

Pp. 157-66. M. H. Derenbourg believes that the word אלה occurring in line 5 of a Minnean inscription means 'Allah' = God + } of the determinate state (or postpositive article). In these inscriptions from Yemen the word is still the proper name of a special god. On pp. 325-6 M. Halévy prints some further observations on this word.

Pp. 167-75. M. A. Foucher speaks of the Buddhāvatāra, or the IXth of the ten parts of the Daçāvatāra-karita ('history of the ten avatārs') of Kshemendra, which explains the life of Buddha to be an avatār (incarnation) of Vishnu.

<sup>1</sup> Speaking of Henry's *Livre XIII de l'Atharva-Veda*, M. Darmesteter says (p. 57): "Un juge plus compétent que moi M. Bloomfield (*Contributions to the Interpretation of the Veda*, IVth Series, A. J. P. XII 429-43) a rendu hommage à la précision de la traduction, au soin et à l'entente avec lesquels M. Henry a rapproché tous les passages parallèles de la littérature védique, à la prudence et au bonheur qu'il apporte dans la critique du texte et nous ne pouvons que nous associer au souhait exprimé par le savant américain que M. Henry consente à nous donner sa traduction tout entière."

Pp. 185-232. M. L. Feer. Buddhistic views on Hades and the life after death, being a description of the religious belief in India concerning the suppliants in Hades, the crimes for which they are punished and the duration of their punishment. The generic names for the lower worlds are 'Naraka' and 'Niraya.' There are sixteen great and as many small hells, the great ones being divided into eight hot and eight cold places, to which the wicked are condemned according to the character of their crimes. Feer then discusses the sixteen smaller underworlds, all of which have the most appropriate designations, such as the black-pebble hell, the bubbling-filth hell, the freezing-cold hell, etc., to each of which are assigned different classes of sinners and transgressors, among whom adulterers and the like are especially selected for horrible punishments. The duration of the punishment is of the greatest importance, and is discussed at length for each category and class.

Pp. 305-17. M. Max van Berchem addresses a letter to M. Barbier de Meynard relative to the plan of a new 'corpus inscriptionum Arabicarum.' There are to be three divisions: (1) The pre-Islamite inscriptions, (2) those dating from the Mussulman dynasties, and (3) private inscriptions.

#### Nouvelles et Mélanges.

Vol. XIX, pp. 151-88. M. Pognon communicates a trilingual funeral inscription in the Oûïgour, Arabic and Syriac languages which he found in a Jacobite convent and dates to A. D. 1299; on pp. 336-42 M. P. publishes additional notes and an exact facsimile reproduction of the inscriptions. M. L. Feer adds some observations, and M. Halévy prints a new translation and interpretation (vol. XX, 291-2), differing in many points from that of

M. Pognon.—According to M. R. Duval the Arabic <sup>قُطْرُب</sup> (*qutrūb*) is but a mutilated transcription of the Greek *κυνάνθρωπος*, through the mediation of Syriac *qantrōpos*.—M. J. Halévy defends against M. Berger (*Histoire de l'écriture*, 330) his interpretation of the funeral inscriptions of Berber and of the proper names in *a*, which he had first discussed in his 'études berbères' (*Journal asiatique*, 1874, I 95 ff.).—M. B. de Meynard reviews Ch. Wells's *The Literature of the Turks* (London, 1891, xix + 272 pp.). The book contains selections of the Ottoman literature of the last three centuries, and is a laudable undertaking. But it is scarcely pardonable of Wells to ignore or, still worse, to be ignorant of the excellent work done in this line in England, France and other countries, by such men as Redhouse, Bianchi and Pavet de Courteille. This ignorance deprives Wells of much useful material. His texts are neither correct nor his translations acceptable.—The same reviewer bestows high praise upon the excellent edition of *Recueil des poésies de Bayezid, II* (Constantinople, 1891).—Adolf Neubauer's *Petite grammaire hébraïque* provenant du Yémen, texte arabe, is considered by M. R. Duval a very excellent piece of work. It seems to be the original of the Hebrew text which was published by M. J. Derenbourg (*Journ. as.* 1870, vol. XVI, 309-50).—M. Moïse Schwab describes a Hebrew MS of the Bibliothèque nationale à Paris, No. 1333, which dates from saec. XIV and shows the Oriental vocalization. Of great interest is a prayer, found at the end of the MS, in the Jewish-German jargon written in Hebrew characters.

Pp. 334-76. M. Drouin entertained the Society with a talk on some coins from Central Asia belonging to the fifth century of our era. One of the words occurring on these coins he reads *xodāt*, a title of the sovereigns of Transoxiana (Sogdiana). M. Darmesteter believes the word to be a compound of *xat* and *dat*.—M. G. Devéria has a very favorable notice of P. Antonini's *Le Chang-Ti et le T'ien dans l'antiquité*, i. e. 'the Great Spirit of Heaven and Earth and the spirit' (Paris, 1891), and of M. C. de Harlez's *Les Religions de la Chine* (Leipzig, 1891). The latter work consists of four distinct parts, treating (1) the official religion practised by the first Chinese of all classes at least down to the second century before our era, but now only by the 'fils du ciel' and his lieutenants; (2) Taoism, whose founder was Lao-tze; (3) Buddhism of the North, and (4) the actual religion of the people, composed of all sorts of beliefs and superstitions.—The beautiful book of M. Philippe Berger, *L'histoire de l'écriture dans l'antiquité* (Paris, 1891), deserves the high praise bestowed upon it by M. R. Duval (p. 361 ff.) and by M. Clermont-Ganneau (p. 117). It is an admirable book and remarkably cheap.—M. Drouin reports on two collections of coins and statues bequeathed to the Society by MM. W. H. Scott and E. S. Ariel in 1855 and '56.

Pp. 370-2, 564-6. M. J. Halévy. The Hebrew name of the Thebais, פְּתֹרִים, is rarely mentioned in the Bible, and has thus given rise to some peculiar mistakes of the scribes, e. g. in Jerem. 44, 15, where we should read פְּתֹרִים or פְּתֹרִים, as well as in verse 1, אֶרֶץ נִשְׁאֵן = אֶרֶץ פְּתֹרִים (Gen. 46, 28) or אֶרֶץ רִעְמָסִס (ibid. 47, 11). On the other hand, in Ezek. 27, 10 and 38, 5 the original פְּתֹרִים was changed into פָּרִס.—The Old Testament בַּעַל-חֲמֵן is = Baal or Lord of Mount Amanus, חֲמֵן (= Assyrian *ḥamani* = *ḥamānos*) being derived from חָמָה 'black.' It is the μαῦρον ὄρος of the Byzantine authors. The modern name of Marash is identical with Assyrian 'Marqasi,' the name of the capital of the country of Gamgum. The Hamathean city Ellitarbi is the Αἰταρῖβα of the Greeks.

Pp. 373-6. M. O. Houdas recommends Bel Kassem ben Sedira's two books: (1) *Cours pratique de langue arabe*, and (2) *Cours de littérature arabe* (Alger, 1891).—M. Moïse Schwab briefly mentions the second edition of Rabbi M. Ennery's *Dictionnaire hébreu-français* (Paris, 1891) and Fürst's *Glossarium Graeco-Hebraeum* (Strassburg, 1891).

Pp. 562-4. M. Drouin speaks very highly of Stanley Lane Poole's *Catalogue of Arabic Glass Weight in the British Museum*, edited by R. S. Poole (London, 1891), and M. B. de Meynard reviews R. Youssouf's *Grammaire complète de la langue ottomane* (Constantinople, 1892) and Lehdjè-i-Osmani (Constantinople, 1890-92), a new edition of the well-known dictionary of Ahmed Vefyk Pasha.

Vol. XX, pp. 176-84 contain reviews by Carra de Vaux of *Traité du Quadrilatère*, attribué à Nasiruddin-el-Toussy, 1200-73 A. D., traduit par A. Caratheodory (Paris, 1891, 371 pp., 8vo), and by R. Duval of *Hyvernats et Muellers-Simonis's Rélation des missions scientifiques* (Paris et Lyon, 1892, 628 pp.).

Pp. 279-304 contain a number of interesting notes, e. g. the funeral oration over M. Ernest Renan, president of the Society since 1884, by M. Barbier de

Meynard.—Father Scheil (*Journ. as.* XVI 336; *A. J. P.* XII 383) first suggested that the 'men of Judah' were mentioned in letter No. 39 of the Berlin collection of the El-Amarna Tablets (Winckler and Abel, II, p. 46). M. A.-J. Delattre, however, shows convincingly that this is not so, *ša-u-du* (as he reads) being the third person plural preterite of a verb 𐎶𐎵𐎶, meaning 'they have witnessed.'<sup>1</sup>—Of reviews there is one by M. E. Drouin of Ismaïl Ghālib Edhem Bey's *Traité des monnaies de Seljoucides* (Constantinople, 1892, xxvi + 143 pp.), and by M. L. Feer of W. W. Rockhill's *The Land of the Lamas* (London, 1891, 399 pp.).—M. B. de Meynard compliments Professor E. G. Browne, of Cambridge, upon the publication of *A Traveller's Narrative* (2 vols., Cambridge, 1891) and mentions V. Chauvin's *Bibliographie des ouvrages arabes ou relatifs aux Arabes* (Liège, 1892).

Pp. 326-38. M. Cl. Huart severely criticises *Le moyen de parvenir à la connaissance de la langue des Turcs, texte arabe d'Abou-Hayyān*, publié par Moçtafa-bey (Constantinople, 1891, 213 pp.); M. C. de Harlez treats of the nationality of the people of Tcheou, and M. S. Lévi of *Arjuna*, the successor of Harṣa Çilāditya, the famous contemporary of Hiouen-Tsang; while M. de Meynard recommends the Turkish translation by Adda Fredj of the fables of *La Fontaine* (Constantinople, 1893).

Pp. 341-540. General index to the VIIIth series of the *Journal asiatique* (1883-92).

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RHEINISCHES MUSEUM, XLVI, Fascicles 3 and 4.<sup>2</sup>

Pp. 343-8. F. Vollmer. Quintilian wrote the 'de causis corruptae eloquentiae' in A. D. 92; the 'institutio oratoria,' composed by him in A. D. 95, was published by Trypho the following year, on the 18th of September.

Pp. 349-70. K. Dziatzko shows that there exists between the *Prolegomena* in Aristophanis *ἐτέρα ἀρχή* of Joh. Tzetzes and the Plautus scholion on the Alexandrian Libraries, a closer relationship than has usually been supposed. The scholion, however, rests on a better text of Tzetzes than we have at present. The tract *περὶ κωμῳδίας* published in Cramer's *Anecdota Paris. I* (1839) 3-10 is not the source of the introductions of Tzetzes, but rather an abstract from them, at least as far as the remarks on the Alexandrian Libraries and the recensions of Homer are concerned. The *βιβλοὶ συμμειγείς* of the Alexandrian Library were rolls containing beginning or end of several parts of one or more works, while *βιβλοὶ ἀμειγείς καὶ ἀπλᾶι* designated rolls containing only one work as a whole, or the main part thereof.

Pp. 371-7. M. Ihm. The Codex Riccardianus 1179, together with the Codex rescriptus Vindob. 16 (saec. V or VI), are the only sources thus far known of the original Latin text of the *Ars medicina seu veterinaria* of Pelagonius.

<sup>1</sup> See also A. H. Sayce in *Records of the Past*, new series, vol. V, pp. vi-vii, and M. Jastrow in *Journal of Biblical Literature*, XII 61-72.

<sup>2</sup> See A. J. P. XIV 392.

Pp. 378-419. Comparing the new fragments of the Bibliotheca Apollodori (see pp. 161-92; A. J. P. XIV 394) with the Epitome Vaticana (on which compare Rhein. Mus. XLI 134-50; A. J. P. X 238), R. Wagner points out their great importance for the criticism and restoration of the Bibliotheca, especially as regards the fourth book, and also our knowledge of Greek mythology. On p. 618 Wagner determines the locality of the demos Icaria and of Mount Icarion.

Pp. 420-5. F. Marx. Notwithstanding the immature and foolish close of the Rhetorica ad Herennium, it is yet a genuine work, a *σχολικὸν ὑπόμνημα*, and not spurious, as has been, since Gruter, generally assumed. A note to p. 424 is printed on p. 636, and on pp. 606-12 the same writer maintains that the deviations from classical diction found in this work are characteristic peculiarities of the author.

Pp. 426-65. It is impossible to ignore the fact that not a few highly competent scholars hesitate to accept the 'Αθ. πολ. as a work of Aristotle; thus, e. g., Herwerden, F. Cauer, H. Richards and, above all, Fr. Rühl, who maintains, in an article printed in these pages, that the edition of Mr. Kenyon is not identical with the 'Αθ. πολ. quoted by ancient authors as a work of Aristotle. Many historical statements that are not otherwise supported by ancient tradition are open to grave suspicions. [Rühl's objections were met by Gomperz in a polemical pamphlet, 'Die Schrift vom Staatswesen der Athener und ihr neuester Beurtheiler' (Vienna, 1891), to which Rühl forthwith replied in 'Der Staat der Athener und kein Ende' (reprint from the XVIII. Supplementband of Fleckeisen's Jahrbücher, 1892, pp. 675-706). Most scholars, however, have declared themselves, against Rühl, in favor of the Aristotelian authorship; cf. Lit. Centralblatt, 1892, No. 21, 754; Wochenschr. f. klass. Phil. 1892, No. 35, and especially Berliner Philol. Wochenschrift, 1892, Nos. 41 and 42. The great storehouse, in future, will be the excellent edition of the 'Αθ. πολ. by Sandys (1893).]

Pp. 465-80. C. Wachsmuth. The biographical work of Timagenes *περί βασιλέων* was one of the main sources of Trogus for his 'universal history.' The general plan of the work, however, was his own conception, as well as a number of quotations from and references to Greek writers consulted by him independently of Timagenes.

Pp. 480-96. L. Enthoven emends Appian, de bello civ. II 11 *ἐκέντρον* for *ἐπειρόν* and *ἀμ' ἥσση* instead of *ἀλλ' ἥσσης*; II 50 *πάντες τε οἱ εὐ φρονούντες, τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ὅπου ποτ' ἂν <ἐχ>ωσιν ἡγοῦνται πατρίδα.*—J. E. Kirchner on 'Ἀπολλόδωρος Πασίωνος Ἀχαρνέως (Dem. XLV 28, 46).—O. Immisch. The *carcinus* of the Pompeian wall-inscriptions (C. I. L. IV 2400 *ab*) is mentioned in the Anthol. Palat. II 608 (Duebner). *Δωμήδη* is the name of a woman, not that of the hero Diomedes.—G. Gundermann. The chronological glosses of the Codex Monacensis lat. 14, 429 (Rhein. Mus. XXII 442 ff.) are based on Jerome's Chronicle, a fact depriving, among others, also the passage on Lucretius of the value of an independent witness. The words 'Solinus sub Octaviano fuit' are to be corrected to 'Iulius Hyginus sub Octaviano fuit.'—M. Manitius believes the 'carmina minora' of Dracontius to have been used largely by later authors, e. g. Fortunatus, Hildebert of Le Mans, Sedulius,

etc.—M. Ihm emends and interprets Vegetius Mulomed. III 60, 1, and E. Pernice shows that the early Italian pound is preserved in a few old specimens, weighing 10 ounces.

Pp. 497–510. H. Swoboda discusses the character and contents of the inscriptions published in vol. VIII of the *Antiquities of Pergamum*, edited by Max Fränkel; they are mostly decrees and resolutions of the public assembly.

Pp. 511–27. E. Bethe begins a series of studies in Vergil, discussing the Laocoon episode. There are two separate traditions regarding this episode, found in Vergil side by side, and at times crossing each other. According to the older tradition Sinon plays but a secondary part, Apollo being the principal actor; according to the younger version Sinon is the principal instigator of the plan enacted upon by the Greeks. Vergil had originally selected the younger version, according to which the deliberation on the wooden horse occurred near the seashore. Later on he decided to make use also of the older tradition, and he composed the two passages ll. 40–56 and 199–233, according to which the deliberation took place in front of King Priam's palace.

Pp. 528–51. K. Tümpel. Poseidon-Brasidas of Cos in Athens. The explanation by Pausanias, I 2, 4, of the equestrian javelin-thrower in the statuary group near the Demeter temple at Athens is correct: it represents Poseidon's victory over Polybotes, the giant of Cos. The *ἄλλος* of the inscription on the monument, as quoted by Pausanias, refers to the word *βρασίλας* = *ἐνοσίχθων*, an epithet of Poseidon on Cos (Theocr. VII 11) not known to the archaeologist, who uses *ἄλλος* in its stead.<sup>1</sup>

Pp. 552–6. C. Wachsmuth examines the two new fragments of the *Homericæ* of Crates of Mallos, discovered among the meagre scholia of the *Codex Genevensis*, 44, to B. XXI of the *Iliad*, which were published recently by M. Jules Nicole (2 vols., Genève, 1891).

Pp. 557–76. C. v. Jan. The monograph of Bacchius contains two distinct treatises on harmonics, viz. §§1–58 and 67–88, while §§59–66 and 89–101 are appendices to parts I and II. The second appendix is again divided into three parts, of which the first, §§89–92, preserved in a very mutilated form, is an abstract from a metrical handbook similar to that of Choeroboscus. The second, §§93–8, shows a rhythmic character and points to the school of Aristoxenus; while the third, §§99–101, on which two authors had worked together, belongs to the school of the *συμπλέκοντες*, who combine rhythmic and metric. Though several hands can be discerned in the original composition, the final redactor has revised the whole, so that *ῥυθμός*, *βάσις*, *δρασις*, *ἡγεμών*, κτλ. have the same meaning throughout.

Pp. 577–82. C. Hosius communicates the results of an examination of 21 Italian MSS of Propertius, which shows that the marginal notes of Politianus (Poliziano) are based on MS collations made by the great Italian scholar.

Pp. 583–98. E. Fabricius. On the history of the second Athenian confederation. The list of the members (*σύμμαχοι*) of this confederation (C. I. A.

<sup>1</sup> *Βρασίλας* is a compound of *βρασι-*, from *γβρά-* (cf. *βεβράσθαι* = *ὑποείσθαι*, *βρασμός* γῆς = *σεισμός* γῆς), and *-λάς* = *λάς*, *λάας*, thus = *σεισί-χθων*, *ἐνοσί-χθων*.

II 17) contained in l. 15 a name that was erased at an early date. Fabricius suggests the name of Jason of Pherae, who became a member in 375 B. C. and left again between 373 and 371 B. C. The names are engraved in groups by several hands, showing that the membership increased only gradually.

Pp. 599-605. A. v. Domaszewski. Notes on the history of the government of the Roman provinces. III.<sup>1</sup> Agricola introduced, in the second year of his proconsulate, the new jurisdiction over Brittany (*Tac Agric.* 21), with a *iuridicus* at the head of legal affairs. About the same time the military force in that province was reduced, the *legio II adiutrix*, stationed there by Vespasian, being removed thence and appearing subsequently, under Domitian, in Pannonia, with *Acumincum* (Slankamen) and, later, *Aquincum* as garrisons. The '*legatus Augustorum provinciae Britanniae*' of C. I. L. IX 5533 = *Wilm.* 1151, is the earliest mention of the *iuridicus Britanniae* (C. I. L. V 6794), both designating one and the same official. It is most probable that after the removal of the *legio II* the *legatus iuridicus* took the place of the fourth *legatus militum*, now vacated.

Pp. 613-36. O. Immisch. On the Melampodia, *Apoll. Bibl.* IV 6, 7, 7.—J. M. Stahl. The psephisma of Demophantus (*Andoc. de myst.* §§96-9) is an old fragment of a Solonian law with some later additions.—V. Gardthausen. The inscription on p. 27 of Schliemann's *Bericht über die Ausgrabungen in Troja* im J. 1890 (Leipzig, 1891) does not refer to Emperor Tiberius, as the author thought, but to Augustus, dating about 742 A. U. C., *i. e.* 12 B. C.—M. Ihm prints variant readings to Priscian's *Institutiones*, preface, from the *Codex Angelicanus* T. 618 (membr. saec. XII/XIII, 4to).—M. Manitius examines the final syllables of the hexameter in later Latin poetry, from Lucretius to the *Aenigmata Eusebii*, and finds that the monosyllabic decreases in general, with the exception of the Christian poets, with whom the reverse is the case. The tetrasyllabics, used originally only in the case of proper names, are found in some measure by Christian poets also with other words: the pentasyllabics too having considerably increased among these Christian writers.—E. Pernice shows, from several specimen weights found in Pompeii, Rome and Aquileia, that the Italian mina (*μνᾶ Ἰταλική*) of 491 gr. was used as an equivalent of the Roman pound.—F. B. discusses the general character of the mimiambi of Herodas, proposes a number of emendations, and publishes a revised text of the first mimiamb.

W. MUSS-ARNOLT.

<sup>1</sup> See vol. XLV 1-10, 203-11; A. J. P. XII 372.

## BRIEF MENTION.

The volume on *Aelian* is not the least interesting part of SCHMID'S *Atticismus*, the first volume of which was noticed in this Journal, IX 98. Every one calls Aelian a scribbler, and yet every one is glad to use Aelian's material, and we should all miss his contributions to the *chronique scandaleuse* of both man and beast. Cobet is perfectly safe in sneering at his Atticism (see A. J. P. V 537. VI 517), and yet the unprejudiced modern must admit that he is not a bad story-teller. But many of the post-classic people are good story-tellers, perhaps because they have the bad taste to be so much like us, and it is precisely to this faculty of story-telling that Schmid, a pupil of Rohde's, has called attention in this volume, and the interest of the book lies in his attempt to prove that Aelian is an important representative, or rather successor, of those who introduced the *fabula Milesia* of the people into literature. It is Aelian and those whom he follows that anticipated the *contes drolatiques* and the *picaresco* romances that we associate with Decameron and Heptameron, with Mendoza and Quevedo. The piebald style of Aelian, over which Cobet makes so merry, is, according to Schmid, the piebald style of the *fabula Milesia* tempered by rhetorical methods, and its simplicity is an artificial simplicity that is made to carry a real *ποικιλία*. Of this manufactured simplicity in narrative the Greek rhetoricians have much to say, notably Aristeides, in his treatise *περὶ ἀφελοῦς λόγου*, a treatise which, in my judgment, is too much neglected and which the student of Xenophon cannot afford to neglect, and from Aristeides we can learn how Aelian must have gone to work in order to learn the story-teller's art. According to Schmid's analysis, Herodotos, whose influence on the literature of the period it would be hard to overestimate, furnished the model of simplicity; Xenophon, the lunar rainbow of Herodotos, furnished the Attic dialect; Plato supplied the conversational turns; the *fabula Milesia* the improprieties, and the firm of Stoic and Cynic the moralizing which illuminates the gruel 'thick and slab' of Aelian's style. In Cobet's characterization of Aelian stress is laid on his Latinisms (comp. A. J. P. XIV 106), but on this point Schmid touches only here and there. In a book crowded with infinite details it would be very easy to find occasional slips, but the work has its value, as well as its interest, for students of the Greek of every period, and it is evident that Schmid is getting a firmer hold of his subject as he goes on, and one could only wish that the less trodden parts of pure Attic literature had received as much attention as Schmid has bestowed on Aelian. But while one is willing to grant that Schmid has made respectable progress in a most difficult undertaking, still it must be said that he betrays the danger of attacking any sphere of post-classic Greek without the mastery of what lies before. So in the second volume of his *Atticismus* (p. 60) Schmid makes the suggestion that the Alabandian rhetoricians, Hierokles and Menekles, famous men in Cicero's boyhood (Brutus 95, 325), may have given



vogue to the *σολοικισμὸς Ἀλαβανδιακός*, i. e. the solecistic use of *μή* for *οὐ* (A. J. P. I 46). But instead of following this up, he contents himself with telling us that Arrian was not guiltless in this respect. As if any one expected anything else of Arrian! The first lines of the *Anabasis* show that. Much more to the point would have been the study of the writers immediately preceding Christ, who might be supposed to have felt the Alabandian wave. And sure enough, Diodorus, who belongs to that period, gives us all the instances one can reasonably ask. Not to waste time, I cite from two books only, XII and XIII, without any pretence of having exhausted the examples even in these two: XII 49 (vol. II, p. 142, 31, Teubner ed.), 56 (p. 149, 17), 83 (p. 178, 5); XIII 11 (p. 190, 17), 17 (p. 196, 12), 59 (p. 243, 16), 61 (p. 246, 22), 78 (p. 265, 11), 99 (p. 291, 4), 100 (p. 292, 29), 106 (p. 298, 24).

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Any one at all familiar with the run of post-classical Greek must have been surprised at the confident tone with which it has been stated that the dual practically died the death in the last quarter of the fourth century B. C. The very existence of the late form *δυν* should have checked that statement. It is true that in a sense the dual was dead, but it would be a hard question to determine how much of late Greek is true survival, how much is literary ghost, and if the late dual is a mere sham, or a mere *schemen*, so is much else that is allowed to have a real life in the very unreal world of Hellenistic literature. Indeed, as to the classic authors themselves, there is good reason to suspect a certain artificiality about the use, especially in Plato, whose employment of the dual stands in striking contrast to that of Aristophanes, as Roeper pointed out long ago; and the large use of the verbal forms in the later stage of the Attic orators is not altogether canny. The seat of the dual should be in the substantive, and not in the adjective, where Plato puts it, nor in the verb. It is this evidence of artificiality in the good period that adds a special interest to Dr. HERMANN SCHMIDT's contribution to the *Breslauer Philologische Abhandlungen*, which bears the title *De duali graecorum et emoriente et reviviscente* (Breslau, Wilhelm Koebner, 1893). After a brief introduction, in which he sums up the results of his predecessors, Dr. Schmidt proceeds to his proper task, the exhibition of dual forms in writers of the post-classic period, from Aristotle to Dion Chrysostomos, the latter of whom is wrongly credited by Christ (Müller's Hdb. VII<sup>2</sup>, p. 597) with having revived a form which was the common property of all the later Atticists (Schmid, *Atticismus*, I 87; see also III 46). Not to go into details, the tables show a progressive decline of the dual from Aristotle to Diodoros, and a gradual rise from Dionysios of Halikarnasos on. The range of words is limited. Conspicuous are *δυν*, *ἀμφοῖν*, *χεροῖν*, *ποδοῖν*. The nom.-acc. forms *ὀφθαλμός*, *χεῖρε*, *πόδε* are not resurrected until the time of Dionysios. Of dual verb-forms there is merely a trace, so that decay of the dual is more organic, if one dare say so, than in the classic times.

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In the *Prolegomena* to the first volume of his critical edition of *Dion Chrysostomos* (Berlin, Weidmann, 1893) VON ARNIM says: *Pauci admodum ad hunc*

scriptorem accedere [solent], dignum imprimis qui ab omnibus legatur. Of course, one always expects an editor to magnify his author. At all events, very few treat those, whom they think it worth while to edit, so scurvily as Naber has treated poor Fronto, for which warm-hearted old African I actually conceived a certain affection in consequence of Naber's unkindness.

τοῖς ἡσσοσιν γὰρ πᾶς τις εὐνοίας φέρει.

But all editorial predilection apart, it is surprising how little has been done for or with Dion, and I never return to him without wondering that in the dearth of subjects for dissertations, so few have looked into the mass of interesting problems in art, literature, philosophy and morals suggested by his discourses. If the average Grecian knows the pretty 'Dorfgeschichte' (Εὐβοϊκός), to which Otto Jahn called especial attention, the φιλοκτήτης, which forces itself on the students of Sophokles, and the 'Ολυμπικός ἢ περὶ τῆς πρώτης τοῦ θεοῦ ἐννοίας, made conspicuous by Geel's special edition—it is as much. Something has been done of late for Dion's style by Schmid in the first volume of his Atticismus, but no systematic attempt has been made to disentangle from the rhetorical web the threads of literary tradition and historical fact. Doubtless the work will yet be done, and whoever comes to it will have a much surer foundation than heretofore in von Arnim's text, which is based on Emperius' edition, but supported by a better knowledge of the contents of the leading MSS and of their affinities.

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The invaluable critical edition of *Aischylos* by WECKLEIN (A. J. P. V 543) has received in the current year two *Auctaria* (Berlin, Calvary). The *Auctarium* to the First Part contains the *Fragments*, the *Auctarium* to the Second Part the *Appendix propagata*. This *Appendix propagata*, with true Teutonic indifference to the feelings of people who cannot use books unless they are bound, begins at p. 289, swallows up all the matter published in pp. 289–315 of the Second Part, and undertakes to record in addition all the conjectures given to the world from 1885, the date of the Second Part, down to Verrall's Choëphori (1893). Such an apparatus is a great boon to the student of Aischylos. Let us hope that it will not turn too many students into 'critical' editors.

## RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

Thanks are due to Messrs. B. Westermann & Co., New York, for material furnished.

### AMERICAN.

Livy. Books 21 and 22. Ed. with introd. and notes by J. B. Greenough and Tracy Peck. Boston, *Ginn & Co.*, 1893. 13 + 232 + 65 pp. 12mo, cl., \$1.35.

Vergil's Aeneid. Seventh Book. Ed. for the use of schools by W. C. Collar. Boston, *Ginn & Co.*, 1893. 18 + 96 pp. 16mo, cl., 50 cts.

### ENGLISH.

Aristophanes. Wasps. With introduction, text and notes by W. W. Merry. 12mo. *Clarendon Press.* 3s. 6d.

Budge (E. A. W.) The Mummy. Chapters on Egyptian Funereal Archaeology. With 88 illusts. 8vo, xvi + 404 pp. *Cambridge Warehouse.* 12s. 6d.

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# INDEX TO VOL. XIV.

Prepared by W. MUSS-ARNOLT, Ph. D.

Abbott, E. Herodotus, books V and VI,	126 f.	Anthologia Palatina, Corrections and suggestions on the epigrams in the 3d vol. of the Didot edition,	350-61
Abulwefa's translation of Ptolemy's Almagest,	512	XVI 300,	251
Accentual theory of Saturnian verse tested,	167 ff.	Aorist and imperfect ind. in Greek and Latin,	104 ff.
modification of, Proposed,	305 ff.	Apollodorus' Bibliotheca, New MS of,	394
Accidence in Judaeo-German,	53	and the Epitome Vaticana,	517
Açoka inscriptions,	512	Appian, de bello civ. II 11, II 15,	
Case-system in,	174 ff.	emended,	517
Adverbs in the Judaeo-German Jargon of Russia,	464 ff.	Are Frodi and his writings,	377
Aelian in Schmid's Atticismus,	520	Aristeides, <i>περὶ ἀφελούς λόγου</i> ,	520
Agreement, rules for, in syntax of Judaeo-German Jargon of Russia,	474-5	Aristophanes, Literary activity of,	494 f.
ai-verb, On the origin and development of the,	409-55	Relative position of actors and chorus in,	287-304
Aischylos, Choëphori, ed. Verrall,	398	use of ὤστε,	241
Eum. 103-5,	393	Aristophanis Vespae, ed. van Leeuwen,	493-8
Fragments and Appendix propagata, ed. Wecklein,	522	Aristotle, Constitution of Athens,	125, 226-34, 517
Prometheus, 1005,	126	'Arme Heinrich,' emendations, II. 390,	1183, 1284,
Relative position of actors and chorus in,	198-209	Armenian version of Plato's Laws, Book IV, Collation of,	335-49
Use of ὤστε in,	241	Arminius und Siegfried, ed. Jellinghaus (rev.),	383
Aitareya-Brahmana, Age and period of,	179	Arnim's Dion Chrysostomos,	521-2
case-use in,	172 f.	ARNOLT, W. MUSS-. Report of Journal Asiatique,	510-16
Alabandian solecism,	520-1	Report of Rheinisches Museum, 392-5, 516-19	
Albers Trugdals (M. H. G.), 913-17, emended,	391	Assyrian words: âlu, âltu, 114; iççuru, iççurâti, 116; bubûtu, 117; gullubu, 116; ja-u-du in El-Amarna inscriptions, 516; kudinnu, kudunnu, 113; kararu, 112; manda, 117; mi, mē, 117; naglabu, 116; qutinnu, 113; radû, ridû, 113; Sib'-e, 114; šattu, 1) year, 2) hour, 112; takû, tukku, 112; tabalu, takalu, 112.	
ALLINSON, F. G. Review of Hatzidakis' Einleitung in die neugriechische Grammatik,	107-11	'Αθηναίων πολιτεία, 125 f., 227-34, 509, 517	42, 9,
Alliterative Middle Eng. poetry, Strophic division in,	121		395
Alliterative verse in the Heliand and the Old High German fragments,	379-80	Athenian confederation, History of the second,	518 f.
Ammianus' sources,	508	decrees of amnesty,	395
and his contemporaries,	508	Atticism, Schmid's new volume on,	520
Anglo-Saxon, Development of third class of weak verbs,	409-55	Aulus Gellius, insufficiently treated in 'Lewis and Short,'	216-25
		12, 6 (riddle on Terminus restored),	394
		Avianus, Elegies of,	252

- Babrius, fab. 142, 2, 395  
 Babylonian-Assyrian letter literature, 112  
 Bacchius' treatises on harmonics, 518  
 Bach Tü, a Chinese morality play, 513  
 Bartoli's *La Divina Comedia*, part II, 245  
 Beiträge zur Assyriologie und vergleichenden Sprachwissenschaft, 112-18  
 Beowulf, Etymology of, 120  
 Bibles provençales et catalanes, 250  
 BLOOMFIELD, MAURICE. Review of Hilbrandt's *Vedische Mythologie*, 491-3  
 Books Received, 135-8, 270-2, 406-8, 529-32  
 Bremer on the *ai*-conjugation, 412  
 Brief Mention:  
   Abbott's Herodotus, books V and VI, 126  
   Arnim's *Dion Chrysostomos*, 521  
   Crusius, *Untersuchungen zu den Mimiamben des Herondas*, 125 f.  
   Gebhardt's *Gospel of Peter and Revelation of Peter*, 396  
   Goodwin's *Homeric Hymns*, 397-8  
   Miles' *Comparative Syntax of Latin and Greek*, 260-1  
   Nordenstam's *Syntaxis infinitivi Plotiniani*, 397  
   Perthes' *Pocket Atlas Antiquus*, 127  
   Sandys' edition of *Ἀθηναίων πολιτεία*, 125 f.  
   Schmid's *Atticismus: Aelian*, 520  
   Schmidt, H. *De duali graecorum et emoriente et reviviscente*, 521  
   Skene's *Ante Agamemnona*, a new departure in philology, 258-9  
   Symonds' *Studies of Greek Poets*, 261  
   Tucker's *Eighth Book of Thucydides*, 396-7  
   Verrall's *Choëphori*, 398  
   Wagner's *Imperative Infinitive in Greek*, 124  
   Wecklein's *Auctaria to his Aischylos*, 522  
   Wülker's *Andreas and Elene (Vercelli MS)*, 262  
 Buck, C. D. *Vokalismus der oskischen Sprache*, 234-6  
 Buddhakarita, publication of, 511  
 Buddhistic views on Hades and life after death, 514  
 Carcinus of the Pompeian wall-inscriptions, 517  
 Case-system of the Hindu grammarians, 171 ff.  
 Catalan versions of the Bible, 250  
 Centum, original numerical sign for, 394  
 Chaucer's works, Ethical spirit of, 366  
 Chilian popular songs, 90-2  
 Chronographer of the year A. D. 354 and his sources, 254  
 Chronological history from Adam to A. D. 452, 393  
 Chronology of Tertullian's writings and of the Proconsuls of Africa, 393  
 Cicero, Brutus, ed. by J. Martha (rev.), 237-8  
 Cobet on Aelian, 520  
 Codex Monacensis, Chronological glosses in, 517  
 Cognomina in the lists of Diodorus, 251  
   in the chronographer of A. D. 354, 254  
 Collation of the Old Armenian version of Plato's *Laws*, Book IV, 335-49  
 Collitz on the *ai*-conjugation, 415  
 Colony and municipium, 507  
 Commodian's 'Instructiones,' 394  
 Comparative syntax of Latin and Greek, 260-1  
 Component elements in the Judaeo-German Jargon of Russia and their interrelation, 468-72  
 Conjunctions in the Judaeo-German Jargon of Russia, 467 f.  
 CONYBEARE, FRED. C. Collation of the Old Armenian version of Plato's *Laws*, Book IV, 335-49  
 COOK, ALBERT S. Report on *Englische Studien*, 119-23  
 Cougny-Didot's edition of *Anthologia Palatina*, III, 350-61  
 Crates of Mallos, new fragments of the *Homerica*, 518  
 Crusius, *Untersuchungen zu den Mimiamben des Herondas*, 125 f.  
 Cyrus cylinder, Hagen on the, 115  
 Delphi, Votive inscription found at, 392  
 Demophantus' *Psephisma*, 519  
 Deutsche Satzbau, Der, 501-5  
 Development of the Greek theatre, in outline, 85-9  
 Development of the Saturnian from Indo-European metre, 328-34  
 Didot edition of *Anthologia Palatina*, III, Suggestions on some epigrams in, 350-61  
 Dio Cassius, frgg. emended, 395  
 Diodorus, IV 3, 3, 254  
 Diogenes Laertius, VII 54, 395  
 Dion Chrysostomos and the collection of his works, 255  
   edited by von Arnim, 521-2  
   use of the dual, 521  
 Dionysos theatre at Athens, 69  
 Draconian Constitution in the 'Aθ. πολ. 230-1  
 Dracontius' *carmina minora* used by later authors, 517-18  
 Dryden's heroic drama, 122  
 Edessa, its political and religious history, etc., prior to the first crusade, 510  
 Egypt, Roman provincial administration of, 509  
 Egyptian and Semitic, Relationship of, 117  
 Ekkehard's *Waltharius*, 383-4  
 Electra of Sophocles and Euripides, 255  
 Elizabethan drama, History of, 123  
 Ellis, Alexander J. Biographical sketch of, 120

- ELLIS, ROBINSON. Suggestions on some epigrams of the 3d vol. of Didot-Couigny's edition of the *Anthologia Palatina*, 350-61  
*Englische Studien*, XVI, 119-23  
 English language and English grammar, 368-70  
 Epitaphs of the Scipios, 144-6, 311-15  
 Estrées, author of the 'Contreblason de faulces amours,' 245  
 Etana legends, 116  
 Ethical teachings in Old English literature, 365-8  
 Euripides, and Sophocles' *Electra*, 255  
 criticism of Aischylos, in the *Electra*, 398  
 Heracles, 1016, and Sophocles' *Trachiniae*, 947, 392  
 Orestes, 822 ff., and Sophocles' *Philoctetes*, 822 ff., 392  
 Relative position of actors and chorus in, 273-87  
 use of *ὄψε*, 241  
 Ezze-leich, Zum, 384-5  
 Fasti Capitolini, Credibility of, 251, 254  
 Fennell, C. A. M. Pindar: the Olympian and Pythian odes (rev.), 498-501  
 FERREN, HARRY M. Review of H. Wunderlich's *Der deutsche Satzbau*, 501-5  
 Festus, Saturnian lines in, 327-8  
 Firdusi, *Il libro dei Re*, by Pizzi, 93-101  
 Folk-lore, the Proteus legend in, 382  
 Icelandic popular stories, etc., 383  
 Formulae of imprecation, 253  
 Fraccaroli's *Odi di Pindaro* announced, 260-1  
 Franke, R. Otto. Case-system of Papini compared with the use of the cases in Pāli and in the *Αἰόκα* inscriptions (rev.), 174  
 What is Sanskrit? 175 f.  
 Review of Liebh's 'Zwei Kapitel der Kāṣikā,' 193 f.  
 French, Etymology of: *accouter*, *andare*, 246; *andain*, 249; *bouquetin*, *fastras* (*fatras*), 247; *-ise* > *Itia*, 250; *juge*, *marnier*, *mettre au plein*, 247; *pêcher* *au mail*, 244.  
 Frontinus on *agerum adsignatio*, 507  
 GARNETT, JAMES M. Review of Hunt's *Ethical Teachings in Old English Literature*, 365-8  
 Ramsey's *English Language and English Grammar*, 368-72  
 Gebhardt, O. von. Phototypic reproduction of Gospel of Peter and Revelation of Peter, 396  
 Genesis of the Greek language, 258-9  
 Geoffroi d'Anjou, called *Grisegonelle*, 249  
 'German Cato,' New fragment of, 382  
 German dialects, 1. Krosdorf, 391  
 language, Sentence-structure of the modern period of the, 501-5  
 Germania, vols. 36, 37, 377-92  
 Gerund and gerundive in Plautus and Terence, 482-90  
 GILDERSLEEVE, B. L. Review of Joost's *Was ergibt sich aus dem Sprachgebrauch Xenophon's?* etc., 101-6  
 Review of Fennell's *Pindar: the Olympian and Pythian odes*, 498-501  
 Review of J. van Leeuwen's *Aristophanis Vespae*, 493-8  
 Review of Wehmann's *De ὥστε particulae usu Herodoteo, Thucydideo, Xenophonteo*, 240-2  
 Review of Peter Schmitt's *Ueber den Ursprung des Substantivsatzes mit Relativpartikeln im Griechischen*, 372-6  
 Goodwin, Alfred, edition of *Homeric Hymns*, 397-8  
 Gospel and Revelation of Peter, ed. by O. v. Gebhardt, 396  
 Gottfried von Strassburg's use of foreign words, 390  
 Greek *διαλέξεις*, Origin and date of the, 508  
 extant dramas and the position of actors and chorus in the Vth century B. C., 198  
 harmonics, 518  
 iteratives, 258  
 language, Genesis of, 258-9  
 poets, Studies of the, 261  
 theatre, 68 ff.  
 Greek forms and words: *βρασίλας*, etymology of, 518; *γέγοναν* and similar formations in late Greek, 394; *δαύλιον*, 393; *δυσιν*, 521; *εἰπεῖν ὅτι*, 375; *ἔηλον ὥς*, 375; *ἐνηβᾶν* and *συνηβᾶν*, 259; formulae of imprecation, 253; iteratives, 258; *κάρπωσις* and *καρπῶν* in sacrificial language, 508; *πρωταίης*, 232; *ὑπόστασις*, 242.  
 Greek syntax: Accus. and infinitive, origin and construction of, 373; adjective with artic. inf. in Plotinus, 397; *ἀκούω*, construction of, 374; aorist and imperfect in Greek and Latin, 104 ff.; comparative syntax of Latin and Greek, 250-1; dual in post-classical Greek, 521; *εἰπεῖν ὅτι*, construction of, 375; fusion of two independent sentences, or *λόγοι*, into one, 373; imperative infinitive, 124 f., 373; iterative *ἄν* with ind., 496 f.; *μή οὐ* with participle, 126 f.; minimum of syntax, how to be reached, 103; negatives, 260; *ὅ* and *ὅτι* of the object sentence, 374; *ὅτε* in object clauses, 375; object clauses with acc. and inf.,

- 374; optative with *ἀν*, 499 f.; post-script *τε*, 241; potential optat. without *ἀν*, 125 f.; *πρὶν ἢ* in post-classic Greek, 397; relative sentence, or its equivalent, 373; *σολοικισμός* 'Alabastric', 520-1; syntax of Xenophon's *Anabasis*, 101-6; *ὥστε* in Herodotus, Thucydides and Xenophon, 240-2.
- 'Gregorius auf dem Stein,' Coptic variant legend, 381
- Grimm's theory of grammatical gender, 378
- Grobianismus*, Zur Entwicklung des, 380
- Guillaume de Montreuil, 247
- Hamitic languages of East Africa, 118
- Hans von Büchel, 381
- Hans Sachs and the sources of his works, 377, 386, 389
- HANSEN, FREDERICK. Chilian popular songs, 90-2
- Corrigenda, 262
- Harlez' Les religions de la Chine, 515
- Harpers' Latin Dictionary corrected, 216-25, 362-4
- Hatzidakis, Einleitung in die neugriechische Grammatik (rev.), 107-11
- Hebrew: *פְּתִיחִים, בְּעֵל־חֶמֶן*, 515.
- Heliand and the Old High German fragments, alliterative verse in, 379-80
- HENDRICKSON, GEORGE L. Report of Neue Jahrbücher, 251-4
- Henri de Valenciennes, 243
- Herakleides the Klazomenian, 506
- Hermes, 255-7, 506-9
- Herodotus, books V and VI, ed. E. Abbott, 126 f.
- VI 9 and 133, 126
- Stichometry in Codex 1633 of, 256
- use of *ὥστε*, 240-2
- Herondas, Mimes of, Crusius' notes on, 125
- Kaibel on, 257
- Symonds' prose rendering of, 261
- Hexameter, Final syllables of, in later Latin poetry, 519
- Hillebrandt, A. *Vedische Mythologie*, I (rev.), 491-3
- Hindu grammar, Recent studies in, 171-97
- History of the Judæo-German, 41-4
- Homeric Hymns, ed. by Alfred Goodwin, 397-8
- Homerica, New fragments of the H. of Crates of Mallos, 518
- HOPKINS, EDWARD WASHBURN. Vedic reduplication of nouns and adjectives, 1-40
- Correction to p. 1, 138
- Horace, Hartman on, 252
- Carm. I 20, 'Vaticani montis imago,' 393
- Hugo von Trimberg's 'Renner,' 389
- Hunt, P. W. Ethical Teachings in Old English Literature (rev.), 365-8
- Icelandic popular stories, 383
- Ignatius Diaconus, Alphabetic acrostic of, 395
- Imperative infinitive in Greek, 124-5
- Imprecatory formulae, 253
- Indo-Chinese peninsula, Language of the, 511
- Inflection of verbs of the third weak class in Primitive Teutonic, 439-50
- Inscriptions, Latin, in Saturnian metre, 144, 146-8, 311, 315-16
- Interjections in the Judæo-German Jargon of Russia, 468
- Interpolation in the 'Aθ. πολ., 230-1
- Interrelation of component elements in the Judæo-German Jargon of Russia, 468-72
- Islinga-bók of Are, 377
- Isocrates' philosophical training, 251
- τέχνη*, so-called fragment of, not genuine, 506
- Istambul, Ismir, Isnik, 389
- Italian *mina*, 519
- Jacques de Vitry's exempla, 123
- Jason of Pheræ, a member of the second Athenian confederation, 518 f.
- Jean Maillart, author of 'Comte d'Anjou,' 244
- Johansson on the *ai*-conjugation, 413
- Joost, A. Was ergibt sich aus dem Sprachgebrauch Xenophons in der *Anabasis* für die Behandlung der griech. Syntax in der Schule? (rev.), 101-6
- Josephus, Bell. Jud. IV 10, 5, 395
- Journal Asiatique, 510-16
- Judæo-German as spoken by the Russian Jews, 41-67, 456-82
- Kaufmann's Geschichte der schwäbischen Mundart, 383
- KIRKLAND, J. H. Some errors in Harpers' Latin Dictionary, 362-4
- Kleisthenian Trittyes, 509
- KNAPP, CHARLES. Corrections and additions to Lewis and Short in connection with Aulus Gellius, 216-25
- Koch, Die Notwendigkeit einer Systemänderung im griech. Anfangs-unterrichte (rev.), 104
- Kritias, author of the 'Aθ. πολ., 509
- Langlands's 'Vision of Piers Plowman,' 367
- Latin Dictionary, corrections and additions to Lewis and Short in connection with Aulus Gellius, 216-25
- Some errors in Harpers' Latin Dictionary, 362-4
- inscriptions in Saturnian metre, 146-8, 315-16



- Latin later poetry, Hexameter in the final syllables of, 519
- The Saturnian metre in, 139-70, 305-34
- Latin words and forms: acieris, centum, original sign for, compes, 394; cucurbita, symbolic use of, 394; formulae of imprecation, 253; haud impigre, 252; libri lintei, 254; terruncius, 394; Vatican montis imago, 393.
- Latin syntax: Aorist and imperfect in Greek and Latin, 104 ff.; comparative syntax of Latin and Greek, 260-1.
- Leeuwen, J. van. Aristophanis Vespaeum prolegomenis et commentariis (rev.), 493-8
- Libanius and Ammianus, 508
- Libri lintei, 254
- Liebich, Bruno. Case-system of the Hindu grammarians compared with the use of the cases in the Aitarey-Brâhma (rev.), 171 ff.
- Paṇini, a contribution to the knowledge of Indian literature and grammar (rev.), 178 ff.
- Zwei Kapitel der Kāçikā (rev.), 188
- LINDSAY, W. M. The Saturnian metre, 139-70, 305-34
- Livius Andronicus, Saturnian verses of, 148-51, 316-18, 323-4
- Livy, Saturnian lines embedded in, 325-7
- XXVIII 16, 14, Mistake in, 255-6
- XXXII 16, 11, 'haud impigre,' 252
- Lykophron's purpose, 257
- Mahlow on the Teutonic third weak class 410
- Mandeville, Sir John, 366-7
- MSS, French and Latin, of the Gonzaga Collection, 247
- Martha, J., Œuvres de Cicéron. Brutus (rev.), 237-8
- Middle High German MSS of the XVIth century at Wiesbaden, 382
- himmelstelle, stelboum, 386
- tôre, ertören, 390
- winkelsehen = zwinkern, 388
- Middle Low Dutch proiel, 388
- Miles' Comparative syntax of Latin and Greek, 260-1
- Mills, L. H. The five Zoroastrian Gâthâs, etc., parts I and IV (rev.), 238-40
- Minnean  $\text{[?]}$ , 513
- Minnesänger, Schweizer, 382, 386-7
- Modern Greek grammar, Introduction to, 107-11
- Moods and tenses in Judæo-German Jargon of Russia, 475-7
- Mulich, Bartholomew, author of a 'German Cato,' 382
- Municipium Numiulitanum et Thimidabure, 395
- and colony, 507
- Naevius, Saturnian verses of, 151-6, 318-21, 324
- Naissance du Chevalier au Cygne, 247-8
- Neue Jahrbücher für Philologie und Pädagogik, 251-4
- NEWHALL, BARKER. Correction to Allen's translation of Wecklein's Prometheus, 126
- Nordenstam's Syntaxis infinitivi Plotiniani, 397
- Nouns and adjectives, Vedic reduplication of, 1-40
- Odrysi in Thrace, 256
- Old Armenian version of Plato's Laws, Book IV, 335-49
- Old High German orthography, 389 f.
- abstract nouns, declension of, 379
- liuzil, lutzil, leitils; so egil guot, 378-9
- fragments in alliterative verse, 379-80
- Old Testament: Ezek. 27, 10 and 38, 5; Jerem. 44, 15, 515
- Order of words in Judæo-German Jargon of Russia, 472-4
- Oscan language, Vocalism of, 234-6
- Oton de Granson, 246, 249
- Ovid, Amores, I 8, 104, 252
- Pali, Case-system in, and in Paṇini, 174 ff.
- Paṇini, Liebich on, 178 ff.
- Paṇini's system of rules for the use of the cases, 171
- Parallelism in reduplication of nominals and verbs in Vedic language, 1-40
- Parzival, Studies in, 385
- Peisistratus, Date of, 232
- Pelagonius' text, Sources of, 516
- Perthes' Poeket Atlas Antiquus, 127
- Philippe de Navarre, not Navarre, 244
- Philochorus cites the Constitution of Aristotle, 229
- Phonology of Judæo-German, 44-53
- PICKARD, JOHN. The relative position of actors and chorus in the Greek theatre of the fifth century B. C., 68-89, 198-215, 273-304
- Pindar's Olympian and Pythian odes, 498-501
- use of  $\omega\sigma\tau\epsilon$ , 241
- Pizzi's Firdusi, Il libro dei Re (trans. into Italian) (rev.), 93-101
- PLATNER, SAMUEL BALL. Notes on the use of gerund and gerundive in Plautus and Terence, 483-90
- Plato's Laws, Book IV, a collation of the Old Armenian version of, 335-49
- Plautus, gerund and gerundive in, 483-90
- scholion on the Alexandrian libraries, 516

- Pliny, the elder, Chief sources for books XII and XIII of, 392-3  
 Plotinus's use of the infinitive, 397  
 Plutarch's knowledge of the 'Ἀθηναίων πολιτεία, 230  
 Plutarch, Unpublished fragment attributed to, 507  
 Poseidon-Brasils of Cos in Athens, 518  
 Prepositions in the Judæo-German dialect of Russia, 465 ff.  
 Primitive Teutonic, third class of weak verbs in, 409-55  
 Primitive Teutonic *ai*-verbs, 417  
 PRINCE, J. D. Report of Beiträge zur Assyriologie, 112-18  
 Proklos and the epic cycle, 257  
 Proconsuls of Africa, 393  
 Propertius, V 2, 39, 395  
 V 11, 15-20, 254  
 MSS and the marginal notes of Politianus, 518  
 Proteus tales and other folk-lore, 382  
 Pseudo-Sibylline oracles, 253
- Quantitative theory of Saturnian metre tested, 164-7  
 Quantity and accentuation in early Latin poetry, 157-64  
 Quintilian's 'de causis corruptae eloquentiae' and 'institutio oratoria,' Date of, 516
- RADDATZ, C. F. Report of Germania, 377-92  
 Ramsey, S. The English language and English grammar (rev.), 368-70  
 Recent Publications, 128-34, 263-9, 398-407, 523-8  
 Recent studies in Hindu grammar, 171-97  
 Reduplication of nouns and adjectives in the Vedic, 1-40  
 Reichardt's quantitative theory of the Saturnian metre, 165 f.  
 Reinhart Fuchs, V 141 (ed. Reissenberger), 380  
 Reinke Vos, 111, 14 (ed. Prien), 380  
 Relative position of actors and chorus in the Greek theatre of the fifth century B. C., 68-89, 198-215, 273-304
- Reports:  
 Beiträge zur Assyriologie, I, II 1-2, 112-18  
 Englische Studien, XVI, 119-23  
 Germania, 36 and 37, 377-92  
 Hermes, 1891, Heft 3 and 4; 1892, Heft 1 and 2, 255-7, 506-9  
 Journal Asiatique, XIX and XX, 510-16  
 Neue Jahrbücher für Philologie und Pädagogik, 1891, 7-9, 251-4  
 Rheinisches Museum, XLVI, 392-5, 516-19  
 Romania, XIX, 243-51
- Reviews:  
 Buck's Vokalismus der oskischen Sprache, 234 6  
 Cougny-Didot's Anthologia Palatina, vol. III, 350-61  
 Fennell's Pindar: the Olympian and Pythian odes, 498-501  
 Franke's Case-system of Papini, 174  
 What is Sanskrit? 175  
 Harlez' Les religions de la Chine, 515  
 Hartmann's De Horatio poeta, 252  
 Hatridakis, Einleitung in die neugriechische Grammatik, 107-11  
 Hillebrandt's Vedische Mythologie, 491-3  
 Hunt's Ethical Teachings in Old English literature, 365-8  
 Jellinghaus's Arminius und Siegfried, 383  
 Joost's Sprachgebrauch Xenophons, etc., 101-6  
 Kauffmann's Geschichte der schwäbischen Mundart, 383  
 Koch, Die Notwendigkeit einer Systemänderung im griechischen Anfangsunterricht, 104  
 Leeuwen, J. van, Aristophanis Vespae, 493-8  
 Liebig's Case-system of Hindu grammarians, 171  
 Papini, 178  
 Zwei Kapitel der Kāçikā, 188  
 Martha's Œuvres de Cicéron. Brutus, 237  
 Mills' The five Zoroastrian Gāthās, 238 f.  
 Pizzi's Firdusi, Il Libro del Re, 93-101  
 Ramsey's English language and English grammar, 368-72  
 Sandys' Aristotle's Constitution of Athens, 125, 226-34  
 Schmitt's Ursprung des Substantivsatzes mit Relativpartikeln im Griechischen, 372-6  
 Schuchardt's 'Vermischtes,' 248 f.  
 Todd's La naissance du Chevalier au Cygne, 247-8  
 Wehmann's De ὥρε part. usu Herodoteo, Thucydideo, Xenophonteo, 240-2  
 Wells' The literature of the Turks, 514  
 Wunderlich's Der deutsche Satzbau, 301-5  
 Rheinisches Museum, 392-5, 516-19  
 Rhetorica ad Herennium, a genuine work, 517  
 Rig-Veda, books II-VIII are Soma-books, 491  
 Roman administration of Egypt, 509  
 official land-surveys, 507  
 provinces, Government of the, 519  
 Romania, 243-51  
 Rome and Methymna, Treaty between, 394  
 Rüdiger von Hunkhofen's 'Schlegel,' II, 316-17, 388  
 Russian Jews, Judæo-German as spoken by, 41-67, 456-82  
 Sacrifices to river gods, 251  
 Sallustii Orationes, 395

- Sandys' edition of the 'Αθηναίων πολι-  
τεία (rev.), 125, 227-34
- Sanskrit, what is it? 175 f.
- ῥαῖδα, meaning of, 175
- Sappho's hymn to Venus, 506
- love for Phaon, 253
- Saturnian metre, 139-70, 395-34
- Saturnian poetry, fragments of, 144-56, 311 ff.
- lines embedded in prose passages of  
Livy, 325-7
- Schanz's Beiträge zur historischen Syntax  
der griech. Sprache, III 2 (rev.), 372-6
- Scherer on the *ai*-conjugation, 410
- Schmid's Atticismus: Aelian, 520-1
- Schmidt, H. Dual in late Greek, 521
- Schmitt, Peter. Ueber den Ursprung  
des Substantivsatzes mit Relativpar-  
tikeln im Griechischen (rev.), 372-6
- Schweizer Minnesänger, 382, 386-7
- Semitic and Old Egyptian, 117
- Hamitic, 118
- Shāhnāmah, Translation of the, 93 f.
- Shakespeare's Macbeth and his dramas  
of royalty, 119
- Shelley's Prometheus Unbound, studies  
in, 119-20
- Sievers' type-theory of alliterative verse  
examined, 379-80
- SIMLER, E. G. Report of Hermes, 255-7, 506-9
- Silius Italicus, lost MSS of the Punica of, 254
- Skene's Ante Agamemnona, a new de-  
parture in philology, 258
- Sleep-scenes on the Attic stage, 392
- Soma-plant and sacrifice, as treated by  
Hillebrandt, 491-3
- Sophocles' Antigone, 847, 393
- and Euripides' Electra, 255
- Philoctetes, 822 ff., and Euripides,  
Orestes, 822 ff., 392
- Relative position of actors and chorus  
in dramas of, 209 ff.
- Trachiniae, 947 ff., and Euripides'  
Heracles, 1016, 392
- use of *σόνε*, 241
- Sostratos, the physician, 255
- Sostratos' Teiresias, 507
- Stage, The so-called Greek, 80-5
- Stichometry in Codex 1633 of Herodotus, 256
- 'Streit der drei Brüder,' a fable, 386
- Strophic division in purely alliterative  
Middle English poetry, 121
- Style in Judaeo-German Jargon of Rus-  
sia, 477 ff.
- SWEET, MARGUERITE. The third class  
of weak verbs in Primitive Teutonic,  
with special reference to its develop-  
ment in Anglo-Saxon, 409-55
- Symonds, J. A., Studies of Greek poets, 261
- Syntax, Minimum of, how to be reached, 103
- of the Modern German language, 501-5
- Syntax of the Judaeo-German Jargon of  
Russia, 472-82
- Syntax infinitivi Plotiniani, 397
- Tacitus, H. 2, 100; Agr. 11; 6; 25, 398
- Terence, Codex Bembinus, 392
- Codex Laurentianus, XXXVIII 24, 393-4
- Gerund and gerundive in, 483-90
- Terminus, Riddle on, restored, 394
- Tertullian's writings, Chronology of, 393
- Teutonic third weak conjugation, 409 ff.
- dialects, Treatment of the original *ai*-  
class in, 427
- inflection of verbs of the third weak  
class, 439 ff.
- Theocritus, XV 80-6, 251
- XVIII, 508 f.
- Theognis, 425-8, 254
- 659, 260
- Third class of weak verbs in Primitive  
Teutonic, with special reference to  
its development in Anglo-Saxon, 409-55
- Thucydides, book VIII, ed. G. Tucker, 396-7
- V 47, 507-8
- use of *σόνε*, 240-2
- Thurneysen on the Saturnian metre, 167-70
- Thymele of the Greek theatre, 74-80
- Timagenes' *περί βασιλέων*, source for  
Trogus, 517
- TODD, H. A. Report of Romania, 243-51
- Todd's La naissance du Chevalier au  
Cygne, 247-8
- Trogus' universal history, Scope and  
sources of, 517
- Tucker's Eighth book of Thucydides, 396-7
- Tzetzes' Prolegomena in Arist. *ἐν ἀρχῇ*  
and the Plautus scholion on the Alex-  
andrian libraries, 516
- Ulrich von Lichtenstein's 'Frauendienst'  
emended, 30, 23; 96, 3; 109, 12; 131,  
29; 482, 22 and 24; 601, 8 and 9;  
603, 1, 387-8
- Vaticani montis imago, 393
- Vedic reduplication of nouns and adjec-  
tives, 1-40
- Vedische Mythologie, I, ed. Hillebrandt, 491-3
- Vegetius, Mulomed. III 60, 1, 518
- Verb, The, of the Judaeo-German Jargon  
in Russia, 456 ff.
- Vergil, studies in, 518
- Versification of the Romance languages, 243
- Versions of the Bible, Early French, 250
- Vitruvius, 120, 10 ff., 393
- 'Vogelbeize' (M. H. Germ. poem), 40-4,  
emended, 391
- Vokalismus der oskischen Sprache, 234-6

- |                                                                                       |               |                                                                                  |        |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------|
| Wachsmut von Künzingen,                                                               | 386           | Review of Pizzi's <i>Firdusi, Il Libro dei</i>                                   |        |
| Wagner, R., on the imperative infinitive,                                             | 124 f.        | Re,                                                                              | 93-101 |
| Waltharius of Ekkehard,                                                               | 383-4         | Wilhelm von Oesterreich, fragment of,                                            | 384    |
| Wandering Jew, Earliest mention of,                                                   | 244           | WRIGHT, J. H. Review of J. E. Sandys' Aristotle's Constitution of Athens,        | 226-34 |
| WARREN, MINTON. Review of C. D. Buck's <i>Vokalismus der oskischen Sprache</i> ,      | 234-6         | Wülker's phototypic facsimile of the Vercelli MS of Andreas and Elene announced, | 262    |
| Review of Jules Martha's <i>Œuvres de Cicéron. Brutus</i> ,                           | 237-8         | Wunderlich, H. <i>Der deutsche Satzbau</i> (rev.),                               | 501-5  |
| Weak verbs, Third class of, in Primitive Teutonic,                                    | 409-55        | Xenophanes' works known to Isocrates,                                            | 251    |
| Wecklein's Fragments of and Appendix propagata to Aischylos,                          | 522           | Xenophon's <i>Anabasis</i> , Joost on the syntax of,                             | 101-6  |
| Wehmann, M. <i>De ᾠστρε particulae usu</i> Herodoteo, Thucydideo, Xenophonteo (rev.), | 240-2         | use of ᾠστρε,                                                                    | 240-2  |
| WHITNEY, W. D. On recent studies in Hindu grammar,                                    | 171-97        | Xenophon von Ephesus,                                                            | 506    |
| Correction to XIII 1,                                                                 | 138           | Zonaras' sources,                                                                | 256    |
| WIENER, LEO. On the Judaeo-German spoken by the Russian Jews,                         | 41-67, 456-82 | Zoroastrian <i>Gāthās</i> , edited by L. H. Mills (rev.),                        | 238-40 |
| WILHELM, EUGEN. Review of Mills' <i>Five Zoroastrian Gāthās</i> ,                     | 238-40        | Zosimus, date of,                                                                | 393    |
|                                                                                       |               | and Ammianus,                                                                    | 508    |

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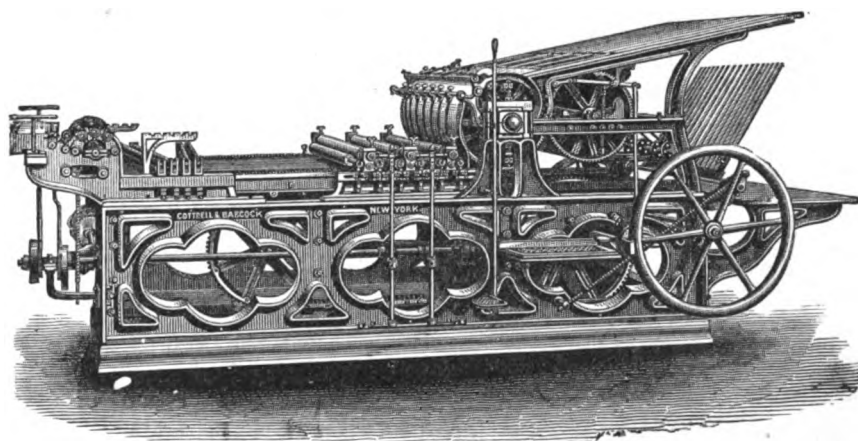
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## CONTENTS.

I.—The Third Class of Weak Verbs in Primitive Teutonic, with Special Reference to its Development in Anglo-Saxon. By MARGUERITE SWEET,	409
II.—On the Jüdaeo-German Spoken by the Russian Jews. II. By LEO WIENER,	456
III.—Notes on the Use of Gerund and Gerundive in Plautus and Terence. By SAMUEL BALL PLATNER,	483
REVIEWS AND BOOK NOTICES:	491
Hillebrandt's <i>Vedische Mythologie</i> .—van Leeuwen's <i>Aristophanis Vespae cum prolegomenis et commentariis</i> .—Fennell's <i>Pindar: the Olympian and Pythian Odes</i> .—Wunderlich's <i>Der deutsche Satzbau</i> .	
REPORTS:	506
Hermes.— <i>Journal Asiatique</i> .— <i>Rheinisches Museum</i> .	
BRIEF MENTION,	520
RECENT PUBLICATIONS,	523
BOOKS RECEIVED,	529
INDEX,	533

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